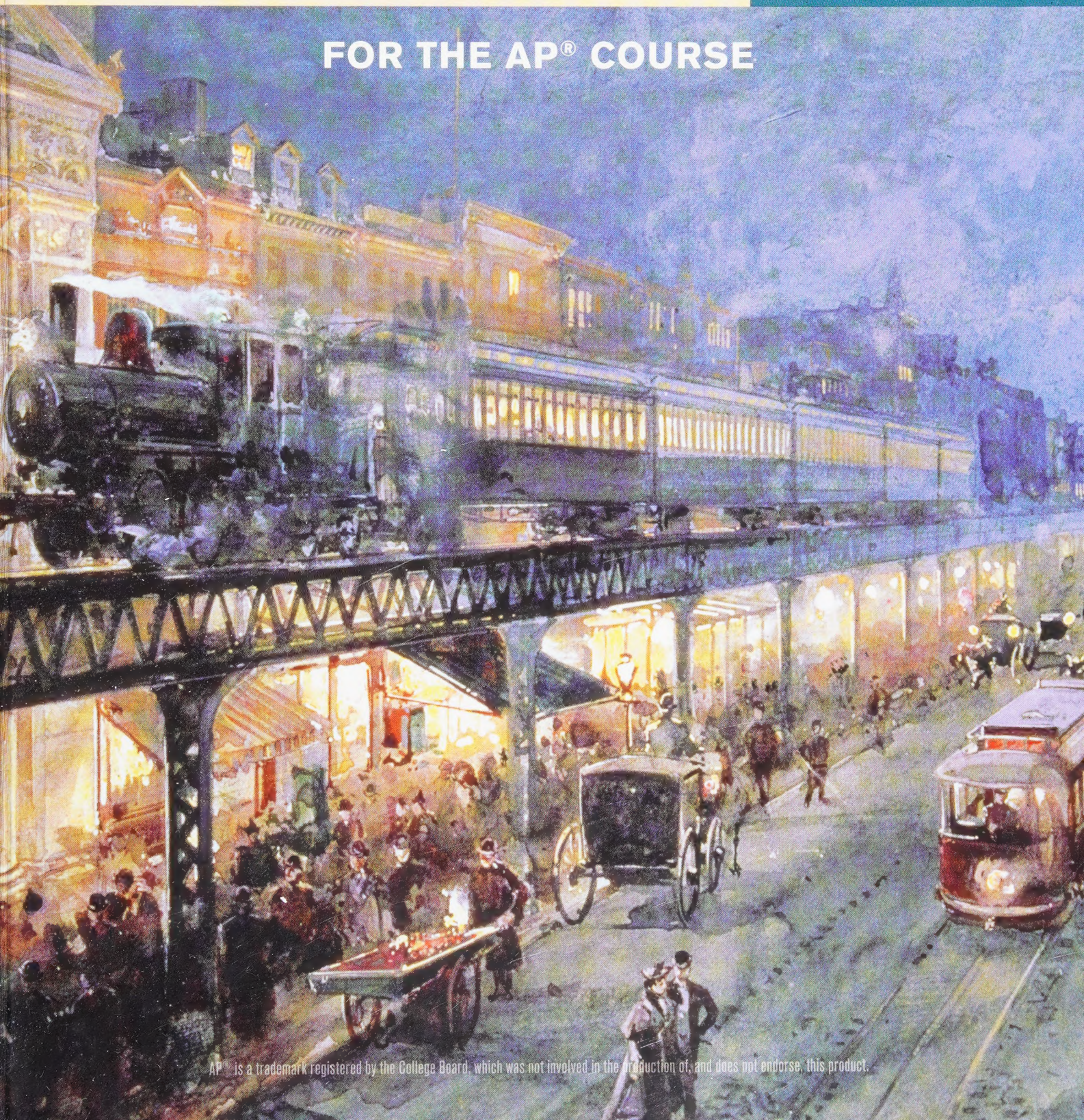
AMERICA'S HISTORY

Henretta • Edwards • Hinderaker • Self

NINTH EDITION

FOR THE AP® COURSE



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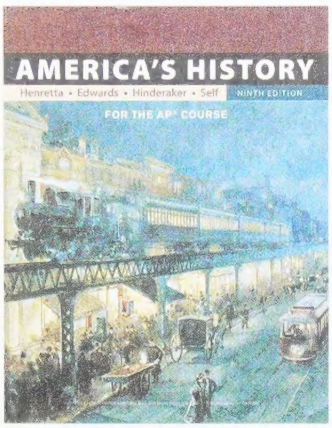

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About the cover image

The Bowery at Night

The Bowery at Night (1895) depicts a rapidly changing New York City. On this bustling commercial street, horse-drawn carriages share space with a new electric streetcar. The steel bridge of an elevated railroad crosses in front of the stately Corinthian columns of the Bowery Theatre. Different power sources illuminate the street: old-fashioned lanterns on the carriages, gas-powered street lamps, and bright electric light streaming from the shop windows. The painting also hints at social change: men of different classes mingle on the streets, and the peddler with the pushcart is likely a recent immigrant. The presence of respectable women in such public spaces remained controversial. Perhaps the man with the bowler hat, front and center, anxiously seeks to protect "his lady" from potential dangers. Does she appreciate his help or find it annoying for him to hover?

The personal history of the artist who created this painting, William Louis Sonntag Jr., reflected some of these changes. His father was a noted Romantic landscape painter whose scenic vistas, with titles such as *The Progress of Civilization*, celebrated U.S. conquest of North America. The son, however, focused his attention on scenes of industry and technology, especially railroads. He sketched many mechanical inventions and joined a society of railroad engineers.

The Bowery at Night, 1895 (watercolor on paper), Sonntag, William Louis Jr. (1869–98)/Museum of the City of New York/Bridgeman Images.

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Preface
Why This Book This Way

History classrooms present a unique dilemma. How do we offer our students a basic understanding of key events and facts while inviting them to see the past not as a rote list of names and dates but as the fascinating, conflicted prelude to their lives today? How do we teach our students to think like historians? As scholars and teachers who go into the classroom every day, the authors of *America's History* know these challenges well. We have composed the ninth edition to help instructors meet them. *America's History* has long been known for its breadth, balance, and ability to explain to students not just what happened, but *why*. The latest edition preserves and builds on those strengths.

The foundation of our approach lies in a commitment to an integrated history. *America's History* combines traditional "top down" narratives of political and economic history with "bottom up" narratives of the lived experiences of ordinary people. Our goal is to help students achieve a richer understanding of politics, diplomacy, war, economics, intellectual and cultural life, and gender, class, and race relations by exploring how developments in all these areas were interconnected. Our analysis is fueled by a passion for exploring big, consequential questions. How did a colonial slave society settled by people from four continents become a pluralist democracy? How have struggles for liberty, equality, and justice informed the American experience? To whom has the "American Dream" appealed—and who has achieved it, or experienced disillusionment or exclusion? How has the experience of war shaped American politics, society, and culture? Questions like these help students understand what's at stake as we study the past. In *America's History*, we provide an integrated historical approach and bring a dedication to *why history matters* to bear on the full sweep of America's past.

One of the most exciting developments in this edition is the attention we have devoted to fresh interpretations of the colonial, early national, and antebellum periods. Since his arrival as a new author on the eighth edition, Eric Hinderaker, an expert in Native American and early American history, has invigorated the chapters on Native, colonial European, and African societies and the revolutionary Atlantic world of the eighteenth century, bringing them in line with the most current historical scholarship. Rebecca Edwards, an expert in women's and gender history and nineteenth-century electoral politics, has done the same for the chapters covering the antebellum decades and the "long Progressive Era" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These authors have integrated coverage of slavery and the South's economy and society into all the pre–Civil War chapters. They have also consolidated antebellum coverage, enabling teachers to move more efficiently through this material, and have updated coverage of the Civil War. Robert Self, whose work explores the relationship between urban and suburban politics, social movements, and the state, has updated the twentieth- and twenty-first-century chapters, with special attention to Chapter 30, which chronicles the extraordinary events of the most recent decades. Together, we strive to ensure that energy and creativity, as well as our wide experience in the study of history, infuse every page that follows.

In this edition, we bid a fond and deeply appreciative adieu to James Henretta, one of the original authors of *America's History* and its ballast and intellectual leader for eight editions. Professor Emeritus at the University of Maryland, and soon to be an emeritus author, James will use his retirement to pursue a variety of personal and scholarly endeavors. His influence on this book, and his name on the title page, will continue for some time, but he will no longer participate in our cycles of revision. We wish him the best and thank him for sustaining *America's History* for so many years and for his commitment to the highest standards of scholarship and prose.

In our contemporary digital world, facts and data are everywhere. What students crave is analysis. As it has since its inception, *America's History* provides students with a comprehensive explanation and interpretation of events, a guide to why history unfolded as it did and a road map for understanding the world in which we live. The core of a textbook is its narrative, and we have endeavored to make ours clear, accessible, and lively. In it, we focus not only on the marvelous diversity of peoples who came to call themselves Americans but also on the institutions that have forged a common national identity. More than ever, we daily confront the collision of our past with the demands of the future and the shrinking distance between Americans and others around the globe. To help students meet these challenges, we call attention to connections with the histories of Canada, Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, drawing links between events in the United States and those elsewhere.

Of course, the contents of this book are only helpful if students read and assimilate the material before coming

to class. So that students will come to class prepared, they can receive access to **LearningCurve**—an adaptive, online learning tool that helps them master content—when they purchase the **LaunchPad e-Book** (which is free when bundled with the print book). To learn more about the benefits of LearningCurve and LaunchPad, see the "Versions and Supplements" section on page xv.

A Nine-Part Framework Highlights Key Developments

One of the greatest strengths of *America's History* is its part structure, which helps students identify the key forces and major developments that shaped each era. A four-page part opener introduces each of the nine parts, using analysis, striking images, and a detailed **AP® Thematic Understanding** timeline to orient students to major developments and themes of the period. This spread also includes **AP® Thematic Understanding** questions that ask students to consider periodization and to make connections among chapters. By organizing U.S. history into nine distinct periods, rather than just thirty successive chapters, we encourage students to trace changes and continuities over time and to grasp connections between political, economic, social, and cultural events.

In this edition, as in earlier ones, we have refined the part structure to reflect the most up-to-date scholarship. Part 4 now focuses more tightly on the history of the emerging republic, ending with the U.S.-Mexico War rather than in 1860. Part 5 offers expanded coverage of immigration, while Part 6 gives more emphasis to economic and intellectual debates during the era of industrialization. Part 9 extends to the end of Obama's presidency and the emergence of Donald Trump, linking political upheavals in this era to earlier events and themes.

Part 1, "Transformations of North America, 1491–1700," highlights the diversity and complexity of Native Americans prior to European contact, examines the transformative impact of European intrusions and the Columbian Exchange, and emphasizes the experimental quality of colonial ventures. **Part 2, "British North America and the Atlantic World, 1607–1763,"** explains the diversification of British North America and the rise of the British Atlantic world and emphasizes the importance of contact between colonists and Native Americans and imperial rivalries among European powers. **Part 3, "Revolution and Republican Culture, 1754–1800,"** traces the rise of colonial protest against British imperial reform, outlines the ways that the American Revolution challenged the social order, and explores the processes of conquest, competition, and consolidation that followed it.

Part 4, "Overlapping Revolutions, 1800–1848," traces the transformation of the economy, society, and culture of the new nation; the creation of a democratic polity; and growing sectional divisions. **Part 5, "Consolidating a Continental Union, 1844–1877,"** covers the conflicts generated by America's empire building in the West, including sectional political struggles that led to the Civil War and national consolidation of power during and after Reconstruction. **Part 6, "Industrializing America: Upheavals and Experiments, 1877–1917,"** examines the transformations brought about by the rise of corporations and a powerhouse industrial economy; immigration and a diverse, urbanizing society; and movements for progressive reform.

Part 7, "Domestic and Global Challenges, 1890–1945," explores America's rise to world power, the cultural transformations and political conflicts of the 1920s, the Great Depression, and the creation of the New Deal welfare state. **Part 8, "The Modern State and the Age of Liberalism, 1945–1980,"** addresses the postwar period, including America's new global leadership role during the Cold War; the expansion of federal responsibility during a new "age of liberalism"; and the growth of mass consumption and the middle class. Finally, **Part 9, "Globalization and the End of the American Century, 1980 to the Present,"** discusses the conservative political ascendancy of the 1980s; the end of the Cold War and rising conflict in the Middle East; and globalization and increasing social inequality.

Helping Students Work with Primary and Secondary Sources

America's History has long emphasized primary sources. In addition to weaving lively quotations throughout the narrative, we offer students substantial excerpts from historical documents—letters, diaries, autobiographies, public testimony, and more—and numerous figures that give students practice working with data. These documents allow students to experience the past through the words and perspectives of those who lived it, to understand how historians make sense of the past using data, and to gain skill in interpreting historical evidence.

To sharpen the ability of students to think historically, and to expose them to diverse historical views, we have added a new feature in this edition, called **AP® Interpreting the Past**. The new **AP® Interpreting the Past** feature brings historical argumentation directly into each chapter. Students read short, accessible passages from two scholarly works of history that offer different interpretations of the same event or period. By examining the passages side by side, and responding to the questions we pose, students learn how historians

interpret evidence, weigh facts, and arrive at their conclusions. This feature highlights how *history* is a way of thinking and analyzing, rather than an inert set of facts.

Each of the thirty chapters of *America's History* contains an **AP® Interpreting the Past** feature in addition to three primary source–based features, continued from the eighth edition.

AP® Analyzing Voices, a two-page feature in each chapter, helps students learn to think critically by comparing primary source texts written or spoken from two or more perspectives. New topics include "Susanna Martin, Accused Witch," "Native Americans and European Empires," "To Secede or Not to Secede?" "The Omaha Platform, 1892," "Race and Geography in the Civil Rights Era," and "The Toll of War," about the Vietnam War.

The **AP® America in the World** feature, developed for the previous edition, uses primary sources and data to situate U.S. history in a global context while giving students practice in comparison and data analysis. These features appear in every chapter on topics as diverse as the fight for women's rights in France and the United States, an examination of labor laws after emancipation in Haiti and the United States, the loss of human life in World War I, the global protests of 1968, and an analysis of the worldwide economic malaise of the 1970s.

Finally, we are excited to retain and reinvigorate a dynamic feature to aid you in teaching historical thinking skills that we developed for the eighth edition. A **AP® Thinking Like a Historian** feature in every chapter includes five to eight brief primary sources organized around a central theme, such as "Beyond the Proclamation Line," "Making Modern Presidents," and "The Suburban Landscape of Cold War America." Students are asked to analyze the documents and complete an AP® DBQ Practice assignment that asks them to synthesize and use the evidence to create an argument. Because we understand how important primary sources are to the study of history, we are also pleased to offer for **free**, when packaged, the companion reader, *Sources for America's History*, featuring a wealth of additional documents.

As in past editions, an outstanding **visual program** engages students' attention and gives them practice in working with visual sources. The ninth edition features over four hundred paintings, cartoons, illustrations, photographs, and charts, most of them in full color and more than a quarter new to this edition. Informative captions set the illustrations in context and provide students with background for making their own analysis of the images in the book. Keenly aware that students lack geographic literacy, we have included dozens of **maps** that show major developments in the narrative, each with a caption to help students interpret what they see.

Taken together, these documents, figures, maps, and illustrations provide instructors with a trove of teaching materials, so that *America's History* offers not only a compelling narrative, but also — right in the text — the rich documentary materials that instructors need to bring the past alive and introduce students to historical analysis.

Helping Students Understand the Narrative

The study aids in the ninth edition have been strengthened to support students in their understanding of the material and in their development of historical thinking skills. **AP® Learning Focus** questions at the start of every chapter guide student reading and focus their attention on identifying not just what happened, but why.

Chapter chronologies have been moved from the last page of the chapter to the third, to enable students to more readily grasp the major events and developments as they begin to read. A variety of learning tools from the beginning to the end of each chapter support this big idea focus.

As they read, students will gain proficiency with the **AP® Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills** via **AP® Practices & Skills** margin questions that ask students to answer "Causation," "Change over Time," and "Point of View" questions, among other skills. Additionally, students will gain key insights into the AP® Exam with the **AP® Exam Tip** margin notes that point out important topics and ideas to focus on while reading the chapter. The Chapter Review section provides a set of **AP® Content Review** questions that restate the individual section review questions. **AP® Terms to Know** provides a list of **Key Concepts and Events, Key People,** and **Academic Terms** students should know. All of these terms are bolded throughout the chapter and defined in the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book. Additionally, **Making Connections** questions ask students to consider broader historical issues, developments, and continuities and changes over time. Lastly, a **Key Turning Points** question reminds students of important events.

New **AP® Practice Questions** at the end of each chapter and part allow students to practice answering Multiple Choice Questions, Short Answer Questions, Document-Based Questions, and Long Essay Questions like those they will see on the **AP® U.S. History Exam**. Additionally, students will have the opportunity to take a full-length practice exam in the **AP® U.S. History Practice Exam** that sits at the back of the book.

Helping Instructors Teach with Digital Resources

As noted, *America's History* is offered in Macmillan's premier learning platform, **LaunchPad**, an intuitive, interactive e-Book and course space. Free when packaged with the print text or available at a low price when used alone, LaunchPad grants students and teachers access to a wealth of online tools and resources built specifically for our text to enhance reading comprehension and promote in-depth study.

Developed with extensive feedback from history instructors and students, *LaunchPad for America's History* includes the complete narrative of the print book, the companion reader, *Sources for America's History*, and **LearningCurve**, an adaptive learning tool that is designed to get students to read before they come to class. With **new source-based questions in the test bank and in LearningCurve** and the ability to **sort test bank questions by chapter learning objectives**, instructors now have more ways to test students on their understanding of sources and narrative in the book.

This edition also includes **Guided Reading Exercises** that prompt students to be active readers of the chapter narrative and auto-graded **primary source quizzes** to test comprehension of written and visual sources. These features, plus **additional primary source documents, video sources and tools for making video assignments, map activities, flash cards,** and **customizable test banks**, make LaunchPad a great asset for any instructor who wants to enliven American history for students.

New Updates to the Narrative

In the new edition, we continue to offer instructors a bold account of U.S. history that reflects the latest, most exciting scholarship in the field. Throughout the book, we have given increased attention to political culture and political economy, including the history of capitalism, using this analysis to help students understand how society, culture, politics, and the economy informed one another.

The opening chapters incisively analyze the processes by which European colonization transformed the Western Hemisphere. They emphasize the way Native Americans shaped, and were shaped by, the contact experience — a focus that carries through the ninth edition in a continental perspective and sustained coverage of Native Americans, the environment, and the West in every era. These chapters highlight the varied and tenuous nature of experiments in colonization; in doing so, they stress the opportunity, as well as the instability and violence, inherent in the colonial enterprise. And they trace the rise of British North America, the Atlantic world, and the many revolutions — in print, consumption, and politics — that transformed the eighteenth century.

In the early-nineteenth-century chapters, coverage of the South and slavery has been integrated throughout, to give more emphasis to the economic and political clout of the "Cotton Kingdom" and its "peculiar institution." Antebellum urban culture and Irish and German immigration also get more attention. The 1850s and the secession crisis receive more extended treatment, showing students that there was no direct or inevitable path from the Kansas-Nebraska Act to war. The Civil War chapter has been extensively revised to reflect recent scholarship, balancing military and technological history with crucial diplomatic and political events, while conveying the experiences of civilians, self-liberated former slaves, refugees, and soldiers.

In the post–Civil War chapters, enhanced coverage of gender, ethnicity, and race includes greater emphasis on gay and lesbian history and Asian and Latino immigration, alongside the entire chapter devoted to the civil rights movement, a major addition to the last edition. Finally, we have kept up with recent developments with an expanded section on the Obama presidency and the election of 2016. Students keen to understand contemporary political developments will find in the post–World War II chapters a strong political and economic narrative that helps them contextualize the very recent past.

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to the following scholars and teachers who reported on their experiences with the eighth edition or reviewed features of the new edition. Their comments often challenged us to rethink or justify our interpretations and always provided a check on accuracy down to the smallest detail.

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Alan Lehmann, *Blinn College*
Philbert Martin, *San Jacinto College*
Suzanne McCormack, *Community College of Rhode Island*
William Morgan, *Lone Star College–Montgomery*
Daniel Murphree, *University of Central Florida*

Manfred Silva, *El Paso Community College*
Andrew Slap, *East Tennessee State University*
Whitney Snow, *Midwestern State University*
Michael Wise, *University of North Texas*

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Rebecca Edwards
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James A. Henretta is Professor Emeritus of American History at the University of Maryland, College Park. His publications include *The Evolution of American Society, 1600–1815, The Origins of American Capitalism*, and an edited volume, *Republicanism and Liberalism in America and the German States, 1750–1850*. His most recent publications include two long articles, "Magistrates, Common Law Lawyers, Legislators: The Three Legal Systems of British America" and "Charles Evans Hughes and the Strange Death of Liberal America," derived from his ongoing research on the liberal state in America, and in particular New York, 1820–1975.

Rebecca Edwards is Eloise Ellery Professor of History at Vassar College, where she teaches courses on nineteenth-century politics, the Civil War, the frontier West, and women, gender, and sexuality. She is the author of, among other publications, *Angels in the Machinery: Gender in American Party Politics from the Civil War to the Progressive Era*; *New Spirits: Americans in the "Gilded Age," 1865–1905*; and the essay "Women's and Gender History" in *The New American History*. She is currently working on a book about the role of childbearing in the expansion of America's nineteenth-century empire.

Eric Hinderaker is Professor of History at the University of Utah. His research explores early modern imperialism, relations between Europeans and Native Americans, military-civilian relations in the Atlantic world, and comparative colonization. His most recent book, *Boston's Massacre*, was published in 2017. His other publications include *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800*; *The Two Hendricks: Unraveling a Mohawk Mystery*, which won the Herbert H. Lehman Prize for Distinguished Scholarship in New York History from the New York Academy of History; and, with Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*.

Robert O. Self is Mary Ann Lippitt Professor of American History at Brown University. His research focuses on urban history, American politics, and the post-1945 United States. He is the author of *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*, which won four professional prizes, including the James A. Rawley Prize from the Organization of American Historians, and *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s*. He is currently at work on a book about the centrality of houses, cars, and children to family consumption in the twentieth-century United States.

About the Contributors

Matthew Ellington teaches AP® U.S. History at Ruben S. Ayala High School in Chino Hills, CA, where he is the Social Science Department Chairperson and an Instructional Coach. Matthew has taught APUSH since 1994 and participated in the AP® Reading since 2000. He is an active, endorsed College Board workshop consultant for AP® U.S. History who has trained over a thousand APUSH teachers since 2001. Matthew has been a College Board AP® Mentor and served on the College Board's Consultant Advisory Panel. He is the lead author of Bedford's *Survival Guide for AP® U.S. History* (2014), a contributor to the *Teacher's Edition for America's History*, Eighth Edition, and is featured in *Teaching Ideas for AP® History: A Video Resource*.

Nicki Griffin, National Board Certified Teacher, teaches AP® U.S. History, AP® European History, and AP® Art History at South Central High School in Winterville, North Carolina, where she serves as Facilitating Teacher for AP® U.S. History in the Pitt County School system. She also serves as Course Lead and teacher for AP® European History for the North Carolina Virtual Public School. She has served as an AP® Reader for five years and is a College Board Consultant. Over the past decade, she has provided training for hundreds of teachers in AP® U.S. and European History.

Bill Polasky, NBCT, teaches AP® U.S. History at Stillman Valley High School in Stillman Valley, Illinois, where he is the Division Chair for Social Sciences. He has served as an AP® Reader, Table Leader, and Exam Leader, as well as an Item Writer of DBQ, Short Answer, and Multiple Choice Questions for the National Exam in AP® U.S. History. As a National Faculty Consultant, he has provided training for hundreds of teachers at AP® Summer Institutes across the country over the past twenty years. He is the Online Presenting Faculty Instructor of AP® U.S. History for *The Princeton Review's GETAFIVE Online AP® Learning Platform* (2013–present), a coauthor of Bedford's *Survival Guide for AP® U.S. History* (2014), the author of the *Teacher's Manual for Documenting United States History: Themes, Concepts, and Skills for the AP® Course* (2015), and has served as a contributing author on numerous AP® U.S. History textbook ancillary and support materials.

Versions and Supplements

Adopters of *America's History* and their students have access to abundant extra resources, including documents, presentation and testing materials, the acclaimed Bedford Series in History and Culture volumes, and much more. See below for more information, visit the book's catalog site at **highschool.bfwpub.com/henretta9e**, or contact your local Bedford, Freeman, and Worth sales representative.

Assign LaunchPad—the Online, Interactive e-Book in a Course Space Enriched with Integrated Assets

The new standard in digital history, LaunchPad course tools are so intuitive to use that teachers find it's easy to create assignments, track students' work, and access a wealth of relevant learning and teaching resources. It is the ideal learning environment for students to work with the text, maps, documents, video, and assessment. LaunchPad is loaded with the full interactive e-Book and the *Sources for America's History* documents collection—plus LearningCurve, additional primary sources, videos, guided reading exercises designed to help students read actively for key concepts, boxed feature reading quizzes, chapter summative quizzes, and more. LaunchPad can be used as is or customized, and it easily integrates with course management systems. And with fast ways to build assignments, rearrange chapters, and add new pages, sections, or links, it lets teachers build the course materials they need and hold students accountable.

Assign LearningCurve So You Know What Your Students Know and They Come to Class Prepared

Assigning LearningCurve in place of reading quizzes is easy for instructors, and the reporting features help instructors track overall class trends and spot topics that are giving students trouble so they can adjust their lectures and class activities. This online learning tool is popular with students because it was designed to help them rehearse content at their own pace in a nonthreatening, gamelike environment. The feedback for wrong answers provides instructional coaching and sends students back to the book for review. Students answer as many questions as necessary to reach a target score, with repeated chances to revisit material they haven't mastered. When LearningCurve is assigned, students come to class better prepared.

Teacher's Edition for America's History

The Teacher's Edition provides a wealth of guidance and support for AP® teachers. Developed for the AP® U.S. History exam redesign, annotations include teaching tips, AP® Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills practice, pacing guides, exam alerts, and more. The Teacher's Edition helps teachers at all levels build the most successful AP® U.S. History course they can. Nicki Griffin, a dedicated and experienced high school teacher, and Dave Neumann, PhD, a former high school teacher and currently Assistant Professor, History Education, at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, have each used their invaluable classroom experience to create resources that every teacher will find useful in preparing their students for the AP® U.S. History Exam.

Strive for a 5: Preparing for the AP® U.S. History Examination

Revised for the redesigned course, this print guide provides students with narrative and thematic overviews of each historical period, chapter reviews organized around AP® key concepts, and AP®-style practice exams, including source-based multiple-choice and document-based questions as well as short- and long-answer essay questions. The guide is authored by Warren Hierl of the Career Center, Winston-Salem, NC (retired), Louisa Moffitt of Marist School, Atlanta, GA, and Nancy Schick of Los Alamos High School, NM (retired), all experienced AP® teachers, exam readers, and workshop leaders.

Take Advantage of Instructor Resources

Bedford/St. Martin's has developed a rich array of teaching resources for this book and for this course. They range from lecture and presentation materials and assessment tools to course management options. Most can be downloaded or ordered at **highschool.bfwpub.com/henretta9e.**

Computerized Test Bank. The test bank includes a mix of fresh, carefully crafted multiple-choice, short-answer, and essay questions for each chapter. It also contains brand-new source-based multiple-choice questions and partwide essay questions. All questions appear in Microsoft Word format and in easy-to-use test bank software that allows instructors to add, edit, re-sequence, and print questions and answers. Instructors can also export questions into a variety of formats, including Blackboard, Desire2Learn, and Moodle.

Teacher's Survival Guide. Created for teachers, by teachers, this unique set of resources — a test bank and a roundtable — offers APUSH teachers assessment tools, help with redesigning their U.S. history courses, and thoughtful advice from veteran teachers and college professors.

Created by Matthew J. Ellington, James Bokern, Michael A. Smith, and William Polasky III — veteran AP® U.S. history teachers, exam readers, and workshop leaders — the ExamView **U.S. History Test Bank for the New AP® Course** allows teachers to create and edit tests and quizzes for in-class or at-home use. Organized according to the redesigned curriculum framework, the test bank's nine parts include 250 formative multiple-choice questions focused on key concepts, more than 300 stimulus-based multiple-choice questions, numerous short-answer and long-essay questions, and 8 complete DBQs.

The test bank is accompanied by **Teaching U.S. History: A Roundtable Discussion** focused on teaching the new AP® U.S. History course with insights from experienced AP® teachers into the redesign of the U.S. history survey, including teaching with themes, emphasizing historical thinking skills, and balancing breadth and depth in the course.

The Bedford Lecture Kit **Instructor's Resource CD-ROM.** This resource provides ready-made and fully customizable PowerPoint multimedia presentations that include lecture outlines with embedded maps, figures, and selected images from the textbook and extra background for instructors. Also available are maps and selected images in JPEG and PowerPoint formats; content for i>clicker, a classroom response system, in Microsoft Word and PowerPoint formats; the Instructor's Resource Manual in Microsoft Word format; and outline maps in PDF format for quizzing or handing out. All files are suitable for copying onto transparency acetates.

America in Motion: Video Clips for U.S. History. Set history in motion with *America in Motion*, an instructor DVD containing dozens of short digital movie files of events in twentieth-century American history. From the wreckage of the battleship *Maine* to FDR's fireside chats to Oliver North testifying before Congress, *America in Motion* engages students with dynamic scenes from key events and challenges them to think critically. All files are classroom-ready, edited for brevity, and easily integrated with PowerPoint or other presentation software for electronic lectures or assignments. An accompanying guide provides each clip's historical context, ideas for use, and suggested questions.

Videos and Multimedia. A wide assortment of videos and multimedia CD-ROMs on various topics in U.S. history is available to qualified adopters through your Bedford/St. Martin's sales representative.

Package and Give Your Students Even More

Stretch your budget and package your favorite text with more! Many of the following resources can be packaged at minimal additional cost. For information on packages, discounts, and class sets, contact your local Bedford, Freeman, and Worth sales representative.

Sources for America's History. Edited by Kevin B. Sheets of SUNY Cortland, and designed to complement the textbook, *Sources for America's History* provides a broad selection of over 225 primary-source documents as well as editorial apparatus to help students understand the sources. Unique part sets that support Thematic Learning Objectives are closely aligned to the new AP® periodization. Available at a discount when packaged with the print text and included in the LaunchPad e-book. Also available on its own as a downloadable PDF e-book or with the main text's e-Book to Go.

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The Bedford Series in History and Culture. More than 120 titles in this highly praised series combine first-rate scholarship, historical narrative, and important primary documents for undergraduate courses. Each book is brief, inexpensive, and focused on a specific topic or period. For a complete list of titles, visit **bedfordstmartins.com/history/series**.

Rand McNally Atlas of American History. This collection of over eighty full-color maps illustrates key events and eras, from early exploration, settlement,

expansion, and immigration to U.S. involvement in wars abroad and on U.S. soil. Introductory pages for each section include a brief overview, timelines, graphs, and photos to quickly establish a historical context.

Maps in Context: A Workbook for American History. Written by historical cartography expert Gerald A. Danzer (University of Illinois at Chicago), this skill-building workbook helps students comprehend essential connections between geographic literacy and historical understanding. Organized to correspond to the typical U.S. history survey course, *Maps in Context* presents a wealth of map-centered projects and convenient pop quizzes that give students hands-on experience working with maps.

The Bedford Glossary for U.S. History. This handy supplement for the survey course gives students historically contextualized definitions for hundreds of terms — from *abolitionism* to *zoot suit* — that they will encounter in lectures, reading, and exams.

U.S. History Matters: A Student Guide to U.S. History Online. This resource, written by Alan Gevinson, Kelly Shrum, and the late Roy Rosenzweig (all of George Mason University), provides an illustrated and annotated guide to 250 of the most useful Web sites for student research in U.S. history as well as advice on evaluating and using Internet sources. This essential guide is based on the acclaimed "History Matters" Web site developed by the American Social History Project and the Center for History and New Media.

Trade Books. Titles published by sister companies Hill and Wang; Farrar, Straus and Giroux; Henry Holt and Company; St. Martin's Press; Picador; and Palgrave Macmillan are available at a discount when packaged with Bedford/St. Martin's textbooks. For more information, visit **bedfordstmartins.com/tradeup**.

A Pocket Guide to Writing in History. This portable and affordable reference tool by Mary Lynn Rampolla provides reading, writing, and research advice useful to students in all history courses. Concise yet comprehensive advice on approaching typical history assignments, developing critical reading skills, writing effective history papers, conducting research, using and documenting sources, and avoiding plagiarism — enhanced with practical tips and examples throughout — has made this slim reference a best-seller.

A Student's Guide to History. This complete guide to success in any history course provides the practical help students need to be successful. In addition to introducing students to the nature of the discipline, author Jules Benjamin teaches a wide range of skills, from preparing for exams to approaching common writing assignments, and explains the research and documentation process with plentiful examples.

Going to the Source: The Bedford Reader in American History. Developed by Victoria Bissell Brown and Timothy J. Shannon, this reader's strong pedagogical framework helps students learn how to ask fruitful questions in order to evaluate documents effectively and develop critical reading skills. The reader's wide variety of chapter topics that complement the survey course and its rich diversity of sources — from personal letters to political cartoons — provoke students' interest while teaching them the skills they need to successfully interrogate historical sources.

America Firsthand. With its distinctive focus on ordinary people, this primary documents reader, by Anthony Marcus, John M. Giggie, and David Burner, offers a remarkable range of perspectives on America's history from those who lived it. Popular Points of View sections expose students to different perspectives on a specific event or topic, and Visual Portfolios invite analysis of the visual record.

Brief Contents

PART 1 Transformations of North America, 1491–1700 *2*

1 Colliding Worlds, 1491–1600 6

2 American Experiments, 1521–1700 38

PART 2 British North America and the Atlantic World, 1607–1763 *70*

3 The British Atlantic World, 1607–1750 74

4 Growth, Diversity, and Conflict, 1720–1763 106

PART 3 Revolution and Republican Culture, 1754–1800 *136*

5 The Problem of Empire, 1754–1776 140

6 Making War and Republican Governments, 1776–1789 170

7 Hammering Out a Federal Republic, 1787–1820 202

PART 4 Overlapping Revolutions, 1800–1848 *234*

8 Economic Transformations, 1800–1848 238

9 A Democratic Revolution, 1800–1848 272

10 Religion, Reform, and Culture, 1820–1848 302

11 Imperial Ambitions, 1820–1848 332

PART 5 Consolidating a Continental Union, 1844–1877 *362*

12 Sectional Conflict and Crisis, 1844–1861 366

13 Bloody Ground: The Civil War, 1861–1865 398

14 Reconstruction, 1865–1877 432

15 Conquering a Continent, 1860–1890 462

PART 6 Industrializing America: Upheavals and Experiments, 1877–1917 *492*

16 Industrial America: Corporations and Conflicts, 1877–1911 496
17 Making Modern American Culture, 1880–1917 526
18 "Civilization's Inferno": The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities, 1800–1917 558
19 Whose Government? Politics, Populists, and Progressives, 1880–1917 586

PART 7 Domestic and Global Challenges, 1890–1945 *616*

20 An Emerging World Power, 1890–1918 620
21 Unsettled Prosperity: From War to Depression, 1919–1932 650
22 Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal, 1929–1938 678
23 The World at War, 1937–1945 710

PART 8 The Modern State and the Age of Liberalism, 1945–1980 *744*

24 Cold War America, 1945–1963 748
25 Triumph of the Middle Class, 1945–1963 780
26 Walking into Freedom Land: The Civil Rights Movement, 1941–1973 810
27 Uncivil Wars: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth, 1961–1972 844
28 The Search for Order in an Era of Limits, 1973–1980 878

PART 9 Globalization and the End of the American Century, 1980 to the Present *908*

29 Conservative America in the Ascent, 1980–1991 912
30 Confronting Global and National Dilemmas, 1989 to the Present 942

Contents

About the Cover Image *i*
Preface: Why This Book This Way *vii*
Versions and Supplements *xv*
Brief Contents *xviii*
Maps, Figures, and Tables *xxxvi*
Special Features *xl*
How to Get the Most from This Program *xlii*
Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills for AP® U.S. History *xlviii*

PART 1 Transformations of North America, 1491–1700 2

CHAPTER 1
Colliding Worlds, 1491–1600 6

How did the political, economic, and religious systems of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans compare, and how did things change as a result of contacts among them?

The Native American Experience 8
- The First Americans 8
- American Empires 10
- Chiefdoms and Confederacies 11
- Patterns of Trade 16
- Sacred Power 17

Western Europe: The Edge of the Old World 18
- Hierarchy and Authority 19
- Peasant Society 19
- Expanding Trade Networks 20
- Myths, Religions, and Holy Warriors 21

West and Central Africa: Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade 23
- Empires, Kingdoms, and Ministates 23
- Trans-Saharan and Coastal Trade 25
- The Spirit World 28

Exploration and Conquest 28
- Portuguese Expansion 28
- The African Slave Trade 30
- Sixteenth-Century Incursions 31

CHAPTER 1 REVIEW 37

CHAPTER 1 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 37-a

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Altered Landscapes 14

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Connected Were Native American Communities Before 1492? 18

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Colliding Cultures 26

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
A Spanish Priest Criticizes His Fellow Colonists 34

CHAPTER 2
American Experiments, 1521–1700 38

In what ways did European migrants transfer familiar patterns and institutions to their colonies in the Americas, and in what ways did they create new American worlds? How did Native Americans adapt to the growing presence of Europeans among them?

Spain's Tribute Colonies 40
- A New American World 40
- The Columbian Exchange 41
- The Protestant Challenge to Spain 41

Plantation Colonies 44
- Brazil's Sugar Plantations 44
- England's Tobacco Colonies 45
- The Caribbean Islands 47
- Plantation Life 50

Neo-European Colonies 53
- New France 53
- New Netherland 55
- The Rise of the Iroquois 57
- New England 58

Instability, War, and Rebellion 65
- Native American Resistance 65
- Bacon's Rebellion 67

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW 69

CHAPTER 2 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 69-a

PART 1 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS 69-c

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Who Was Pocahontas? 48

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
What Role Did Climate Play in American Colonization? 52

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Plantation Colonies Versus Neo-Europes 54

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Susanna Martin, Accused Witch 62

PART 2 British North America and the Atlantic World, 1607–1763 *70*

CHAPTER 3
The British Atlantic World, 1607–1750 *74*

How did the South Atlantic System create an interconnected Atlantic world, and how did this system impact development in the British colonies?

Colonies to Empire, 1607–1713 *76*
- Self-Governing Colonies and New Elites, 1607–1660 *76*
- The Restoration Colonies and Imperial Expansion *77*
- From Mercantilism to Imperial Dominion *79*
- The Glorious Revolution in England and America *80*

Imperial Wars and Native Peoples *81*
- Tribalization *82*
- Indian Goals *84*

The Imperial Slave Economy *86*
- The South Atlantic System *86*
- Africa, Africans, and the Slave Trade *87*
- Slavery in the Chesapeake and South Carolina *91*
- An African American Community Emerges *93*
- The Rise of the Southern Gentry *97*

The Northern Maritime Economy *99*
- The Urban Economy *99*
- Urban Society *100*

The New Politics of Empire, 1713–1750 *101*
- The Rise of Colonial Assemblies *101*
- Salutary Neglect *102*
- Protecting the Mercantile System *102*
- Mercantilism and the American Colonies *103*

CHAPTER 3 REVIEW *105*

CHAPTER 3 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *105-a*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Native Americans and European Empires *84*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Olaudah Equiano: The Brutal "Middle Passage" *90*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Why Did Americans Adopt Slavery? *92*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Servitude and Slavery *94*

CHAPTER 4
Growth, Diversity, and Conflict, 1720–1763 *106*

In what ways were Britain's American colonies affected by events across the Atlantic, and how were their societies taking on a life of their own?

...Collet, John (c. 1725–1780)/Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

New England's Freehold Society *108*
- Farm Families: Women in the Household Economy *108*
- Farm Property: Inheritance *109*
- Freehold Society in Crisis *112*

Diversity in the Middle Colonies *113*
- Economic Growth, Opportunity, and Conflict *113*
- Cultural Diversity *115*
- Religion and Politics *117*

Commerce, Culture, and Identity *118*
- Transportation and the Print Revolution *119*
- The Enlightenment in America *119*
- American Pietism and the Great Awakening *121*
- Religious Upheaval in the North *124*
- Social and Religious Conflict in the South *126*

The Midcentury Challenge: War, Trade, and Social Conflict, 1750–1763 *127*
- The French and Indian War *127*
- The Great War for Empire *130*
- British Industrial Growth and the Consumer Revolution *131*
- The Struggle for Land in the East *132*
- Western Rebels and Regulators *133*

CHAPTER 4 REVIEW *135*

CHAPTER 4 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *135-a*

PART 2 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS *135-c*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Women's Labor *110*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Transatlantic Migration, 1500–1760 *114*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Did Diversity Lead to Toleration? *118*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Evangelical Religion and Enlightenment Rationalism *122*

PART 3 Revolution and Republican Culture, 1754–1800 136

CHAPTER 5
The Problem of Empire, 1754–1776 140

Was colonial independence inevitable, and was war the only way to achieve it?

The New York Public Library, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/...

An Empire Transformed 142
- The Costs of Empire 142
- George Grenville and the Reform Impulse 145
- An Open Challenge: The Stamp Act 146

The Dynamics of Rebellion, 1765–1770 147
- Formal Protests and the Politics of the Crowd 148
- The Ideological Roots of Resistance 149
- Another Kind of Freedom 149
- Parliament and Patriots Square Off Again 150
- The Problem of the West 152
- Parliament Wavers 153

The Road to Independence, 1771–1776 158
- A Compromise Repudiated 158
- The Continental Congress Responds 159
- The Rising of the Countryside 162
- Loyalists and Neutrals 162

Violence East and West 164
- Lord Dunmore's War 164
- Armed Resistance in Massachusetts 165
- The Second Continental Congress Organizes for War 165
- Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* 167
- Independence Declared 167

CHAPTER 5 REVIEW 169

CHAPTER 5 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 169-a

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Britain's Atlantic and Asian Empires 144

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Beyond the Proclamation Line 154

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Did British Administrators Try to Protect or Exploit Native Americans? 156

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The Debate over Representation and Sovereignty 160

CHAPTER 6
Making War and Republican Governments, 1776–1789 170

How revolutionary was the American Revolution? What political, social, and economic changes did it produce, and what stayed the same?

American Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

The Trials of War, 1776–1778 172
- War in the North 172
- Armies and Strategies 173
- Victory at Saratoga 173
- The Perils of War 175
- Financial Crisis 176
- Valley Forge 176

The Path to Victory, 1778–1783 177
- The French Alliance 177
- War in the South 178
- The Patriot Advantage 182
- Diplomatic Triumph 183

Creating Republican Institutions, 1776–1787 184
- The State Constitutions: How Much Democracy? 184
- Women Seek a Public Voice 186
- The War's Losers: Loyalists, Native Americans, and Slaves 186
- The Articles of Confederation 187
- Shays's Rebellion 189

The Constitution of 1787 191
- The Rise of a Nationalist Faction 192
- The Philadelphia Convention 192
- The People Debate Ratification 195

CHAPTER 6 REVIEW 200

CHAPTER 6 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 201

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The Black Soldier's Dilemma 180

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
China's Growing Empire 184

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was the Constitution Necessary? 193

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The First National Debate over Slavery 196

CHAPTER 7

Hammering Out a Federal Republic, 1787–1820 *202*

What was required to make the United States a viable independent republic, and how did debates over the Constitution shape relations between the national government and the states?

The Political Crisis of the 1790s *204*
- The Federalists Implement the Constitution *204*
- Hamilton's Financial Program *205*
- Jefferson's Agrarian Vision *208*
- The French Revolution Divides Americans *208*
- The Rise of Political Parties *212*

A Republican Empire Is Born *215*
- Sham Treaties and Indian Lands *215*
- Migration and the Changing Farm Economy *217*
- The Jefferson Presidency *218*
- Jefferson and the West *220*

The War of 1812 and the Transformation of Politics *222*
- Conflict in the Atlantic and the West *223*
- The War of 1812 *224*
- The Federalist Legacy *229*

CHAPTER 7 REVIEW *232*

CHAPTER 7 AP PRACTICE QUESTIONS *233-a*

PART 3 AP PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS *233-c*

AP INTERPRETING THE PAST
Did Hamilton's Economic System Endanger the Legacy of the Revolution? *206*

AP THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The Social Life of Alcohol *210*

AP AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The Haitian Revolution and the Problem of Race *213*

AP ANALYZING VOICES
Factional Politics and the War of 1812 *226*

PART 4 Overlapping Revolutions, 1800–1848 234

CHAPTER 8
Economic Transformations, 1800–1848 238

Bettmann/Getty Images

How did the economic transformations of the first half of the nineteenth century reshape northern and southern society and culture?

Foundations of a New Economic Order 240
- Credit and Banking 240
- Transportation and the Market Revolution 242

The Cotton Complex: Northern Industry and Southern Agriculture 248
- The American Industrial Revolution 248
- Origins of the Cotton South 250
- The Cotton Boom and Slavery 253

Technological Innovation and Labor 258
- The Spread of Innovation 260
- Wageworkers and the Labor Movement 261
- The Growth of Cities and Towns 262

New Social Classes and Cultures 265
- Planters, Yeomen, and Slaves 266
- The Northern Business Elite 267
- The Middle Class 268
- Urban Workers and the Poor 269

CHAPTER 8 REVIEW 270

CHAPTER 8 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 271

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The Entrepreneur and the Community 242

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The Fate of the American and Indian Textile Industries 251

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The Debate over Free and Slave Labor 258

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Did the Market Revolution Expand Opportunities for Women? 263

CHAPTER 9
A Democratic Revolution, 1800–1848 272

What were the main features of the Democratic Revolution, and what role did Andrew Jackson play in its outcome?

The Rise of Popular Politics 274
- The Decline of the Notables and the Rise of Parties 274
- Racial Exclusion and Republican Motherhood 277
- The Missouri Crisis, 1819–1821 280
- The Election of 1824 281
- The Last Notable President: John Quincy Adams 282
- "The Democracy" and the Election of 1828 284

Jackson in Power, 1829–1837 285
- Jackson's Agenda: Rotation and Decentralization 285
- The Tariff and Nullification 285
- The Bank War 286
- Indian Removal 288
- Jackson's Impact 292

Class, Culture, and the Second Party System 293
- The Whig Worldview 294
- Labor Politics and the Depression of 1837–1843 295
- "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too!" 299

CHAPTER 9 REVIEW 301

CHAPTER 9 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 301-a

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Alexis de Tocqueville: Letter to Louis de Kergorlay, June 29, 1831 276

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The Character and Goals of Andrew Jackson 288

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was Indian Removal Humanitarian or Racist? 290

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Becoming Literate: Public Education and Democracy 296

CHAPTER 10
Religion, Reform, and Culture, 1820–1848 *302*

Library of Congress

What changes and conflicts emerged as Americans developed a national culture?

Spiritual Awakenings *304*
- The Second Great Awakening *304*
- Ralph Waldo Emerson and Transcendentalism *309*
- Utopian Experiments *312*

Urban Cultures and Conflicts *315*
- Sex in the City *315*
- Popular Fiction and the Penny Press *316*
- Urban Entertainments *317*

African Americans and the Struggle for Freedom *320*
- Free Black Communities, North and South *320*
- The Rise of Abolitionism *321*

The Women's Rights Movement *325*
- Origins of the Women's Rights Movement *325*
- From Antislavery to Women's Rights *327*

CHAPTER 10 REVIEW *330*

CHAPTER 10 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *331-a*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
What Motivated Antebellum Reformers? *307*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Saving the Nation from Drink *308*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Dance and Social Identity in Antebellum America *318*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Women's Rights in France and the United States, 1848 *328*

CHAPTER 11
Imperial Ambitions, 1820–1848 *332*

How did the ideology of Manifest Destiny shape U.S. government policies and the experiences of ordinary people?

The Expanding South *335*
- Planters, Small Freeholders, and Poor Freemen *335*
- The Settlement of Texas *338*
- The Politics of Democracy *339*

The African American World *341*
- Evangelical Black Protestantism *341*
- Forging Families and Communities *343*
- Negotiating Rights *346*

Manifest Destiny, North and South *348*
- The Push to the Pacific *348*
- The Plains Indians *352*
- The Fateful Election of 1844 *355*

The U.S.-Mexico War, 1846–1848 *356*
- The "War of a Thousand Deserts" *357*
- Polk's Expansionist Program *358*
- American Military Successes *359*

CHAPTER 11 REVIEW *361*

CHAPTER 11 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *361-a*

PART 4 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS *361-c*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Childhood in Black and White *344*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
What Explains American Enthusiasm for Manifest Destiny? *349*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The U.S.-Mexico War: Expansion and Slavery *356*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Financing War *359*

CHAPTER 12

Sectional Conflict and Crisis, 1844–1861 366

What caused the political turmoil that led to the rise of the Republican Party, Democratic division, and southern secession?

A Divisive War, 1844–1850 368
- "Free Soil" in Politics 368
- California Gold and Racial Warfare 370
- 1850: Crisis and Compromise 374

The End of the Second Party System, 1850–1858 376
- The Abolitionist Movement Grows 377
- The Whig Party's Demise 378
- Immigrants and Know-Nothings 379
- The West and the Fate of the Union 384

Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Triumph, 1858–1860 387
- Lincoln's Political Career 388
- The Union Under Siege 389
- The Election of 1860 389

Secession Winter, 1860–1861 391

CHAPTER 12 REVIEW 397

CHAPTER 12 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 397-a

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Did Slavery Have a Future in the West? 371

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The Gold Rush: California and Australia 372

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The Irish in America 382

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
To Secede or Not to Secede? 394

CHAPTER 13

Bloody Ground: The Civil War, 1861–1865 398

How and why did the Union win the Civil War?

War Begins, 1861–1862 400
- Early Expectations 400
- Campaigns East and West 401
- Antietam and Its Consequences 405

Toward "Hard War," 1863 408
- Politics North and South 408
- The Impact of Emancipation 412
- Citizens and the Work of War 414
- Vicksburg and Gettysburg 418

The Road to Union Victory, 1864–1865 422
- Grant and Sherman Take Command 422
- The Election of 1864 and Sherman's March 423
- The Confederacy Collapses 426
- The World the War Made 427

CHAPTER 13 REVIEW 430

CHAPTER 13 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 431

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Divided Was the Confederate Public? 411

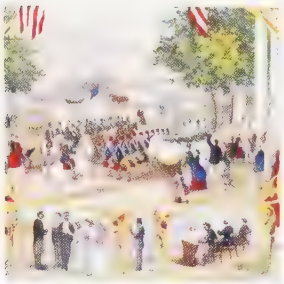
AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Military Deaths — and Lives Saved — During the Civil War 416

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
These Honored Dead 420

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
War Debt: Britain and the United States, 1830–1900 429

CHAPTER 14

Reconstruction, 1865–1877 *432*



What goals did Republican policymakers, ex-Confederates, and freedpeople pursue during Reconstruction? To what degree did each succeed?

The Struggle for National Reconstruction *434*
- Presidential Approaches: From Lincoln to Johnson *434*
- Congress Versus the President *435*
- Radical Reconstruction *437*
- Women's Rights Denied *439*

The Meaning of Freedom *441*
- The Quest for Land *441*
- Republican Governments in the South *445*
- Building Black Communities *449*

The Undoing of Reconstruction *450*
- The Republicans Unravel *450*
- Counterrevolution in the South *452*
- Reconstruction Rolled Back *453*
- The Political Crisis of 1877 *456*
- Lasting Legacies *457*

CHAPTER 14 REVIEW *460*

CHAPTER 14 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *461-a*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Labor Laws After Emancipation: Haiti and the United States *436*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Free Were Freedwomen in Reconstruction? *443*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The Impact of Terror *454*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The South's "Lost Cause" *458*

CHAPTER 15

Conquering a Continent, 1860–1890 *462*

How did U.S. policymakers seek to stimulate the economy and integrate the trans-Mississippi west into the nation, and how did this affect people living there?

The Republican Vision *464*
- The New Union and the World *464*
- Integrating the National Economy *465*

Incorporating the West *469*
- Mining Empires *470*
- Cattlemen on the Plains *471*
- Homesteaders *472*
- The First National Park *477*

A Harvest of Blood: Native Peoples Dispossessed *478*
- The Civil War and Indians on the Plains *478*
- Grant's Peace Policy *481*
- The End of Armed Resistance *486*
- Strategies of Survival *487*
- Western Myths and Realities *488*

CHAPTER 15 REVIEW *490*

CHAPTER 15 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *491-a*

PART 5 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS *491-c*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The Santa Fe Railroad in Mexico and the United States *468*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Women's Rights in the West *474*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
What Factors Motivated America's Indian Policies? *482*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Representing Indians *484*

PART 6 Industrializing America: Upheavals and Experiments, 1877–1917 492

CHAPTER 16
Industrial America: Corporations and Conflicts, 1877–1911 496

Library of Congress

What new opportunities and risks did industrialization bring, and how did it reshape American society?

The Rise of Big Business 498
- Innovators in Enterprise 498
- The Corporate Workplace 503
- On the Shop Floor 504

Immigrants, East and West 509
- Newcomers from Europe 510
- Asian Americans and Exclusion 514

Labor Gets Organized 516
- The Emergence of a Labor Movement 517
- The Knights of Labor 519
- Farmers and Workers: The Cooperative Alliance 520
- Another Path: The American Federation of Labor 522

CHAPTER 16 REVIEW 524

CHAPTER 16 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 525

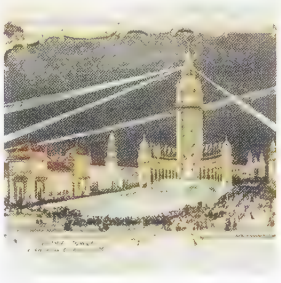
AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Modern Were Late-Nineteenth-Century Corporations? 502

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Poverty and Food 506

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Emigrants and Destinations, 1881–1915 511

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Jewish Immigrants in the Industrial Economy 512

CHAPTER 17
Making Modern American Culture, 1880–1917 526



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How did the changes wrought by industrialization shape Americans' identities, beliefs, and culture?

Science and Faith 528
- Darwinism and Its Critics 528
- Religion: Diversity and Innovation 530
- Realism in the Arts 535

Commerce and Culture 536
- Consumer Spaces 537
- Masculinity and the Rise of Sports 539
- The Great Outdoors 544

Women, Men, and the Solitude of Self 546
- Changing Families 546
- Education 547
- Toward Women's Emancipation 550

CHAPTER 17 REVIEW 556

CHAPTER 17 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 557

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
William Graham Sumner and W. E. B. Du Bois on Heredity and Success 530

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Christianity in the United States and Japan 534

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was Professional Baseball a Pastime or a Business Monopoly — or Both? 542

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
WCTU Women "Do Everything" 552

CHAPTER 18

"Civilization's Inferno": The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities, 1880–1917 *558*

How did the rise of big cities shape American society and politics?

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, National Gallery of Art. Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

The New Metropolis *560*
- The Shape of the Industrial City *560*
- Newcomers and Neighborhoods *563*
- City Cultures *566*

Governing the Great City *572*
- Urban Machines *572*
- The Limits of Machine Government *574*

Crucibles of Progressive Reform *575*
- Fighting Dirt and Vice *575*
- The Movement for Social Settlements *578*
- Cities and National Politics *580*

CHAPTER 18 REVIEW *584*

CHAPTER 18 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *585-a*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The World's Biggest Cities, 1800–2000 *562*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Making Mass Media: Newspaper Empires *570*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Did Urban Progressive Reformers Approach Environmentalism? *577*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
"These Dead Bodies Were the Answer": The Triangle Fire *582*

CHAPTER 19

Whose Government? Politics, Populists, and Progressives, 1880–1917 *586*

How and why did Progressive Era reformers seek to address the problems of industrial America, and to what extent did they succeed?

Library of Congress

Reform Visions, 1880–1892 *588*
- Electoral Politics After Reconstruction *588*
- The Populist Program *593*

The Political Earthquakes of the 1890s *595*
- Depression and Reaction *598*
- Democrats and the "Solid South" *599*
- New National Realities *600*

Reform Reshaped, 1901–1912 *603*
- Theodore Roosevelt as President *603*
- Diverse Progressive Goals *605*
- The Election of 1912 *608*

Wilson and the New Freedom, 1913–1917 *610*
- Economic Reforms *610*
- Progressive Legacies *612*

CHAPTER 19 REVIEW *614*

CHAPTER 19 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *615-a*

PART 6 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS *615-c*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Making Modern Presidents *590*

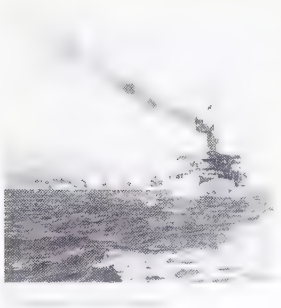
AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Were the "Gilded Age" and "Progressive Era" Separate Periods? *592*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The Omaha Platform, 1892 *596*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Economic Output and Government Social Spending, 1913 *613*

PART 7 Domestic and Global Challenges, 1890–1945 616

CHAPTER 20
An Emerging World Power, 1890–1918 620



As the United States became a major power on the world stage, what ideas and interests did policymakers promote in international affairs?

From Expansion to Imperialism 622
- Foundations of Empire 622
- The War of 1898 623
- Spoils of War 625

A Power Among Powers 627
- The Open Door in Asia 627
- The United States and Latin America 630

The United States in World War I 632
- From Neutrality to War 632
- "Over There" 634
- War on the Home Front 636

Catastrophe at Versailles 643
- The Fate of Wilson's Ideas 644
- Congress Rejects the Treaty 645

CHAPTER 20 REVIEW 648

CHAPTER 20 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 649

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Debating the Philippines 628

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The Human Cost of World War I 637

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
German Americans in World War I 640

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was Wilson's Internationalism Successful? 644

CHAPTER 21
Unsettled Prosperity: From War to Depression, 1919–1932 650

What conflicts in culture and politics arose in the 1920s, and how did economic developments in that decade help cause the Great Depression?

Resurgent Conservatism 652
- The Red Scare 652
- Racial Backlash 653
- The Business of America 654
- Politics of Normalcy 656

Making a Modern Consumer Economy 657
- Postwar Abundance 657
- Consumer Culture 658
- The Automobile and Suburbanization 659

The Politics and Culture of a Diversifying Nation 661
- Women in a New Age 661
- Culture Wars 663
- The Harlem Renaissance 669

The Coming of the Great Depression 674
- From Boom to Bust 674
- Early Depression Years 674

CHAPTER 21 REVIEW 677

CHAPTER 21 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 677-a

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Hollywood in Europe 659

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Did Immigrants Experience America at the Turn of the Century? 662

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Urban Writers Describe Small-Town America 664

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Who Joined the Ku Klux Klan? 670

CHAPTER 22

Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal, 1929–1938 *678*

ILLINOIS
NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION
GIRLS – ARE YOU INTERESTED IN A JOB?
FIND OUT WHAT AN OCCUPATION HAS TO OFFER YOU IN
Library of Congress

What new roles did the American government take on during the New Deal, and how did these roles shape the economy and society?

Early Responses to the Depression, 1929–1932 *680*
- Enter Herbert Hoover *680*
- Rising Discontent *682*
- The 1932 Election *683*

The New Deal Arrives, 1933–1935 *683*
- Roosevelt and the First Hundred Days *684*
- The New Deal Under Attack *689*

The Second New Deal and the Redefining of Liberalism, 1935–1938 *691*
- The Welfare State Comes into Being *691*
- From Reform to Stalemate *692*

The New Deal and American Society *696*
- A People's Democracy *696*
- Reshaping the Environment *704*
- The New Deal and the Arts *706*
- The Legacies of the New Deal *706*

CHAPTER 22 REVIEW *708*

CHAPTER 22 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *709*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Ordinary People Respond to the New Deal *684*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was the New Deal a Reform or a Revolution? *694*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Economic Nationalism in the United States and Mexico *695*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The New Deal and Public Works *698*

CHAPTER 23

The World at War, 1937–1945 *710*

Afro American Newspapers/Gado/Getty Images

How did World War II transform the United States domestically and change its relationship with the world?

The Road to War *712*
- The Rise of Fascism *712*
- War Approaches *713*
- The Attack on Pearl Harbor *716*

Organizing for a Global War *717*
- Financing the War *717*
- Mobilizing the American Fighting Force *718*
- Workers and the War Effort *721*
- Politics in Wartime *725*

Life on the Home Front *726*
- "For the Duration" *726*
- Migration and the Wartime City *727*
- Japanese Removal *730*

Fighting and Winning the War *732*
- Wartime Aims and Tensions *732*
- The War in Europe *733*
- The War in the Pacific *736*
- The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War *737*
- The Toll of the War *741*

CHAPTER 23 REVIEW *742*

CHAPTER 23 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *743*

PART 7 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS *743-b*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The Scales of War: Losses and Gains During World War II *719*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Women in the Wartime Workplace *722*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Mobilizing the Home Front *728*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Why Did the United States Drop the Atomic Bomb on Japan? *739*

PART 8 The Modern State and the Age of Liberalism, 1945–1980 *744*

CHAPTER 24
Cold War America, 1945–1963 *748*

In the first two decades of the Cold War, how did competition on the international stage and a climate of fear at home affect politics, society, and culture in the United States?

Containment in a Divided Global Order *750*
- Origins of the Cold War *750*
- The Containment Strategy *754*
- Containment in Asia *759*

Cold War Liberalism *763*
- Truman and the End of Reform *763*
- Red Scare: The Hunt for Communists *765*
- The Politics of Cold War Liberalism *767*

Containment in the Postcolonial World *771*
- The Cold War and Colonial Independence *771*
- John F. Kennedy and the Cold War *774*
- Making a Commitment in Vietnam *777*

CHAPTER 24 REVIEW *778*

CHAPTER 24 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *779*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Why Was There a Cold War? 751

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The Global Cold War *756*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Arming for the Cold War *759*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Hunting Communists: The Case of Paul Robeson *768*

CHAPTER 25
Triumph of the Middle Class, 1945–1963 *780*

Why did consumer culture become such a fixture of American life in the postwar decades, and how did it affect politics and society?

Postwar Prosperity and the Affluent Society *782*
- Economy: From Recovery to Dominance *782*
- A Nation of Consumers *785*
- Youth Culture *789*
- Religion and the Middle Class *792*

The American Family in the Era of Containment *792*
- The Baby Boom *793*
- Women, Work, and Family *794*
- Challenging Middle-Class Morality *795*

A Suburban Nation *799*
- The Postwar Housing Boom *799*
- Rise of the Sunbelt *803*
- Two Societies: Urban and Suburban *804*

CHAPTER 25 REVIEW *808*

CHAPTER 25 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *809*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was Rock 'n' Roll an Agent of Social Change? *791*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Coming of Age in the Postwar Years *796*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The Suburban Landscape of Cold War America *800*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Hanoch Bartov: Everyone Has a Car *802*

CHAPTER 26

Walking into Freedom Land: The Civil Rights Movement, 1941–1973 *810*

How did the civil rights movement evolve over time, and how did competing ideas and political alliances affect its growth and that of other social movements?

The Emerging Civil Rights Struggle, 1941–1957 *812*
- Life Under Jim Crow *812*
- Origins of the Civil Rights Movement *813*
- World War II: The Beginnings *814*
- Cold War Civil Rights *815*
- Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans *817*
- Fighting for Equality Before the Law *819*

Forging a Protest Movement, 1955–1965 *823*
- Nonviolent Direct Action *823*
- Legislating Civil Rights, 1963–1965 *825*

Beyond Civil Rights, 1966–1973 *834*
- Black Nationalism *835*
- Urban Disorder *838*
- Rise of the Chicano Movement *839*
- The American Indian Movement *840*

CHAPTER 26 REVIEW *842*

CHAPTER 26 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *843*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Freedom in the United States and Africa *818*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Race and Geography in the Civil Rights Era *826*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was Martin Luther King Jr. a Radical or a Reformer? *828*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Civil Rights and Black Power: Strategy and Ideology *832*

CHAPTER 27

Uncivil Wars: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth, 1961–1972 *844*

What were liberalism's social and political achievements in the 1960s, and how did debates over liberal values contribute to conflict at home and reflect war abroad?

Liberalism at High Tide *846*
- John F. Kennedy's Promise *846*
- Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society *847*
- Rebirth of the Women's Movement *850*

The Vietnam War Begins *853*
- Escalation Under Johnson *853*
- Public Opinion and the War *855*
- The Student Movement *855*

Days of Rage, 1968–1972 *862*
- War Abroad, Tragedy at Home *862*
- The Antiwar Movement and the 1968 Election *864*
- The Nationalist Turn *866*
- Women's Liberation and Black and Chicana Feminism *867*
- Stonewall and Gay Liberation *868*

Rise of the Silent Majority *869*
- Nixon in Vietnam *870*
- The Silent Majority Speaks Out *872*
- The 1972 Election *874*

CHAPTER 27 REVIEW *876*

CHAPTER 27 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *877*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
What Are the Origins of 1960s Feminism? *851*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
The Toll of War *856*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Debating the War in Vietnam *858*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
The Global Protests of 1968 *863*

PART 8 (continued)

CHAPTER 28

The Search for Order in an Era of Limits, 1973–1980 *878*

How did the legacy of social changes in the 1960s — such as civil rights, shifting gender roles, and challenges to the family — continue to reverberate in the 1970s leading to both new opportunities and political clashes?

An Era of Limits *880*
- Energy Crisis *880*
- Environmentalism *881*
- Economic Transformation *884*
- Urban Crisis and Suburban Revolt *887*

Politics in Flux, 1973–1980 *890*
- Watergate and the Fall of a President *890*
- Jimmy Carter: The Outsider as President *892*

Reform and Reaction in the 1970s *893*
- Civil Rights in a New Era *894*
- The Women's Movement and Gay Rights *895*
- After the Warren Court *900*

The American Family on Trial *900*
- Working Families in the Age of Deindustrialization *901*
- Navigating the Sexual Revolution *902*
- Religion in the 1970s: The New Evangelicalism *904*

CHAPTER 28 REVIEW *906*

CHAPTER 28 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *907-a*

PART 8 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS *907-c*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
The Environmental Movement: Reimagining the Human-Earth Relationship *882*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
Why Did the Postwar Boom Bust in the 1970s? *886*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Economic Malaise in the Seventies *889*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Debating the Equal Rights Amendment *898*

PART 9 Globalization and the End

CHAPTER 29

Conservative America in the Ascent, 1980–1991 *912*

What factors made the rise of the New Right possible and what ideas about freedom and citizenship did its adherents advance after the 1980s?

The Rise of the New Right *914*
- Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan: Champions of the Right *914*
- Free-Market Economics and Religious Conservatism *916*
- The Carter Presidency *917*

The Dawning of the Conservative Age *921*
- The Reagan Coalition *922*
- Conservatives in Power *923*
- Morning in America *927*

The End of the Cold War *930*
- U.S.-Soviet Relations in a New Era *930*
- A New Political Order at Home and Abroad *934*

CHAPTER 29 REVIEW *941*

CHAPTER 29 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS *941-a*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Christianity and Public Life *918*

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Yoichi Funabashi: "Japan and America: Global Partners" *929*

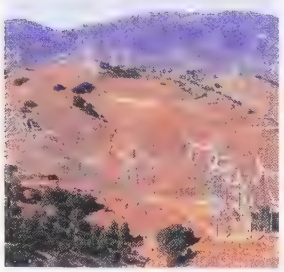
AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Personal Computing: A Technological Revolution *932*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Conservative Was the Reagan Presidency? *938*

of the American Century, 1980 to the Present 908

CHAPTER 30

Confronting Global and National Dilemmas, 1989 to the Present 942



How has the post–Cold War era of globalization affected American politics, economics, and society?

Raphael GAILLARDE/Gamma-Rapho via Getty Images

America in the Global Economy 944
- The Rise of the European Union and China 945
- A New Era of Globalization 948
- Revolutions in Technology 950

Politics and Partisanship in a Contentious Era 952
- An Increasingly Plural Society 952
- Clashes over "Family Values" 957
- Bill Clinton and the New Democrats 959
- Post–Cold War Foreign Policy 961

Into a New Century 963
- The Ascendance of George W. Bush 963
- Violence Abroad and Economic Collapse at Home 967
- Reform and Stalemate in the Obama Years 968

CHAPTER 30 REVIEW 974

CHAPTER 30 AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS 975

PART 9 AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS 975-c

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Globalization: Its Proponents and Its Discontents 946

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD
Global Trade, 1960–2009 949

AP® ANALYZING VOICES
Immigration After 1965: Its Defenders and Critics 954

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST
How Should Historians Write the History of Current Events? 969

AP® UNITED STATES HISTORY PRACTICE EXAM 977

THE FOUNDING DOCUMENTS

The Declaration of Independence D-1

The Constitution of the United States of America D-3

Amendments to the Constitution (Including the Six Unratified Amendments) D-9

Appendix A-1

Glossary G-1

Index I-1

Maps, Figures, and Tables

CHAPTER 1

Map 1.1 The Ice Age and the Settling of the Americas *9*
Map 1.2 Native American Peoples, 1492 *10*
Map 1.3 West Africa and the Mediterranean in the Fifteenth Century *24*
Map 1.4 The Eurasian Trade System and European Maritime Ventures, c. 1500 *30*
Map 1.5 The Spanish Conquest of America's Great Empires *32*

CHAPTER 2

Map 2.1 The Columbian Exchange *42*
Map 2.2 The Plantation Colonies *44*
Map 2.3 Eastern North America, 1650 *47*
Map 2.4 River Plantations in Virginia, c. 1640 *51*
Map 2.5 The Eurasian Trade System and European Spheres of Influence, 1650 *56*
Map 2.6 Settlement Patterns in New England Towns, 1630–1700 *64*

CHAPTER 3

Map 3.1 The Dominion of New England, 1686–1689 *80*
Map 3.2 Britain's American Empire, 1713 *83*
Map 3.3 Africa and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1700–1810 *88*
Map 3.4 The Growing Power of American Merchants, 1750 *100*
Figure 3.1 The Transit of Africans to the Americas *86*
Table 3.1 English Colonies Established in North America, 1660–1750 *78*

CHAPTER 4

Map 4.1 Ethnic and Racial Diversity in the British Colonies, 1775 *116*
Map 4.2 European Spheres of Influence in North America, 1754 *128*
Map 4.3 The Anglo-American Conquest of New France *131*
Map 4.4 Westward Expansion and Land Conflicts, 1750–1775 *133*
Figure 4.1 Transatlantic Migration *114*
Figure 4.2 Estimated European Migration to the British Mainland Colonies, 1700–1780 *115*
Figure 4.3 Church Growth by Denomination, 1700–1780 *125*
Figure 4.4 Mainland Population and British Imports *132*

CHAPTER 5

Map 5.1 Eurasian Trade and European Colonies, c. 1770 *143*
Map 5.2 Britain's American Empire in 1763 *146*
Map 5.3 British Troop Deployments, 1763 and 1775 *152*
Map 5.4 British Western Policy, 1763–1774 *159*
Map 5.5 The Ohio Country, 1774–1775 *164*
Figure 5.1 The Cost of Empire, 1690–1790 *145*
Figure 5.2 Trade as a Political Weapon, 1763–1776 *153*
Table 5.1 English/British Imports and Exports (annual averages in pounds sterling) *144*
Table 5.2 Patriot Resistance, 1762–1776 *163*

CHAPTER 6

Map 6.1 Patriot and Loyalist Strongholds *173*
Map 6.2 The War in the North, 1776–1777 *174*
Map 6.3 Native Americans and the War in the West, 1778–1779 *178*
Map 6.4 The War in the South, 1778–1781 *182*
Map 6.5 The Confederation and Western Land Claims, 1781–1802 *188*
Map 6.6 Land Division in the Northwest Territory *190*
Map 6.7 Ratifying the Constitution of 1787 *199*
Figure 6.1 Middling Men Enter the Halls of Government, 1765–1790 *185*

CHAPTER 7

Map 7.1 The Presidential Elections of 1796 and 1800 *214*
Map 7.2 Indian Cessions and State Formation, 1776–1840 *216*
Map 7.3 U.S. Population Density in 1803 and the Louisiana Purchase *222*
Map 7.4 The War of 1812 *225*
Map 7.5 Defining the National Boundaries, 1800–1820 *231*
Figure 7.1 Hamilton's Fiscal Structure, 1792 *207*
Table 7.1 Major Decisions of the Marshall Court *229*

CHAPTER 8

Map 8.1 The Transportation Revolution: Roads and Canals, 1820–1850 *246*
Map 8.2 Western Land Sales, 1830–1839 and 1850–1862 *247*
Map 8.3 New England's Dominance in Cotton Spinning, 1840 *249*
Map 8.4 The Status of Slavery, 1800 *252*

Map 8.5 Distribution of the Slave Population in 1790 and 1830 *254*
Map 8.6 The Nation's Major Cities, 1840 *264*
Figure 8.1 Forced Slave Migration to the Lower South, 1790–1860 *255*
Table 8.1 Cotton Textile Production and Consumption in India *251*
Table 8.2 Textile Production in the United States *251*

CHAPTER 9

Map 9.1 The Expansion of Voting Rights for White Men, 1800 and 1830 *275*
Map 9.2 The Missouri Compromise, 1820–1821 *281*
Map 9.3 The Presidential Election of 1824 *282*
Map 9.4 The Presidential Election of 1828 *284*
Map 9.5 The Removal of Native Americans, 1820–1846 *291*
Figure 9.1 The Rise of Voter Turnout, 1824–1844 *283*

CHAPTER 10

Map 10.1 Major Communal Experiments Before 1860 *312*
Map 10.2 The Mormon Trek, 1830–1848 *315*

CHAPTER 11

Map 11.1 Nonnative Claims to North America, 1821 *334*
Map 11.2 Distribution of the Slave Population in 1860 *336*
Map 11.3 American Settlements, Texas War of Independence, and Boundary Disputes *339*
Map 11.4 Territorial Conflict in Oregon, 1819–1846 *350*
Map 11.5 The Great Plains: Settler Trails, Indian Raiders, and Traders *351*
Map 11.6 The U.S.-Mexico War, 1846–1848 *358*

CHAPTER 12

Map 12.1 The Mexican Cession, 1848 *369*
Map 12.2 The Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 *376*
Map 12.3 Political Realignment, 1848 and 1860 *391*
Map 12.4 The Process of Secession, 1860–1861 *393*
Figure 12.1 The Surge in Immigration, 1845–1855 *381*
Table 12.1 Nonnative Population Increases from Gold Rush in United States and Australia *372*

CHAPTER 13

Map 13.1 The Eastern Campaigns of 1862 *403*
Map 13.2 The Western Campaigns, 1861–1862 *404*
Map 13.3 Lee Invades the North, 1863 *419*
Map 13.4 The Closing Virginia Campaign, 1864–1865 *423*
Map 13.5 Sherman's March Through the Confederacy, 1864–1865 *426*
Figure 13.1 War Debt: Britain and the United States, 1830–1900 *429*
Table 13.1 The Challenge of Passing the Thirteenth Amendment *425*

CHAPTER 14

Map 14.1 Reconstruction *437*
Map 14.2 The Barrow Plantation, 1860 and 1881 *444*
Table 14.1 Primary Reconstruction Laws and Constitutional Amendments *438*

CHAPTER 15

Map 15.1 Expansion of the Railroad System, 1850–1890 *466*
Map 15.2 The Santa Fe Railroad System, 1885 *468*
Map 15.3 Mining Frontiers, 1848–1890 *470*
Map 15.4 Indian Country in the West, to 1890 *479*
Map 15.5 The Sioux Reservations in South Dakota, 1868–1889 *488*

CHAPTER 16

Map 16.1 The New South, 1900 *508*
Map 16.2 Sources of European Immigration to the United States, 1871–1910 *510*
Figure 16.1 Business Activity and Wholesale Prices, 1869–1900 *499*
Figure 16.2 Major Destinations for Emigrants, 1881–1915 *511*

CHAPTER 17

Map 17.1 National Parks and Forests, 1872–1980 *545*
Map 17.2 Women's Suffrage, 1890–1919 *554*
Figure 17.1 Estimated Number of Residential Telephones in Three California Locations, 1900–1940 *538*

CHAPTER 18

Map 18.1 The Lower East Side, New York City, 1900 *564*
Figure 18.1 Floor Plan of a Dumbbell Tenement *566*
Table 18.1 The World's Biggest Cities, 1800–2000 *562*

CHAPTER 19

Map 19.1 The Presidential Elections of 1880, 1884, and 1888 *589*
Map 19.2 House of Representatives Elected in 1892 and 1894 *595*
Map 19.3 Disfranchisement in the New South *599*
Map 19.4 The Presidential Elections of 1892 and 1896 *601*

Map 19.5 The Presidential Election of 1912 *609*
Table 19.1 Major Federal Progressive Measures, 1883–1921 *611*

CHAPTER 20

Map 20.1 The Great Powers in East Asia, 1898–1910 *627*
Map 20.2 Policeman of the Caribbean *631*
Map 20.3 U.S. Participation on the Western Front, 1918 *635*
Map 20.4 Europe and the Middle East Before World War I *646*
Map 20.5 Europe and the Middle East After World War I *646*
Table 20.1 World War I Casualties *637*

CHAPTER 21

Map 21.1 The Presidential Election of 1928 *668*
Map 21.2 Harlem, 1913–1930 *669*
Figure 21.1 Unemployment, 1915–1945 *675*
Table 21.1 Klansmen in Buffalo, New York, 1924 *670*

CHAPTER 22

Map 22.1 The Great Depression: Families on Relief *681*
Map 22.2 Civilian Conservation Corps Camps *688*
Map 22.3 Popular Protest in the Great Depression, 1933–1939 *689*
Map 22.4 The Dust Bowl and Federal Building Projects in the West, 1930–1941 *704*
Map 22.5 The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933–1952 *706*
Table 22.1 American Banks and Bank Failures, 1920–1940 *686*
Table 22.2 Major New Deal Legislation *693*

CHAPTER 23

Map 23.1 Japanese Relocation Camps *731*
Map 23.2 World War II in Europe and North Africa, 1941–1943 *733*
Map 23.3 World War II in Europe, 1944–1945 *734*
Map 23.4 World War II in the Pacific *737*
Figure 23.1 Government Military and Civilian Spending as a Percentage of GDP, 1920–1980 *718*
Figure 23.2 World War II Military and Civilian Deaths, 1939–1945 *719*
Figure 23.3 Gross Domestic Product Rates Worldwide, 1938–1945 *719*

CHAPTER 24

Map 24.1 Cold War in Europe, 1955 *753*
Map 24.2 The Korean War, 1950–1953 *761*
Map 24.3 The Military-Industrial Complex *762*
Map 24.4 The Presidential Election of 1948 *764*
Map 24.5 American Global Defense Treaties in the Cold War Era *772*
Map 24.6 The United States and Cuba, 1961–1962 *775*
Figure 24.1 National Defense Spending, 1940–1965 *762*
Table 24.1 Worldwide Nuclear Stockpiles, 1945–1975 *759*

CHAPTER 25

Map 25.1 Connecting the Nation: The Interstate Highway System, 1930 and 1970 *803*
Map 25.2 Shifting Population Patterns, 1950–1980 *805*
Figure 25.1 Gross Domestic Product, 1930–1972 *785*
Figure 25.2 Labor Union Strength, 1900–2015 *787*
Figure 25.3 The American Birthrate, 1860–1980 *793*

CHAPTER 26

Map 26.1 Internal Migrations *816*
Map 26.2 Desegregation Court Cases *821*
Map 26.3 The Civil Rights Struggle, 1954–1965 *829*
Map 26.4 Black Voter Registration in the South, 1964 and 1975 *834*
Map 26.5 Decolonization and the Third World, 1943–1990 *838*
Table 26.1 African American College Enrollment *814*

CHAPTER 27

Map 27.1 The Presidential Election of 1964 *848*
Map 27.2 The Vietnam War, 1968 *853*
Map 27.3 The Presidential Election of 1968 *866*
Map 27.4 The Presidential Election of 1972 *875*
Figure 27.1 Americans in Poverty, 1959–2000 *850*
Figure 27.2 U.S. Troops in Vietnam, 1960–1973 *854*
Table 27.1 Major Great Society Legislation *849*

CHAPTER 28

Map 28.1 From Rust Belt to Sunbelt, 1940–2000 *888*
Map 28.2 States Ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment, 1972–1977 *896*
Figure 28.1 U.S. Energy Consumption, 1900–2000 *881*
Figure 28.2 The Inflation Rate, 1960–2000 *885*
Figure 28.3 Falling Gross Domestic Product *889*
Figure 28.4 Rising Unemployment *889*
Figure 28.5 The Increase in Two-Worker Families *901*
Table 28.1 Political Realignment: Congressional Seats *892*

CHAPTER 29

Map 29.1 The Presidential Election of 1980 *921*
Map 29.2 U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1954–2000 *934*
Map 29.3 The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Creation of Independent States, 1989–1991 *937*
Figure 29.1 The Annual Federal Budget Deficit (or Surplus), 1940–2015 *924*

CHAPTER 30

Map 30.1 Growth of the European Community, 1951–2016 *950*
Map 30.2 Latino and Asian Populations, 2000 *956*
Map 30.3 The Presidential Election of 1992 *959*
Map 30.4 U.S. Involvement in the Middle East, 1979–2016 *966*
Figure 30.1 Productivity, Family Income, and Wages, 1970–2004 *945*
Figure 30.2 iPhone Global Supply Chain, 2011 *946*
Figure 30.3 Imports, 1960–2009 *949*
Figure 30.4 Exports, 1960–2009 *949*
Figure 30.5 American Immigration, 1920–2000 *953*
Figure 30.6 Gross Federal Debt as a Percentage of Gross Domestic Product *964*
Table 30.1 Impact of the Bush Tax Cuts, 2001–2003 *964*
Table 30.2 Political Realignment: Congressional Seats *971*

Special Features

AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD

Altered Landscapes *14*
Plantation Colonies Versus Neo-Europes *54*
Olaudah Equiano: The Brutal "Middle Passage" *90*
Transatlantic Migration, 1500–1760 *114*
Britain's Atlantic and Asian Empires *144*
China's Growing Empire *184*
The Haitian Revolution and the Problem of Race *213*
The Fate of the American and Indian Textile Industries *251*
Alexis de Tocqueville: Letter to Louis de Kergorlay, June 29, 1831 *276*
Women's Rights in France and the United States, 1848 *328*
Financing War *359*
The Gold Rush: California and Australia *372*
War Debt: Britain and the United States, 1830–1900 *429*
Labor Laws After Emancipation: Haiti and the United States *436*
The Santa Fe Railroad in Mexico and the United States *468*
Emigrants and Destinations, 1881–1915 *511*
Christianity in the United States and Japan *534*
The World's Biggest Cities, 1800–2000 *562*
Economic Output and Government Social Spending, 1913 *613*
The Human Cost of World War I *637*
Hollywood in Europe *659*
Economic Nationalism in the United States and Mexico *695*
The Scales of War: Losses and Gains During World War II *719*
Arming for the Cold War *759*
Hanoch Bartov: Everyone Has a Car *802*
Freedom in the United States and Africa *818*
The Global Protests of 1968 *863*
Economic Malaise in the Seventies *889*
Yoichi Funabashi: "Japan and America: Global Partners" *929*
Global Trade, 1960–2009 *949*

AP® ANALYZING VOICES

A Spanish Priest Criticizes His Fellow Colonists *34*
Susanna Martin, Accused Witch *62*
Native Americans and European Empires *84*
Evangelical Religion and Enlightenment Rationalism *122*
The Debate over Representation and Sovereignty *160*
The First National Debate over Slavery *196*
Factional Politics and the War of 1812 *226*
The Debate over Free and Slave Labor *258*
The Character and Goals of Andrew Jackson *288*
Saving the Nation from Drink *308*
The U.S.-Mexico War: Expansion and Slavery *356*
To Secede or Not to Secede? *394*
These Honored Dead *420*
The Impact of Terror *454*
Women's Rights in the West *474*
Jewish Immigrants in the Industrial Economy *512*
William Graham Sumner and W. E. B. Du Bois on Heredity and Success *530*
"These Dead Bodies Were the Answer": The Triangle Fire *582*
The Omaha Platform, 1892 *596*
Debating the Philippines *628*
Urban Writers Describe Small-Town America *664*
Ordinary People Respond to the New Deal *684*
Women in the Wartime Workplace *722*
Hunting Communists: The Case of Paul Robeson *768*
Coming of Age in the Postwar Years *796*
Race and Geography in the Civil Rights Era *826*
The Toll of War *856*
Debating the Equal Rights Amendment *898*
Christianity and Public Life *918*
Immigration After 1965: Its Defenders and Critics *954*

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST

How Connected Were Native American Communities Before 1492? *18*

What Role Did Climate Play in American Colonization? *52*

Why Did Americans Adopt Slavery? *92*

Did Diversity Lead to Toleration? *118*

Did British Administrators Try to Protect or Exploit Native Americans? *156*

Was the Constitution Necessary? *193*

Did Hamilton's Economic System Endanger the Legacy of the Revolution? *206*

Did the Market Revolution Expand Opportunities for Women? *263*

Was Indian Removal Humanitarian or Racist? *290*

What Motivated Antebellum Reformers? *307*

What Explains American Enthusiasm for Manifest Destiny? *349*

Did Slavery Have a Future in the West? *371*

How Divided Was the Confederate Public? *411*

How Free Were Freedwomen in Reconstruction? *443*

What Factors Motivated America's Indian Policies? *482*

How Modern Were Late-Nineteenth-Century Corporations? *502*

Was Professional Baseball a National Pastime or a Business Monopoly — or Both? *542*

How Did Urban Progressive Reformers Approach Environmentalism? *577*

Were the "Gilded Age" and "Progressive Era" Separate Periods? *592*

Was Wilson's Internationalism Successful? *644*

How Did Immigrants Experience America at the Turn of the Century? *662*

Was the New Deal a Reform or a Revolution? *694*

Why Did the United States Drop the Atomic Bomb on Japan? *739*

Why Was There a Cold War? *751*

Was Rock 'n' Roll an Agent of Social Change? *791*

Was Martin Luther King Jr. a Radical or a Reformer? *828*

What Are the Origins of 1960s Feminism? *851*

Why Did the Postwar Boom Bust in the 1970s? *886*

How Conservative Was the Reagan Presidency? *938*

How Should Historians Write the History of Current Events? *969*

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

Colliding Cultures *26*

Who Was Pocahontas? *48*

Servitude and Slavery *94*

Women's Labor *110*

Beyond the Proclamation Line *154*

The Black Soldier's Dilemma *180*

The Social Life of Alcohol *210*

The Entrepreneur and the Community *242*

Becoming Literate: Public Education and Democracy *296*

Dance and Social Identity in Antebellum America *318*

Childhood in Black and White *344*

The Irish in America *382*

Military Deaths — and Lives Saved — During the Civil War *416*

The South's "Lost Cause" *458*

Representing Indians *484*

Poverty and Food *506*

WCTU Women "Do Everything" *552*

Making Mass Media: Newspaper Empires *570*

Making Modern Presidents *590*

German Americans in World War I *640*

Who Joined the Ku Klux Klan? *670*

The New Deal and Public Works *698*

Mobilizing the Home Front *728*

The Global Cold War *756*

The Suburban Landscape of Cold War America *800*

Civil Rights and Black Power: Strategy and Ideology *832*

Debating the War in Vietnam *858*

The Environmental Movement: Reimagining the Human-Earth Relationship *882*

Personal Computing: A Technological Revolution *932*

Globalization: Its Proponents and Its Discontents *946*

How to Get the Most from This Program

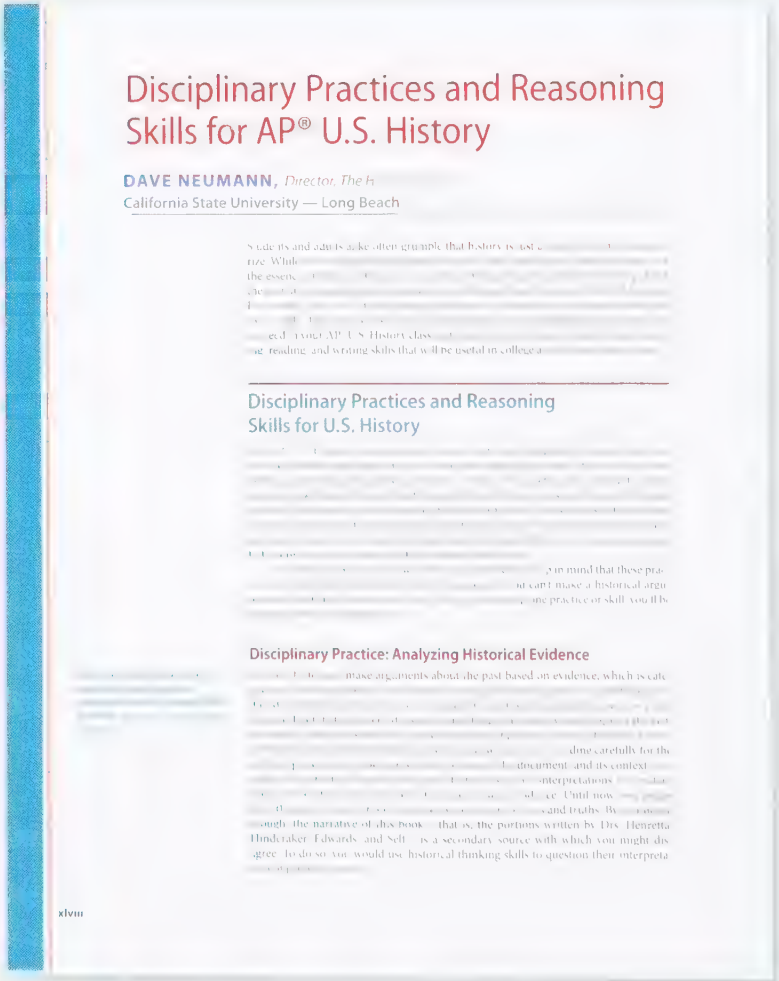
START SMART!

Notice that this book is organized into nine parts. **These parts align with the nine time periods established by the College Board for the AP® U.S. History course.** Each part and chapter of this text is structured around a common set of features designed to convey the rich story of humankind while helping you develop the skills required to realize success on the AP® U.S. History exam.

America's History	AP® U.S. History Time Periods	% Tested
Part 1	1491–1607	5%
Part 2	1607–1754	10%
Part 3	1754–1800	12%
Part 4	1800–1848	10%
Part 5	1844–1877	13%
Part 6	1865–1898	13%
Part 7	1890–1945	17%
Part 8	1945–1980	15%
Part 9	1980–Present	5%

SKILLS FOR THE AP® EXAM

Before you begin reading the text, review the **Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills for AP® U.S. History**. This section provides tips on reading this college-level text, suggestions for analyzing what you read, and recommendations for synthesizing the information and writing a cohesive argument — all disciplinary practices and reasoning skills that you must demonstrate on the AP® exam. Getting these insights at the beginning of the course will help you study more thoughtfully and efficiently.



Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills for AP® U.S. History

DAVE NEUMANN, *Director, The H*
California State University — Long Beach

Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills for U.S. History

Disciplinary Practice: Analyzing Historical Evidence

xlviii

Put Things in Context

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

AP Concept Connections

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

AP Learning Focus

Read with a Purpose

AP® EXAM TIP

New **AP® Exam Tip** margin notes (and related **AP® Apply the Tip** margin notes in the Teacher's Edition) highlight important concepts and questions that students should focus on to prepare for the AP® exam as they read through the textbook.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

New **AP® Practices & Skills** margin notes identify key historical disciplinary practices and reasoning skills that students will need to perform well on the AP® exam.

all printed items, from college diplomas, court documents, land titles, and contracts to newspapers, almanacs, and playing cards. It was ingeniously designed. Like its counterpart in England, it bore more heavily on the rich, since it charged only a penny a sheet for newspapers and other common items but up to £10 for a lawyer's license. It also required no new bureaucracy; stamped paper would be delivered to colonial ports and sold to printers in lieu of unstamped stock.

Benjamin Franklin, agent of the Pennsylvania assembly, proposed a different solution: American representation in Parliament. "If you chuse to tax us," he wrote, "give us Members in your Legislature, and let us be one People." With the exception of William Pitt, British politicians rejected Franklin's idea as too radical. They argued that the colonists already had **virtual representation** in Parliament because some of its members were transatlantic merchants and West Indian sugar planters. Colonial leaders were equally skeptical of Franklin's plan. Americans were "situate at a great Distance from their Mother Country," the Connecticut assembly declared, and therefore "cannot participate in the general Legislature of the Nation."

Protesting the Stamp Act in Portsmouth, New Hampshire Throughout the colonies, disciplined mobs protesting the Stamp Act forced stamp distributors to resign their offices. In this engraving, protesters in the small city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, stone an effigy of the distributor as other members of the mob carry off a coffin representing the death of American "Liberty."

AP® EXAM TIP

The role of colonial leaders in energizing ideas of independence and resistance to British law is a "must know" for the AP® exam

The House of Commons ignored American opposition and passed the act by an overwhelming majority of 205 to 49. At the request of General Thomas Gage, the British military commander in America, Parliament also passed the **Quartering Act of 1765**, which required colonial governments to provide barracks and food for British troops. Finally, Parliament approved Grenville's proposal that violations of the Stamp Act be tried in vice-admiralty courts.

Using the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy, Grenville had begun to fashion a centralized imperial system in America much like that already in place in Ireland: British officials would govern the colonies with little regard for the local assemblies. Consequently, the prime minister's plan provoked a constitutional confrontation on the specific issues of taxation, jury trials, and military quartering as well as on the general question of representative self-government.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

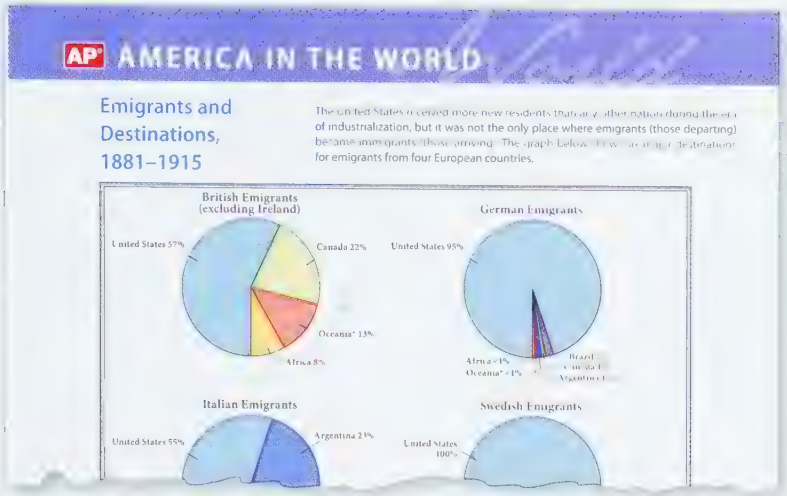
POINT OF VIEW

Why did most British and colonial leaders reject the idea that the colonies should be represented in Parliament?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What changes in Britain's imperial policy were triggered by its victory in the Great War for Empire?

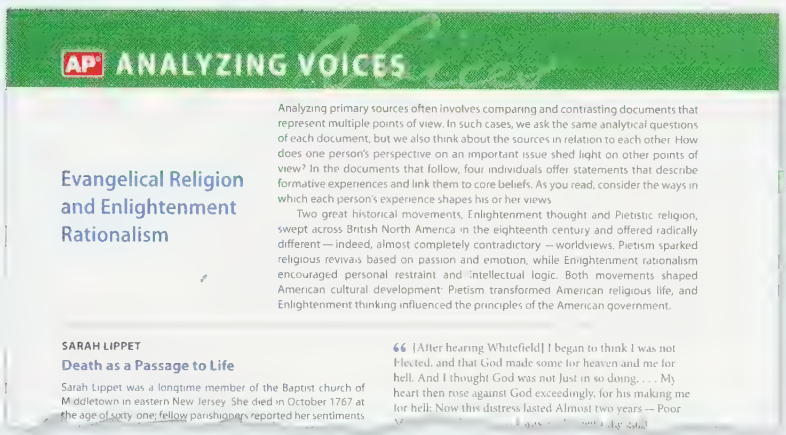
The Dynamics of Rebellion, 1765–1770

In the name of reform, Grenville had thrown down the gauntlet to the Americans. The colonists had often resisted unpopular laws and aggressive governors, but they had faced an all-out attack on their institutions only once before — in 1686, when James II had unilaterally imposed the Dominion of New England. Now the danger was even greater because both the king and Parliament backed reform. But the Patriots, as the defenders of American rights came to be called, met the challenge posed by Grenville and his successor, Charles Townshend. They organized protests — formal and informal, violent as well as peaceful — and fashioned a compelling ideology of resistance.



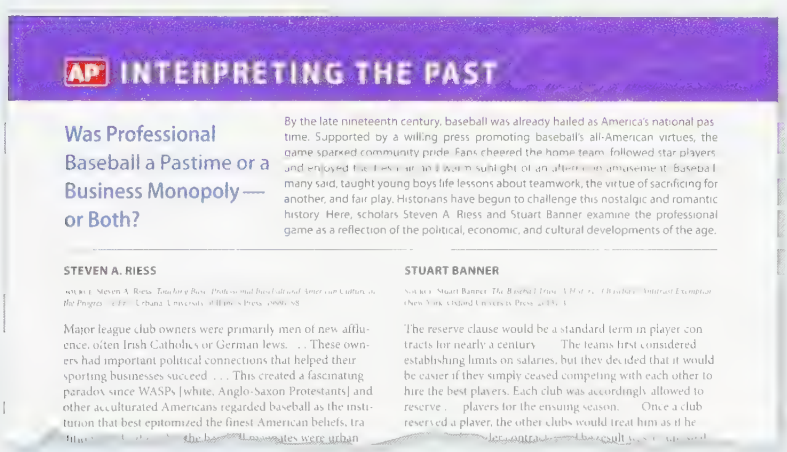
AP® AMERICA IN THE WORLD

AP® America in the World feature uses primary sources and data to situate U.S. history in a global context, giving students practice in comparison and data analysis, which are key to success on the AP® exam.


AP ANALYZING VOICES
Evangelical Religion and Enlightenment Rationalism
Analyzing primary sources often involves comparing and contrasting documents that represent multiple points of view. In such cases, we ask the same analytical questions of each document, but we also think about the sources in relation to each other. How does one person's perspective on an important issue shed light on other points of view? In the documents that follow, four individuals offer statements that describe formative experiences and link them to core beliefs. As you read, consider the ways in which each person's experience shapes his or her views.
Two great historical movements, Enlightenment thought and Pietistic religion, swept across British North America in the eighteenth century and offered radically different — indeed, almost completely contradictory — worldviews. Pietism sparked religious revivals based on passion and emotion, while Enlightenment rationalism encouraged personal restraint and intellectual logic. Both movements shaped American cultural development. Pietism transformed American religious life, and Enlightenment thinking influenced the principles of the American government.
SARAH LIPPET
Death as a Passage to Life
Sarah Lippet was a longtime member of the Baptist church of Middletown in eastern New Jersey. She died in October 1767 at the age of sixty-one; fellow parishioners reported her sentiments
[After hearing Whitefield] I began to think I was not Elected, and that God made some for heaven and me for hell. And I thought God was not Just in so doing. . . . My heart then rose against God exceedingly, for his making me for hell: Now this distress lasted Almost two years — Poor

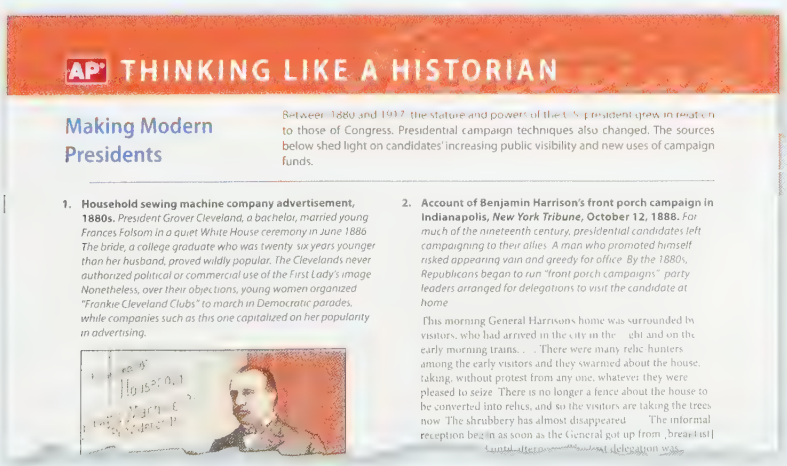
AP® ANALYZING VOICES

AP® Analyzing Voices, a two-page feature in each chapter, helps students learn to think critically and develop key AP® comparison skills by juxtaposing primary source texts written or spoken from two or more perspectives.


AP INTERPRETING THE PAST
Was Professional Baseball a Pastime or a Business Monopoly — or Both?
By the late nineteenth century, baseball was already hailed as America's national pastime. Supported by a willing press promoting baseball's all-American virtues, the game sparked community pride. Fans cheered the home team, followed star players and enjoyed the chance for a few hours of an afternoon amusement. Baseball, many said, taught young boys life lessons about teamwork, the virtue of sacrificing for another, and fair play. Historians have begun to challenge this nostalgic and romantic history. Here, scholars Steven A. Riess and Stuart Banner examine the professional game as a reflection of the political, economic, and cultural developments of the age.
STEVEN A. RIESS
STUART BANNER
Major league club owners were primarily men of new affluence, often Irish Catholics or German Jews. . . . These owners had important political connections that helped their sporting businesses succeed . . . This created a fascinating paradox since WASPs [white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants] and other acculturated Americans regarded baseball as the institution that best epitomized the finest American beliefs, tra
The reserve clause would be a standard term in player contracts for nearly a century. The teams first considered establishing limits on salaries, but they decided that it would be easier if they simply ceased competing with each other to hire the best players. Each club was accordingly allowed to reserve . players for the ensuing season. Once a club reserved a player, the other clubs would treat him as if he

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST

New **AP® Interpreting the Past** feature brings historical argumentation directly into each chapter, helping students understand how to work with secondary sources.


AP THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN
Making Modern Presidents
Between 1880 and 1917, the stature and powers of the U.S. president grew in relation to those of Congress. Presidential campaign techniques also changed. The sources below shed light on candidates' increasing public visibility and new uses of campaign funds.
1. Household sewing machine company advertisement, 1880s. President Grover Cleveland, a bachelor, married young Frances Folsom in a quiet White House ceremony in June 1886. The bride, a college graduate who was twenty-six years younger than her husband, proved wildly popular. The Clevelands never authorized political or commercial use of the First Lady's image. Nonetheless, over their objections, young women organized "Frankie Cleveland Clubs" to march in Democratic parades, while companies such as this one capitalized on her popularity in advertising.
2. Account of Benjamin Harrison's front porch campaign in Indianapolis, New York Tribune, October 12, 1888. For much of the nineteenth century, presidential candidates left campaigning to their allies. A man who promoted himself risked appearing vain and greedy for office. By the 1880s, Republicans began to run "front porch campaigns" — party leaders arranged for delegations to visit the candidate at home.
This morning General Harrison's home was surrounded by visitors, who had arrived in the city in the ght and on the early morning trains. . . . There were many relic-hunters among the early visitors and they swarmed about the house, taking, without protest from any one, whatever they were pleased to seize. There is no longer a fence about the house to be converted into relics, and so the visitors are taking the trees now. The shrubbery has almost disappeared. The informal reception began as soon as the General got up from [breakfast]

AP® THINKING LIKE A HISTORIAN

An **AP® Thinking Like a Historian** feature in every chapter includes five to eight brief primary sources organized around a central theme that helps students learn to work with evidence and build the critical habits of mind key to success on the DBQ on the AP® exam.

CHAPTER 5 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What changes in Britain's imperial policy were triggered by its victory in the Great War for Empire?
2. What was the relationship between formal protests against Parliament and popular resistance in the years between 1765 and 1770?
3. What actions did the Continental Association take to support the efforts of the Continental Congress?
4. How did the colonies' long controversy with Parliament influence the ideals that shaped the independence movement?
5. Consider the events listed under "Politics and Power" and "Work, Exchange, and Technology" for the period 1763–1776 on the thematic timeline on page 138. How important were the linkages between economic developments and political ones in these years?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Sugar Act of 1764 (p. 145)
vice-admiralty courts (p. 145)
Stamp Act of 1765 (p. 146)
virtual representation (p. 147)
Quartering Act of 1765 (p. 147)
Stamp Act Congress (p. 148)
Sons of Liberty (p. 148)
English common law (p. 149)
natural rights (p. 149)
Declaratory Act of 1766 (p. 150)
Townshend Act of 1767 (p. 151)
nonimportation movement (p. 151)
committees of correspondence (p. 158)
Tea Act of May 1773 (p. 158)
Coercive Acts (p. 158)
Continental Congress (p. 159)
Continental Association (p. 162)
Dunmore's War (p. 165)
Minutemen (p. 165)
Second Continental Congress (p. 165)
Declaration of Independence (p. 167)
popular sovereignty (p. 168)

Key People

George Grenville (p. 145)
John Dickinson (p. 149)
Charles Townshend (p. 150)
Lord North (p. 153)
Samuel Adams (p. 158)
Lord Dunmore (p. 164)
Thomas Paine (p. 167)
Thomas Jefferson (p. 167)

Key Academic Terms

specter (p. 145)
incursion (p. 145)
effigy (p. 148)
veneration (p. 149)
explicit (p. 150)
exchequer (p. 150)
stringent (p. 162)
palisade (p. 166)
vilify (p. 167)

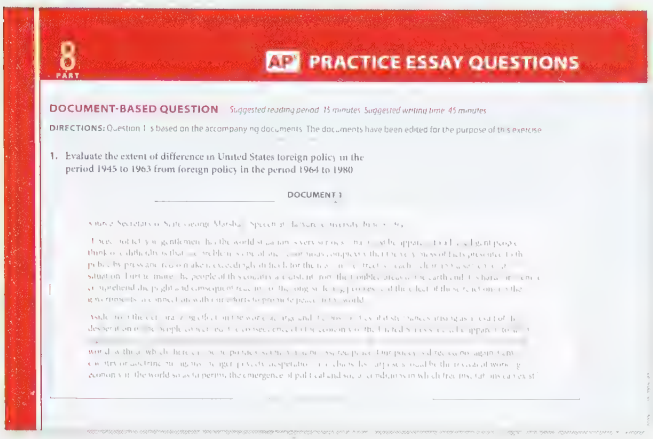
AP® MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Chapter 4 presented a turbulent era, marked by social and cultural conflict and imperial warfare, during which the regions of British North America were disparate and without unity. Yet by 1776 — only thirteen years after the Treaty of Paris ending the Great War for Empire — thirteen of Britain's mainland colonies were prepared to unite in a Declaration of Independence. What happened in that intervening time to strengthen and deepen colonists' sense of common cause? As they drew together to resist imperial authority, what political and cultural resources did they have in common?
2. Return to the Paul Revere engraving of the Boston Massacre on page 157. This image was an instrument of political propaganda. What features of the image are most important to its political purpose? Consider his depiction of both the soldiers and the townspeople. Look, too, at the buildings surrounding the crowd, especially the Custom House on the right. List the ways in which Revere invokes the idea of tyranny in this image.

CHAPTER REVIEW The Chapter Review section provides a set of **AP® Content Review** questions that restate the individual section review questions. **AP® Terms to Know** provides a list of **Key Concepts and Events, Key People,** and **Academic Terms** students should know. **Making Connections** questions ask students to consider broader historical issues, developments, and continuities and changes over time. Lastly, a **Key Turning Points** question reminds students of important events.

Practice for the AP® Exam


8 PART

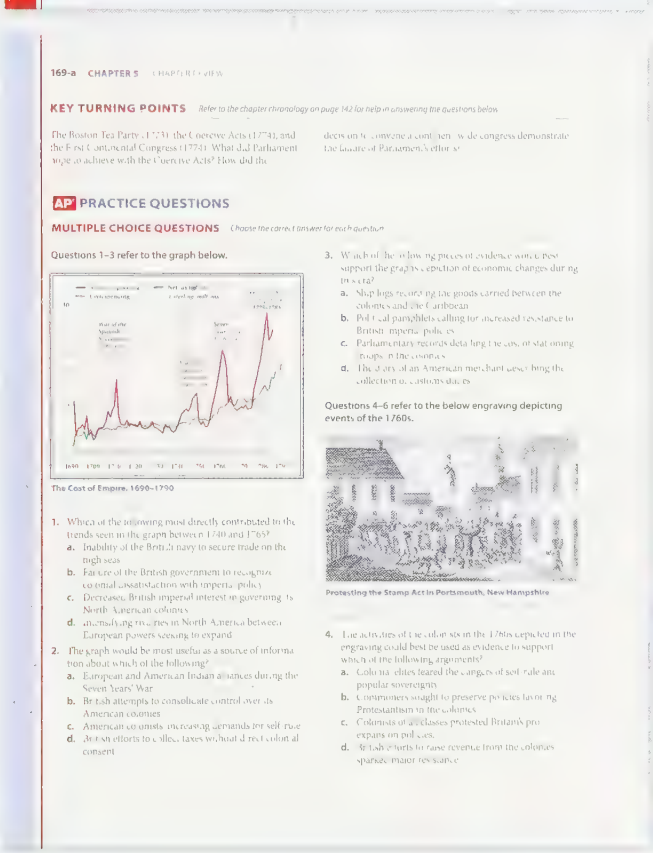
AP® PRACTICE ESSAY QUESTIONS

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent of difference in United States foreign policy in the period 1945 to 1963 from foreign policy in the period 1964 to 1980.

DOCUMENT 3


169-a CHAPTER 5

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 142 for help in answering the questions below.*

The Boston Tea Party (1773), the Coercive Acts (1774), and the First Continental Congress (1774). What did Parliament hope to achieve with the Coercive Acts? How did the decision to convene a continental congress demonstrate the failure of Parliament's efforts?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the graph below.

The Cost of Empire, 1690–1790

1. Which of the following most directly contributed to the trends seen in the graph between 1740 and 1765?
   a. Inability of the British navy to secure trade on the high seas
   b. Failure of the British government to recognize colonial dissatisfaction with imperial policy
   c. Decreased British imperial interest in governing its North American colonies
   d. Increasingly intense rivalries in North America between European powers seeking to expand
2. The graph would be most useful as a source of information about which of the following?
   a. European and American Indian alliances during the Seven Years' War
   b. British attempts to consolidate control over its American colonies
   c. American colonists' increasing demands for self-rule
   d. British efforts to collect taxes without direct colonial consent
3. Which of the following pieces of evidence would best support the graph's depiction of economic changes during the era?
   a. Ship logs recording the goods carried between the colonies and the Caribbean
   b. Political pamphlets calling for increased resistance to British imperial policies
   c. Parliamentary records detailing the cost of stationing troops in the colonies
   d. The diary of an American merchant describing the collection of customs duties

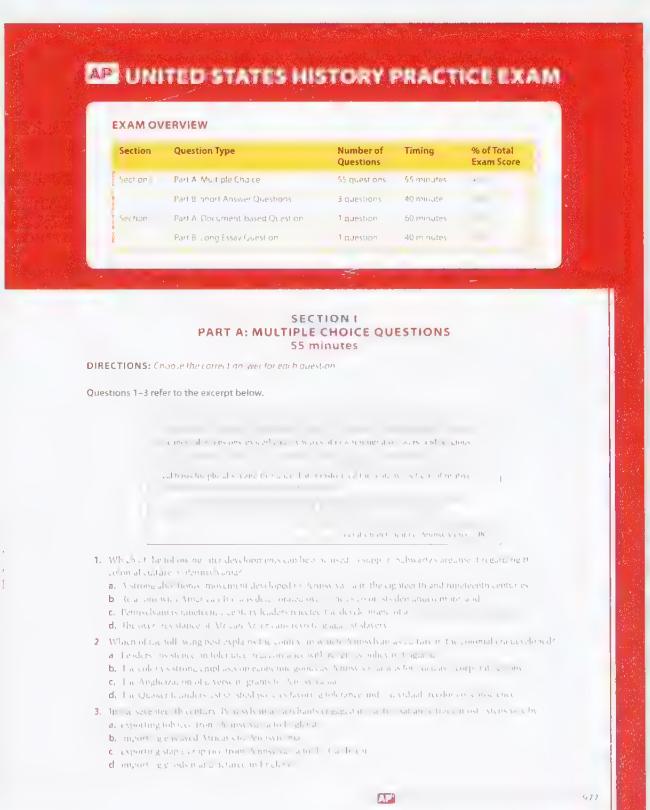
Questions 4–6 refer to the below engraving depicting events of the 1760s.

Protesting the Stamp Act in Portsmouth, New Hampshire

4. The activities of the colonists in the 1760s depicted in the engraving could best be used as evidence to support which of the following arguments?
   a. Colonists feared the dangers of self-rule and popular sovereignty.
   b. Consumers sought to preserve policies favoring Protestantism in the colonies.
   c. Colonists of all classes protested Britain's proposed taxes on products.
   d. British efforts to raise revenue from the colonies sparked major resistance.

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

New AP® **Practice Questions** follow every chapter, including multiple-choice and short answer questions after every chapter, and long essay and document-based questions after every part, to build deep familiarity with the tasks and format of AP® exam items.


AP® UNITED STATES HISTORY PRACTICE EXAM

EXAM OVERVIEW

Section	Question Type	Number of Questions	Timing	% of Total Exam Score
Section I	Part A: Multiple Choice	55 questions	55 minutes	[illegible]
	Part B: Short Answer Questions	3 questions	40 minutes	[illegible]
Section II	Part A: Document-based Question	1 question	60 minutes	[illegible]
	Part B: Long Essay Question	1 question	40 minutes	[illegible]

SECTION I
PART A: MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS
55 minutes

DIRECTIONS: *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

[illegible]

1. [illegible]
   a. [illegible]
   b. [illegible]
   c. [illegible]
   d. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
   a. [illegible]
   b. [illegible]
   c. [illegible]
   d. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
   a. [illegible]
   b. [illegible]
   c. [illegible]
   d. [illegible]

AP® 477

AP® UNITED STATES HISTORY PRACTICE EXAM

Test yourself before taking the AP® exam by using the new full-length AP® **United States History Practice Exam** at the end of the book.

Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills for AP® U.S. History

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Students and adults alike often grumble that history is just a bunch of facts to memorize. While it's true that studying history requires data, information, and facts, that's not the essence of history. History is a way of understanding the world by learning about the past. It is an interpretive reconstruction of the past based on several skills. Advanced Placement (AP®) U.S. History requires students to demonstrate an understanding of these skills. This primer will help you develop the historical thinking skills needed to succeed in your AP® U.S. History class and exam, as well as improve your critical thinking, reading, and writing skills that will be useful in college and in your future career.

Disciplinary Practices and Reasoning Skills for U.S. History

The AP® U.S. History curriculum introduces you to two disciplinary practices and four reasoning skills, representing the ways historians interpret the past. These practices and skills are sometimes described as "habits of mind." This useful phrase should remind you that a skill has to be practiced repeatedly until it becomes second nature. Because practice is an integral part of learning to think historically, the sections below include exercises to help you develop these "habits of mind." Like shooting free throws, rehearsing dance moves, or playing scales, historical thinking skills have to be exercised regularly until you can use them easily and almost effortlessly.

As we discuss each practice and skill separately below, keep in mind that these practices and skills overlap in many ways. For example, you can't make a historical argument without also evaluating evidence. So as you develop one practice or skill, you'll be learning others simultaneously.

Disciplinary Practice: Analyzing Historical Evidence

Historians make arguments about the past based on evidence, which is categorized as either primary or secondary sources.

To start, historians make arguments about the past based on evidence, which is categorized as either primary or secondary sources. A *primary source* is something produced in the time period you are studying. In contrast, a *secondary source* is a text written about that time period, usually something a historian writes long after the fact. Secondary sources result from scholarly research of primary sources. Effective historical thinking requires the ability to analyze primary sources — reading carefully for the author's point of view and purpose, the format of the document, and its context — as well as the ability to analyze the ways historians create interpretations (secondary sources) based on their own use of primary-source evidence. Until now, you might have thought of your school textbooks as conveyors of facts and truths. By definition, though, the narrative of this book — that is, the portions written by Drs. Henretta, Hinderaker, Edwards, and Self — is a secondary source with which you might disagree. To do so, you would use historical thinking skills to question their interpretation of primary sources.

Analyzing Evidence: Primary Sources Traditionally, primary sources have consisted overwhelmingly of written sources. In fact, historians used to refer to any time before the invention of writing as "pre-history." In the last few decades, however, historians have moved well beyond relying exclusively on written primary sources. Historians now use paintings, photographs, architecture, artifacts, and so on, as well as evidence from other fields of knowledge. For example, scientific and medical information informs historians about the role that disease played throughout history. And because no historian can be an expert in every field, we also make use of the secondary-source scholarship of specialists who have studied materials such as ancient DNA or pottery shards.

In assessing primary sources, you should begin with a careful examination of the source itself. But you also have to pay attention to the broader *context* of the source. Primary sources are creations from a particular time and place, often created for someone else, so determining the author, purpose, and audience of a source is essential to your understanding of it. It is often helpful to distinguish between primary sources that people in the past intentionally preserved (like government records) and those things that accidentally survived (such as materials in ancient trash heaps).

The following questions will help you examine primary sources:

When examining sources, you want to consider:

- Context
- Author/Point of View
- Purpose/Audience
- Document/Format

Context: How does the time and place of this document's creation help you understand the document better?

- What beliefs and/or practices of the time might make this document more understandable?
- What important events might this document relate to?

Author and Point of View: How does information about the author's position, identity, or experience help you to assess his or her point of view or perspective?

- What is the author's *position* — occupation, authority, status?
- What is the author's *identity* — race, class, gender, age?
- What is the author's *experience* — education or training?

Purpose and Audience: Given the information above, what inference(s) can you make about the author's purpose in creating this document?

- What might the author be trying to get his or her audience to think or do? Why?
- If the author's original purpose in writing differs from your own reasons for reading the document historically, how do you read between the lines to determine useful evidence?

Document and Format: How does information about the document help you assess its usefulness or limitations?

- Is the document public or private?
- Is the document formal or informal?
- Is the author knowledgeable or unknowledgeable about this subject?
- Does the author have a favorable or unfavorable view of the subject?
- Does the audience have a close or distant relationship to the author?
- Is the audience an inferior or a superior of the author?

EXERCISE: Take a look at the Analyzing Voices feature in Chapter 8, "The Debate over Free and Slave Labor," on page 258. Then review the headnotes and the chapter narrative to determine the context for these documents and how that context helps you understand the documents better.

Analyzing Evidence — Secondary Sources Historians interpret both primary and secondary sources, evaluating points of view and considering context to create their own interpretations. By analyzing different historical interpretations, you will see how historical interpretations change over time.

Formulating a historical argument requires making inferences from evidence. For example, scholars agree that planters in the Virginia colony introduced slavery in the mid-seventeenth century, but they are deeply divided about the motivations behind this momentous change. Was it an unintended consequence of scarce white indentured labor? An intentional economic strategy by planters? A result of growing consciousness of race? Because individual planters may have had different motives, and because planters rarely if ever talked explicitly about the reasons for their decision to institute slavery, historians must make inferences about their decision based on their actions and the broader historical circumstances in which they acted.

Not surprisingly, the background of a particular historian (gender, nationality, political philosophy, time of writing, and so on) often shapes the way he or she interprets the past. In many cases, knowing something about the context of a historian can help you understand his or her argument better — in the same way that understanding the context of the author of a primary source helps you understand the primary source. Sometimes, this information can help you identify the prejudices or limitations of a particular interpretation.

For example, in the early 1960s the British historian Hugh Trevor-Roper claimed that sub-Saharan Africa had no history until Europeans took over the continent, an argument that built on the ideas of many earlier European thinkers, especially those of the nineteenth-century German philosopher Georg Hegel. Subsequent scholarship has shown this conclusion to be faulty, and we can assume that several aspects of Trevor-Roper's situation influenced his point of view. For one, he was a historian of early modern and modern Europe who thought, as did many historians of his generation, that history could only be based on written documents. Because there were fewer of these for Africa before colonization than for Europe at the same time, he jumped to the conclusion that Africa had no history. Historians since Trevor-Roper have broadened the source base that they use in their research to incorporate many other types of sources, and they have also demonstrated that there are many written documents relating to Africa that Trevor-Roper did not know about or chose to ignore. Perhaps a choice to ignore these would have been influenced by his being a citizen of an imperial nation and writing during decolonization.

Interestingly, at about the same time, American scholars developed an influential model of modernization for "Third World" countries. Later scholars have argued that this model oversimplified the world by assuming all countries would grow economically the same way the United States had.

The moral of these stories is to be careful when analyzing historical interpretations. You can't assume that because a scholar has a particular background, he or she will make a certain argument. There are far too many exceptions to such a rule. Instead, begin by finding out what you can about a scholar's background and then develop a hunch about how this background *might* shape his or her views. Then, as you read the scholar's argument, look carefully for evidence that the author actually makes the kinds of arguments you anticipated. If you don't find such evidence, discard your hunch.

EXERCISE: On pages 50–53 of this text, which describe indentured servitude and African laborers, how do the authors explain the emergence of slavery in Virginia? What inferences do they make? What wording do they use to communicate their uncertainty?

Disciplinary Practice: Argument Development

The final disciplinary practice is learning to formulate and communicate your own conclusions about the past. The word *argument* reminds us that any attempt to explain the past requires interpretation, since our understanding of the past is limited by distance from the events we study and the incomplete evidence that has survived. Earlier you learned about how historians make arguments. Now you'll practice making your own. Arguing means making a logical case for your interpretation of a particular historical question or controversy.

Argumentation Argumentation is a complex, sophisticated skill that you will develop with practice over the course of the school year. Your teacher will likely employ various methods to help you develop this skill, from oral discussions to writing/journaling activities to practicing AP®-style document-based questions.

FOUR STEPS TO ARGUMENTATION

1. Form an argument/thesis
2. Examine/analyze evidence
3. Frame your argument
4. Examine/explain relationships in evidence

Argumentation includes four components. *First*, you should articulate your argument in a clear, concise, compelling way that directly responds to the prompt. Teachers typically identify this argument as your thesis — a short, explicit statement of your interpretation that appears near the beginning of your written response. *Second*, your argument needs to be substantiated by using specific and relevant evidence, which may include both facts and information from lectures, textbooks, or secondary texts, as well as your analysis of primary sources. *Third*, you should frame your argument through the use of historical reasoning skills, like causation or comparison.

Often, the wording of a question or prompt will provide some direction about the appropriate reasoning skill(s) to employ. *Finally*, your fourth step of argumentation is to convince your reader by using multiple, divergent, and sometimes contradictory pieces of evidence. In working with evidence, particularly primary sources, you have to explain the relationships among evidence — including corroborating facts and resolving contradictions — while clearly showing how the evidence supports your thesis.

Effective historical writing balances nuance and clarity, as you recognize the complexity of historical questions (including interpretations that diverge from your own) while still making a clear, succinct argument. Creating and supporting a historical argument is a culminating skill that reflects your ability to analyze evidence and draw on the other historical thinking skills — comparison, contextualization, synthesis, causation, continuity and change, and periodization — to provide your own compelling understanding of key U.S. history questions.

Reasoning Skills

The AP® history reasoning skills reflect the ways historians make sense of the past by placing details and particulars in some larger framework. For example, we understand historical events and processes by comparing them to related events and processes to see how they're similar and different (such as how gender roles vary among different classes and ethnic groups, and how these roles change over time). Second, historians recognize that they can only really understand historical evidence, including artifacts, photographs, speeches, and historical narratives (secondary sources) when they know something about their context — that is, the time and place when they came into existence.

Historians make sense of the past by placing details and particulars in some larger framework.

EXERCISE: Look at the authors' comparison of slavery in the Chesapeake, South Carolina, and the West indies in the eighteenth century in Chapter 3, beginning on page 91. How was the institution of slavery similar from place to place? Why? What key features do the authors say are different? Why are they different?

Skill 1: Contextualization Just as historical events make more sense when they're studied alongside similar events, historians know that any event can only be understood in *context*. Context refers to the historical circumstances surrounding a particular event. Historians look for major global developments in any era to help determine context. Also, in the same way that they conceptualize causation at different scales, they typically think in terms of two levels of context: an *immediate* (or short-term) context and a *broad* (or long-term) context.

The easiest way to begin thinking about context is to figure out when a particular event took place or when a document was created. Then brainstorm the major developments of the era. Ask yourself, "How might these larger events have shaped this event (or document)?"

For example, European Enlightenment ideas — among them John Locke's revolutionary idea that political authority was not given by God to monarchs and that the people should have the power to change government policies or even their form of government — had been carried over to the Americas by European colonists where they continued to develop. These ideas made a contribution to colonial cultural life, but it wouldn't be until the Revolutionary era that these ideas would be embraced by American intellectuals such as John Adams, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson in their formulation of republican political theory.

To understand why these ideas had such dramatic effects, you should consider the larger context. That context, as Chapter 4 indicates, includes both the immediate context of the political and social situation in the colonies in the eighteenth century and the long-term context of the print revolution. The context sometimes includes things that might at first seem unrelated. In this case, after 1700, improved transportation networks eased the spread of people, goods, and information in the colonies. Around the same time, in 1695 the British government let the Licensing Act lapse, which had given it the right to censor all printed materials, further opening the floodgates for the spread of books, newspapers, letters, and pamphlets. In 1704, the first colonial newspaper was founded. By 1776, the thirteen colonies that united in declaring independence had thirty-seven newspapers among them. The transportation and print revolution thus allowed revolutionary ideas to be communicated far more widely and quickly than they would have without it.

EXERCISE: Look at the "kitchen debate" between U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev on page 782 in Chapter 25. Note that it occurred in 1959, in a model kitchen the Americans set up in Moscow as part of the American National Exhibition. What immediate developments (including the location) might have shaped the arguments presented by the two leaders for the merits of their political systems? How do the broad context of the Cold War and the even broader context of consumer culture and social class in the twentieth century help you understand the debate?

Skill 2: Comparison Comparisons help historians understand how one development in the past was similar to or different from another development and, in this way, determine what was distinctive. For example, some scholars have concluded that the reform spanning the Progressive and New Deal eras shared key features that led to the development of a welfare state. Other scholars have argued that the New Deal represented a radical break from the progressive policies of the past. Through the tool of comparison, we can see how leaders and ordinary people handled common problems in unique ways. As you develop this skill, practice comparing two social justice movements, such as the African American and women's suffrage movements — and compare the same movement at two different points in time. For example, how did the women's suffrage movement of the nineteenth century resemble the women's suffrage movement of the early twentieth century? How did it differ? What had happened to lead to these differences? Be sure that the two things you are comparing are relatively similar, or else comparing doesn't make much sense.

Historical Causation involves:	
Multiple causes	Most events or developments, such as the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, occur from a combination of factors, not just one.
Large processes	Many changes take place through major processes that are larger than any one person. For example, urbanization is a complex set of changes resulting from the actions of countless different individuals.
Unintended causes	Many changes take place accidentally, like the large-scale deaths of Native Americans during the Columbian Exchange due to diseases Europeans weren't aware they were carrying.
Contingency	Events are not preordained, and history could have turned out differently. This is known as contingency. Because we read major events in history already knowing their outcome, we have a tendency to think they were bound to happen, but that is not the case. The initial Spanish conquest of the incas was very precarious, for example, and early on they might have been defeated.

Skill 3: Causation Causation has to do with explanations about how or why changes take place in history. Sometimes, there is an obvious connection between an event and its consequence, like a cue ball striking the eight ball and making it move. Some events seem fairly straightforward: The attack on Pearl Harbor prompted President Franklin Roosevelt to ask Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. But even this seemingly simple example is more complex. Why did Japan attack the United States? What role did the American embargo on the sale of oil have on Japan's decision? Why did the United States enact this embargo? All of these other events took place just a few years before the Pearl Harbor attack. If we go even further back, we'll see the ways European imperialism, the Meiji Restoration, and early twentieth-century Japanese expansion help explain the Pearl Harbor attack.

As this example shows, you will have to pay attention to both short-term and long-term factors to understand the causes (and effects) of historical events. Also, just as there were many factors behind the Japanese decision to bomb Pearl Harbor, most examples of historical causation involve multiple causes. Historical causation also involves large processes, unintended consequences, and contingencies, as the chart below describes.

You can begin to develop the skill of determining causation by asking yourself, what reasons explain this development? When you encounter a significant change in history and you identify immediate causes, you should then zoom your analytical lens out to look for longer-term factors.

EXERCISE: One major controversy in U.S. history (and in European and world history as well) regarding causation has to do with why the great depression of the 1930s became so severe and lasted so long. How do the authors explain the causes of the Great Depression on pages 674–676 in Chapter 21? Which of the types of explanations from the box above do they use in their explanation about why this particular economic contraction became so bad that it is still known as the "Great Depression"?

Skill 4: Continuity and Change over Time As is probably becoming evident, historians are interested in both historical changes and persisting patterns, or *continuities*. Change is usually easier to detect; for instance, when one country conquers another, that event often becomes part of the historical record. But some things stay relatively the same for long periods of time. Continuity (such as a network of trade that remains in existence for hundreds of years) is typically less dramatic than change and often harder to spot.

What counts as continuity depends on the scale of time you're working with. For example, if we only look at the twentieth century, the emergence of the Soviet Union

Historians are interested in both historical changes and persisting patterns, or continuities.

represents an important political development. However, if we examine Russia's history since the formation of Kievan Rus in the ninth century, the Soviet era looks more like a modern variation of a longer pattern of autocratic rule.

When historians talk about continuity, we're not implying that a particular pattern applied to everyone in the world or even in a particular region. Nor are we claiming that a particular pattern included absolutely no change or variation. For example, agricultural production has been continuous for thousands of years, but there are exceptions to this broad statement: On the one hand, some people have continued to be foragers; on the other hand, methods of farming have changed substantially with technology. So the continuity of agriculture is a generalization but not a completely unchanging pattern, nor is it a pattern that applies to everyone on the planet.

To work on developing this skill, look for places in your text where an author directly indicates that a historical pattern persisted over time and explains *why* that pattern persisted. Conversely, if an author focuses on change in history, you can still find continuity by inference, because few things ever change completely. So, when you read about a new development, ask yourself what *didn't* change. For example, employing the ideas of the European Enlightenment, Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence proclaimed "that all men are created equal." But many of the thinkers of the early republic used custom and biology to justify limiting suffrage to white men only. In this way, they continued to defend traditional stereotypes about the inferiority of women and non-Europeans that had existed for centuries.

EXERCISE: Look at the authors' discussion of "Neo-European Colonies" on pages 53–65 in Chapter 2. How did the different colonies of the North American Atlantic coast seek to replicate European patterns of economic and social organization?

Getting the Most Out of Reading History

Active reading means reading for meaning. The big challenges of reading relate to length and detail, and the topic of U.S. history has quite a lot of both. But if you understand the "big picture," you can read much more quickly and effectively, which helps address the challenge of length. At the same time, recognizing the main ideas allows you to see when specific information is provided to illustrate those big ideas; this helps address the challenge of detail. The three stages of reading described below will help you understand the big picture when reading this and other college-level texts.

Pre-Reading

When approaching an informational text, it is helpful to spend a few minutes pre-reading the material. During the pre-reading stage, you are simply getting prepared for what you will be reading. This involves two steps. First, try to determine chronology, theme(s), and region(s). Do this by looking at chapter dates, the part or unit that includes that chapter (keeping in mind that not all books are divided into units/parts), the chapter that came before and the one that comes next, and the chapter title. Note that the next main section of a chapter may not describe something that happened later in time, but it may instead reflect a different theme about the same time and place. Second, try to determine the major changes, comparisons, and connections discussed in the chapter by scanning the section titles, images and captions (maps, charts, photos, and so on), and any pedagogical tools included (such as chronologies, key terms, document headnotes, review questions, and exam tips). Also, skim the introduction to the chapter — usually reading the topic sentences of this section is sufficient.

EXERCISE: Let's practice by pre-reading Chapter 1, "Colliding Worlds, 1491–1600." Scan the chapter and answer the following questions without writing anything down:

Step One: Look at the chapter title. What is the chronology of this chapter? What is the central theme?

Step Two: Look at the headings and AP® Learning Focus question in the chapter introduction on page 6. What are the four major topics in this chapter? What disciplinary practice or reasoning skill does the AP® Learning Focus question focus on?

Step Three: Page through each section, looking at the subheadings, maps, and illustrations and keeping the following questions in mind:

In the first section, "The Native American Experience," what were the important empires, chiefdoms, and confederacies before 1492? What connections existed between these diverse groups? In the second section, "Western Europe: The Edge of the Old World," what characterized European society? How did the growth of Christianity affect events in Europe? In the third section, "West and Central Africa: Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade," how did trade connect Africa to the wider world? What does Map 1.4 tell you about the types of goods that were exchanged? In the fourth section, "Exploration and Conquest," what countries were especially important in exploration? From the order in which these countries appear in the subheadings, can you get clues about the chronology of the voyages? Which individuals are mentioned in subheadings? (You might not always recognize an individual named in a subheading, but you can always count on his or her historical importance.) What commodities are mentioned in subheadings or shown in illustrations? Again, there's no need to write this down. The point right now is just to get a clear idea of the "big picture" of the part where this chapter appears.

At this point, you haven't read the chapter, and you haven't taken a single note. But by spending five minutes pre-reading the chapter, you already have a good idea what the chapter is about. By taking this time, you'll be able to read with a clear focus, saving yourself a lot of time as you read more efficiently. Now that you have a good idea of the "big picture," you're ready to begin reading the text.

During Reading

As you read chapters of this text, remember that reading is an active process — so stay focused. The meaning will only become clear as you work at it. The authors have intentionally written an organized textbook and want you to be able to follow along, so take advantage of the clues provided, especially titles and headings.

Active readers use four skills to understand texts: *questioning, clarifying, summarizing,* and *predicting.* These steps don't have to happen in a particular order. In fact, once you become comfortable with them, they'll pop up in your mind independently without much effort on your part, perhaps several at the same time. That's when you know that they've truly become habits of mind. Use these skills along with note taking to get the most out of your reading.

Questioning Historians look at the world in a particular way, and we usually organize our writing around the historical thinking skills discussed above: cause and effect, comparison, interpretation, and so forth. By questioning, you can identify these patterns. For every chapter of this book, you want to find out the major subject. The easiest way to do this is to ask the "reporter questions": Who? What? Where? When? Why?

1. *Who* is the chapter about? History texts are almost always about people. Is the focus an individual? A social group? A political entity?
2. *What* does the section say about this person or group? Texts usually describe some major event or pattern. Did they do something important? Did something happen to them?

3. *Where* did the subject being described take place? Physical location is often crucial in history. Does this location help make sense of the subject in some way?
4. *When* did the events take place? Like physical location, chronology forms part of the historical context that makes events understandable. Does the text describe something unfolding over a very short period or a longer one? Are there crucial events that came before that make the description understandable?
5. *Why* did the event or pattern being described take place — and why does it matter? Whether talking about a dramatic development or a continuity that endured for a long period of time, we historians always attempt to understand what led to it. What reasons does the text provide for the event or pattern? How is the significance of the development explained?

Clarifying Are there any words you don't understand? If they're crucial for making sense of the passage, can you define them using the glossary included on this textbook's companion Web site, a dictionary, or other outside source? If there are any sentences you didn't understand, did they become clearer as you reread them or as you read on in the text?

When it comes to vocabulary, use good judgment. Is the word crucial for understanding the passage? If not, read right past it. If it is a crucial word, you may have to look it up in a dictionary. Before you take the time to look it up, however, check that it hasn't been defined already for you in the text.

When a longer passage throws you off, clearing up difficult vocabulary usually will help make the passage clearer. If it doesn't, simply reread the sentence a few times (slowly!). If you're still unclear, back up — usually to the beginning of the paragraph — and try again. The most common way skilled readers get clarification is simply by rereading.

Summarizing A summary is a brief review of the "big picture" of a particular section or chapter. After reading, briefly explain what each chapter is about in one sentence, being sure your summary answers all five questions from the Questioning section.

Predicting Based on your reading of an entire section or chapter, what do you think will come next in the text? How do you know? You may think predicting what's coming next is a waste of time, but it's a really good test of how well you understand the flow of the text. If you're in a car with your family going to visit your grandmother, you probably know the route to get there. If your mother takes an unanticipated turn, it alerts you that something is different from what you were expecting — and prompts you to ask why. So if your prediction based on reading is wildly off, it may alert you to the fact that your previous idea of the "big picture" of the section was off for some reason. You may want to back up and reread a section, or at least move forward more alert to where the author is going.

Note Taking Just reading the text is not sufficient. You'll never remember everything that's important unless you take notes. Students experience many pitfalls when taking notes. You should only write notes *after* you understand what you have read. Actively *question, clarify, summarize,* and *predict* in your head (or out loud) as you read each chapter; then go back through the subsections and take brief notes representing the key ideas of that section.

Brief is generally better: don't wear yourself out in the notes themselves. Find some consistent abbreviations for frequent words. Use symbols, for example, an up arrow to indicate growth, a flat arrow to indicate cause/effect, an "=" to indicate a definition, and so on. Don't write everything; ask yourself if a particular point is a main idea or just an

example. If you own your textbook, make annotations in the margins. If not, get a stack of sticky notes and place them in the margins for your comments.

EXERCISE: Let's practice these four skills with the section called "Sixteenth-Century Incursions" on pages 31–36 in Chapter 1, "Colliding Worlds, 1491–1600."

- **Questioning:** What were the sixteenth-century incursions? Whom did they affect? Where did they happen? When did they happen? Why and how did they happen? How did people respond? What were their consequences?
- **Clarifying:** important words like *reconquista* are defined in the text itself, but are there any words that you do not understand? if there were any sentences you didn't understand, did they become clearer as you reread them or as you read on in the text?
- **Summarizing:** Briefly explain what this section is about in one sentence—being sure your summary answers all of the questions from the Questioning section.
- **Predicting:** Based on the section you just read, what do you think will come next in the text? How do you know?

Now that you know what this section is about, what brief comments are worth writing down in your notes?

Post-Reading

Reflecting on what you've read places information you've just learned into long-term memory. Post-reading involves doing the same kind of summarizing you've done section by section, but now for the entire chapter. In short, it is a summary of your summaries. While it might seem enough to summarize the chapter orally, writing down key ideas helps you remember them a week or a month later. Read through the notes that you took for the chapter, particularly the summary of each section. Then try to write a master summary of the entire chapter using no more than 50 words that captures the key idea of each section of the chapter as well as the chapter as a whole.

EXERCISE: Write a master summary of Chapter 1 now.

Writing About History

This primer began by introducing you to the patterns of thinking you need to really understand history. The next section pointed out ways to be smart about reading your textbook. This third and final section turns to the writing skills you have to develop for the AP® U.S. History course and exam. Our focus shifts away from you *receiving* input toward you *providing* output: sharing your understanding of historical thinking skills through writing. We begin by addressing components that apply to all of the writing tasks you'll encounter.

To successfully demonstrate what you know, you have to answer the question that has been asked. This sounds simple, but many students get in trouble on the exam by failing to address the prompt in front of them. Every prompt contains several elements, and you have to pay attention to all of them as you plan your response to the prompt:

- A periodization or date range expressed in years. You have to be sure your response addresses this era. One of the most common problems in student essays on the exam comes from providing historical information from the wrong era.
- A task expressed as the main verb of the prompt: *compare, describe, explain, analyze,* and so forth. Pay attention to this task verb, because these tasks are not the same.
- A subject, expressed in two important types of nouns. A *proper noun* refers to a specific historical entity: Puritanism, the Confederacy, the New Deal. A *common noun* typically refers to a historical concept: a key historical idea (republicanism, liberalism) or process (industrialization, western expansion). Sometimes this

process is limited in time, but often it is a pattern that occurs over a relatively long period. The subjects are drawn directly from the topics in the AP® U.S. History Thematic Learning Objectives.

- Disciplinary practices and reasoning skills. Each question will ask you to demonstrate your understanding of the disciplinary practices and reasoning skills that we have covered in this primer. So you may have to evaluate a historian's argument, make a historical comparison, or explain continuity and change over time.

Short Answer Questions

For the short answer questions, you will be required to answer the first two questions, but then be able to choose between two question choices for the third question (the first question type tests on Periods 1–5, while the second question tests on Periods 6–9). So you will need to answer three questions in 40 minutes, giving you a little over 13 minutes a question. This task does *not* require that you form a thesis or create distinct paragraphs. It is a brief response to a very focused question.

Long Essay Question

The Long-Essay Question (LEQ) and the Document-Based Question (DBQ) share many defining features. The following notes apply to both the LEQ and the DBQ, while a separate section includes specific suggestions for the DBQ.

First, every essay needs to have a specific, focused *thesis* that makes an argument addressing the prompt. It doesn't matter how strong your content knowledge and historical skills are if you can't communicate clearly what you know. Your thesis statement should be made in one to two sentences that must be part of the introduction and/or the conclusion. If you explicitly respond clearly and accurately, you will have a strong thesis — and you'll be on your way to a persuasive essay.

Second, every essay has to be organized into distinct *paragraphs*. The number of paragraphs depends on the complexity of the prompt. What's most important is that you clearly announce the point you're going to make in each paragraph through a *topic sentence* that effectively covers the subject of the paragraph. Any content in the paragraph that doesn't support the topic sentence doesn't belong there.

Third, every essay requires you to make use of *evidence* to support your claims. The type of evidence also differs depending on the type of essay. The Document-Based Question (DBQ) requires you to reference the documents included with the question, but both the DBQ and the Long Essay require you to draw on relevant outside knowledge of the subject. But in each case, you will have to place the essay question in appropriate historical context.

Finally, both the LEQ and the DBQ require you to use the Reasoning Skill of Contextualization. While contextualization can occur throughout an essay, it is a good idea to explicitly discuss contextualization in the introduction of your essay — either before or after your thesis statement. This part of your essay should show that you understand the historical developments and processes that impacted the topic of the prompt. For example, if you are addressing a prompt that focuses on civil rights for African Americans in the post–World War II era, your contextualization might include a discussion of the impact of the service of African Americans during World War II, the changes in rights that were occurring for women, and the expansion of the economy in this same time period. Your ability to contextualize shows you understand the topic of the prompt and the way it fits into the broader scope of history.

While many of these writing suggestions would apply equally to essays in other academic subjects, the essay types on the AP® U.S. History exam are all geared toward the concerns of history. Each type of essay requires the use of the historical thinking skills discussed above, often in combination with one another. For example, every essay

requires you to discuss the *historical context* of the subject you're writing about and to *appropriately use relevant evidence.*

Document-Based Question Essay

The Document-Based Question, or DBQ, essay is a defining and culminating feature of the AP® History exam. Of all the essays, this one tends to make students the most anxious. But much of this anxiety is misplaced. Once you understand the DBQ, you will feel less worried about it, and you may even come to find it your favorite type of essay. Unlike the Long Essay Question, in which you have to call on your memory to provide all the evidence, the documents in the DBQ form the basic evidence you will use. You also have your Five Steps to Argumentation to assist in organizing your essay. You're already more prepared than you think!

To do well on a DBQ, you should try to use all, or all but one, of the documents included in the question. Further, you must go beyond the content of the documents to set the context, make a clear argument, and analyze the documents properly. Using documents as evidence requires the sophisticated analysis skills we discussed in the section "Disciplinary Practice: Analyzing Historical Evidence." That means that you have to consider the perspective or point of view of the documents. Every primary source — textual, visual, or statistical — was created for a specific purpose. That doesn't mean the author had an agenda, though sometimes that is the case. But even if the author didn't have an agenda, every document is limited and imperfect in the information it provides. Use the questions included on page xl to interrogate each document, and then consider the limitations of each document before writing your DBQ. Be sure to incorporate these insights about document limitations into the essay itself to make your essay more analytical.

You also need to show you understand how documents corroborate and/or contradict each other as well as provide qualification of documents that may have limitations. That means thinking about how the documents relate to each other. Because the documents in a DBQ don't directly refer to each other, you have to use your deductive skills to see connections. This relates to a distinctive task about the DBQ: You need to organize the evidence from the documents into several categories. The categories are sometimes stated or implied in the prompt, but you'll often have to call on your knowledge of history and the content of the documents themselves to determine what categories (and how many) make sense. Please note that you can use the same document multiple times, so that often gives you flexibility in coming up with categories.

Many students feel anxious about having to write the AP® U.S. History essays. But once you become familiar with the elements of each prompt and know how to address these prompts effectively, you'll realize there's no reason to be stressed. In fact, you should feel confident as you approach the writing portion of the test. The essay section gives you a lot of freedom to demonstrate what you know in an open-ended way. And if you've been thinking historically, reading the text using that lens, and sharing your ideas in class, you may begin to look forward to the opportunity to show how developed your historical thinking skills have become.

PART 1

CHAPTER 1
Colliding Worlds, 1491–1600

CHAPTER 2
American Experiments, 1521–1700

Transformations of North America

1491–1700

Each of the nine parts in *America's History* covers a particular period of time. The choice of beginning and ending dates is called *periodization*: the process of deciding how to break down history into pieces with coherent themes. Throughout this book, each choice of periodization represents a form of historical argument, and we'll explain and explore each periodization choice as we go.

Part 1 of *America's History* is about collisions and experiments. Our choice to begin in 1491 is **symbolic**: it represents the moment before Columbus's first voyage in 1492 bridged the Atlantic Ocean. At this time North America, Europe, and Africa were home to complex societies with distinctive **cultures**. But their histories were about to collide, bringing vast changes to all three continents. Sustained contact among Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans was one of the most momentous developments in world history.

No one knew what European colonies in the Americas would be like. Only by experimenting did new **societies** gradually emerge. These experiments were neither easy nor peaceful. **Warfare**, mass enslavement, death, and destruction lay at the heart of colonial enterprise. Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans often clashed violently as they struggled to control their fates.

But colonies also created opportunities for new societies to flourish. Across two centuries, five European nations undertook colonial experiments in dozens of places. Some failed miserably; some prospered beyond anyone's imagining. We bring Part 1 to a close in 1700, when the first fruits of these experiments were clear, though colonial societies remained insecure and unstable. Would other concluding dates be possible for this part — for example, 1607? Yes, but to our minds, it's best to consider the early decades of British and French **colonization** — 1607 to 1700 — in tandem with a deep exploration of precontact Native American and African societies. Chapters 1 and 2 address three main developments that are central to this period: ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

Native American Diversity and Complexity

Native American societies ranged from vast, complex **imperial** states to small kin-based bands of hunters and gatherers: a spectrum much too broad for the familiar term *tribe* to cover. Native Americans' economic and social systems were **adapted** to the **ecosystems** they inhabited. Many were productive farmers, and some hunted bison and deer, while others were expert salmon fishermen who plied coastal waters in large oceangoing boats. Native American religions and cultures also differed, though many had broad characteristics in common.

These variations in Native American societies shaped colonial **enterprise**. Europeans conquered and co-opted the Native American empires in Mexico and the Andes with relative ease, but smaller societies were harder to exploit. Mobile hunter-gatherers were especially formidable opponents of colonial expansion.

National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution 9/7990

The Columbian Exchange

European colonization triggered a series of sweeping changes that historians have labeled the Columbian Exchange. Plants, animals, and germs crossed the Atlantic as well as people. European grains and weeds were carried westward, while American foods like potatoes and maize (corn) transformed diets in Europe and Asia. Native Americans had **domesticated** very few animals; the Columbian Exchange introduced many new creatures to the American landscape. Germs also made the voyage, especially deadly pathogens like **smallpox**, influenza, and bubonic plague, which took an enormous toll. Having lost on average 90 percent of their populations from **disease** over the first century of contact, Native American societies were forced to cope with European and African newcomers in a weakened and vulnerable state.

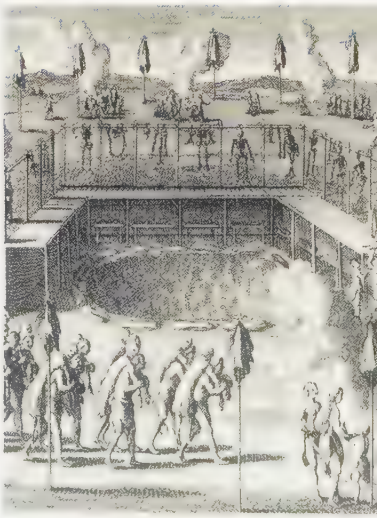
Inanimate materials crossed oceans as well: enough gold and silver traveled from the Americas to Europe and Asia to transform the world's economies, intensifying competition and empire building in Europe.

Sarin Images/Granger, NYC

Experimentation and Transformation

The collisions of American, European, and African worlds challenged the beliefs and practices of all three groups. Colonization was, above all, a long and tortured process of experimentation. Over time, Europeans carved out three distinct types of colonies in the Americas. Where Native American societies were organized into densely settled empires, Europeans conquered the ruling class and established **tribute**-based empires of their own. In tropical and subtropical settings, colonizers created **plantation** societies that demanded large, imported labor forces — a need that was met through the African slave trade. And in temperate regions, colonists came in large numbers hoping to create societies similar to the ones they knew in Europe.

Everywhere, core beliefs were shaken by contact with radically unfamiliar peoples. Native Americans and Africans struggled to maintain **autonomy**, while Europeans labored to understand — and **profit** from — their relations with nonwhite peoples. These transformations are the subject of Part 1.



Library of Congress

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

Transformations of North America 1491–1700

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This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes.

Look at the entries for "Culture and Society" from 1450 to 1700. How did the Protestant Reformation and the response of the Catholic Church influence the colonization of the Americas in these years? In the realm of "Work, Exchange, and Technology," how did colonial economies evolve, and what roles did Native American and African labor play in them?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1450	• Castile and Aragon join to create Spain; the Inquisition helps create a sense of a Spanish identity • John Calvin establishes a Protestant commonwealth in Geneva, Switzerland	• Rise of monarchical nation-states in Europe • Aztecs and Incas consolidate their empires • Probable founding of the Iroquois Confederacy • Rise of the Songhai Empire in Africa	• Diversified economies of Native America • Rise of the Ottoman Empire blocks Asian trading routes of the Italian city-states • Europeans fish off North American coast • Portuguese traders explore African coast
1550	• English conquest and persecution of native Irish • Growing Protestant movement in England	• Elizabeth's "sea dogs" plague Spanish shipping • English monarchs adopt mercantilist policies • Defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588)	• Growth of the outwork system in English textile industry • Spanish *encomienda* system organizes native labor in Mexico • Inca *mita* system is co-opted by the Spanish in the Andes
1650	• Pilgrims and Puritans seek to create godly commonwealths • Powhatan and Virginia Company representatives attempt to extract tribute from each other	• James I claims divine right to rule England • Virginia's House of Burgesses (1619) • English Puritan Revolution • Native Americans rise up against English colonists in Virginia (1620s and 1640s) and New England (1630s) • Restoration of the English crown (1660) • English conquer New Netherland (1664) • Native American revolts against colonial authority in New England (1670s) and New Mexico (1680s) • Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (1675–1676)	• First staple exports from the English mainland colonies: furs and tobacco • Subsistence farms in New England • Transition to sugar plantation system in the Caribbean islands
1700	• Social mobility for Africans ends with collapse of tobacco trade and increased power of gentry		• Tobacco trade stagnates • Maturing yeoman economy and emerging Atlantic trade in New England

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• Protestant Reformation (1517) sparks century of religious warfare • Henry VIII creates Church of England (1534) • Founding of Jesuit order (1540)	• Christopher Columbus explores the Bahamas and West Indies (1492–1504) • Pedro Alvares Cabral makes landfall in Brazil (1500) • Spanish conquest of Mexico and Peru (1519–1535)	• Native American burning practices alter North American landscapes • Martellus map underestimates distance from Europe to Asia (1489) • Yellow fever, malaria, and dysentery help keep European traders from African interior • Columbian Exchange begins to transform global ecology	• Amerigo Vespucci gives America its name • Spain and Portugal begin to tap American resources	1450
• Philip II defends the Roman Catholic Church against Protestantism • Elizabeth I adopts Protestant Book of Common Prayer (1559)	• Castilians and Africans arrive in Spanish America in large numbers • English colonies in Newfoundland, Maine, and Roanoke fail	• Plantation complex brings sugarcane agriculture to the Americas • Steep Native American population decline in Hispaniola, Mesoamerica, and the Andes	• Protestant nations challenge Catholic control of the Americas • American gold and silver flow to Europe and Asia	1550
• Persecuted English Puritans and Catholics migrate to America • Established churches set up in Puritan New England and Anglican Virginia • Dissenters settle in Rhode Island • Metacom's War in New England (1675–1676) • Bacon's Rebellion calls for removal of Indians and end of elite rule • Salem witchcraft crisis (1692)	• First set of Anglo-Indian wars • African servitude begins in Virginia (1619) • Caribbean islands move from servitude to slavery • Growing gentry immigration to Virginia • White indentured servitude shapes Chesapeake society • Africans defined as property rather than people in the Chesapeake	• Chesapeake colonists suffer from unbalanced sex ratios and subtropical illnesses • New England colonists benefit from balanced sex ratios and healthy climate • Native American burning practices decline in the eastern woodlands	• Opportunities for trade and settlement in America attract European investment • American colonies become a prime destination for bound labor • England's American colonies become a destination for free migrants	1600
	• Three types of colonies formed in America: tribute, plantation, and neo-European	• French merchants found New Orleans		1700

CHAPTER 1

Colliding Worlds
1491–1600

The Native American Experience

The First Americans

American Empires

Chiefdoms and Confederacies

Patterns of Trade

Sacred Power

Western Europe: The Edge of the Old World

Hierarchy and Authority

Peasant Society

Expanding Trade Networks

Myths, Religions, and Holy Warriors

West and Central Africa: Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade

Empires, Kingdoms, and Ministates

Trans-Saharan and Coastal Trade

The Spirit World

Exploration and Conquest

Portuguese Expansion

The African Slave Trade

Sixteenth-Century Incursions

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How did the political, economic, and religious systems of Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans compare, and how did things change as a result of contacts among them?

In April 1493, a Genoese sailor of humble origins appeared at the court of Queen Isabella of Castile and King Ferdinand of Aragon along with six Caribbean natives, numerous colorful parrots, and "samples of finest gold, and many other things never before seen or heard tell of in Spain." The sailor was Christopher Columbus, just returned from his first voyage into the Atlantic. He and his party entered Barcelona's fortress in a solemn procession. The monarchs stood to greet Columbus; he knelt to kiss their hands. They talked for an hour and then adjourned to the royal chapel for a ceremony of thanksgiving. Columbus, now bearing the official title *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, remained at court for more than a month. The highlight of his stay was the baptism of the six natives, whom Columbus called Indians because he mistakenly believed he had sailed westward all the way to Asia.

In the spring of 1540, the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto met the Lady of Cofachiqui, ruler of a large Native American province in present-day South Carolina. Though an **epidemic** had carried away many of her people, the lady of the province offered the Spanish expedition as much corn, and as many pearls, as it could carry. As she spoke to de Soto, she unwound "a great rope of pearls as large as hazelnuts" and handed them to the Spaniard; in return he gave her a gold ring set with a ruby. De Soto and his men then visited the temples of Cofachiqui, which were guarded by carved statues and held storehouses of weapons and chest upon chest of pearls. After loading their horses with corn and pearls, they continued on their way.

A Portuguese traveler named Duarte Lopez visited the African kingdom of Kongo in 1578. "The men and women are black," he reported, "some approaching olive colour, with black curly hair, and others with red. The men are of middle height, and, excepting the black skin, are like the Portuguese." The royal city of Kongo sat on a high plain that was "entirely cultivated," with a population of more than 100,000. The city included a separate commercial district, a mile around, where Portuguese traders acquired ivory, wax, honey, palm oil, and slaves from the Kongolese.

Three glimpses of three lost worlds. Soon these peoples would be transforming one another's societies, often through conflict and **exploitation**. But at the moment they first met, Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans stood on roughly equal terms. Even a hundred years after Columbus's discovery of the Americas, no one could have foreseen the shape that their interactions would take in the generations to come. To begin, we need to understand the three worlds as distinct places, each home to unique societies and cultures.

Village of Secoton, 1585 English colonist John White painted this view of an Algonquin village on the outer banks of present-day North Carolina. Its cluster of houses surrounded by fields of crops closely resembled European farming communities of the same era. White captured everyday details of the town's social life, including food preparation and a ceremony or celebration in progress (lower right). Private Collection/Bridgeman Image

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

c. 13,000–3000 B.C.	Asian migrants reach North America
c. 6000 B.C.	Domestication of maize begins in Mesoamerica
312	Roman emperor Constantine converts to Christianity
c. 600	Pueblo cultures emerge
632	Death of Muhammad
632–1100	Arab people adopt Islam and spread its influence
c. 800	Ghana Empire emerges
c. 1000	Irrigation developed by Hohokam, Mogollon, and Anasazi peoples
c. 1000–1350	Development of Mississippian culture
c. 1050	Founding of Cahokia
1096–1291	Crusades link Europe with Arab trade routes
c. 1150	Chaco Canyon abandoned
c. 1200	Mali Empire emerges
c. 1300–1450	The Renaissance in Italy
c. 1325	Aztecs establish capital at Tenochtitlán
1326	Mansa Musa's pilgrimage to Mecca
c. 1350	The Black Death sweeps Europe; Cahokia goes into rapid decline
c. 1400	Songhai Empire emerges
1435	Portuguese trade begins along West and Central African coasts
c. 1450	Founding of the Iroquois Confederacy
1492	Christopher Columbus makes first voyage to America
1497–1498	Portugal's Vasco da Gama reaches East Africa and India
1500	Pedro Alvares Cabral encounters Brazil
1513	Juan Ponce de León explores Florida
1517	Martin Luther sparks Protestant Reformation
1519–1521	Hernán Cortés conquers Aztec Empire
1532–1535	Francisco Pizarro vanquishes Incas
1536	John Calvin publishes *Institutes of the Christian Religion*
1540	De Soto meets the Lady of Cofachiqui; founding of the Jesuit order
1578	Duarte Lopez visits the Kongo capital

The Native American Experience

When Europeans arrived, perhaps 60 million people occupied the Americas, 7 million of whom lived north of Mexico. In Mesoamerica (present-day Mexico and Guatemala) and the Andes, empires that rivaled the greatest civilizations in world history ruled over millions of people. At the other end of the political spectrum, **hunters and gatherers** were organized into kin-based bands. Between these extremes, **semisedentary societies** planted and tended crops in the spring and summer, fished and hunted, made war, and conducted trade. Though we often see this spectrum as a hierarchy in which the empires are most impressive and important while hunter-gatherers deserve scarcely a mention, this bias toward civilizations that left behind monumental **architecture** and spawned powerful ruling classes is misplaced. To be fully understood, the Americas must be treated in all their complexity, with an appreciation for their diverse societies and cultures.

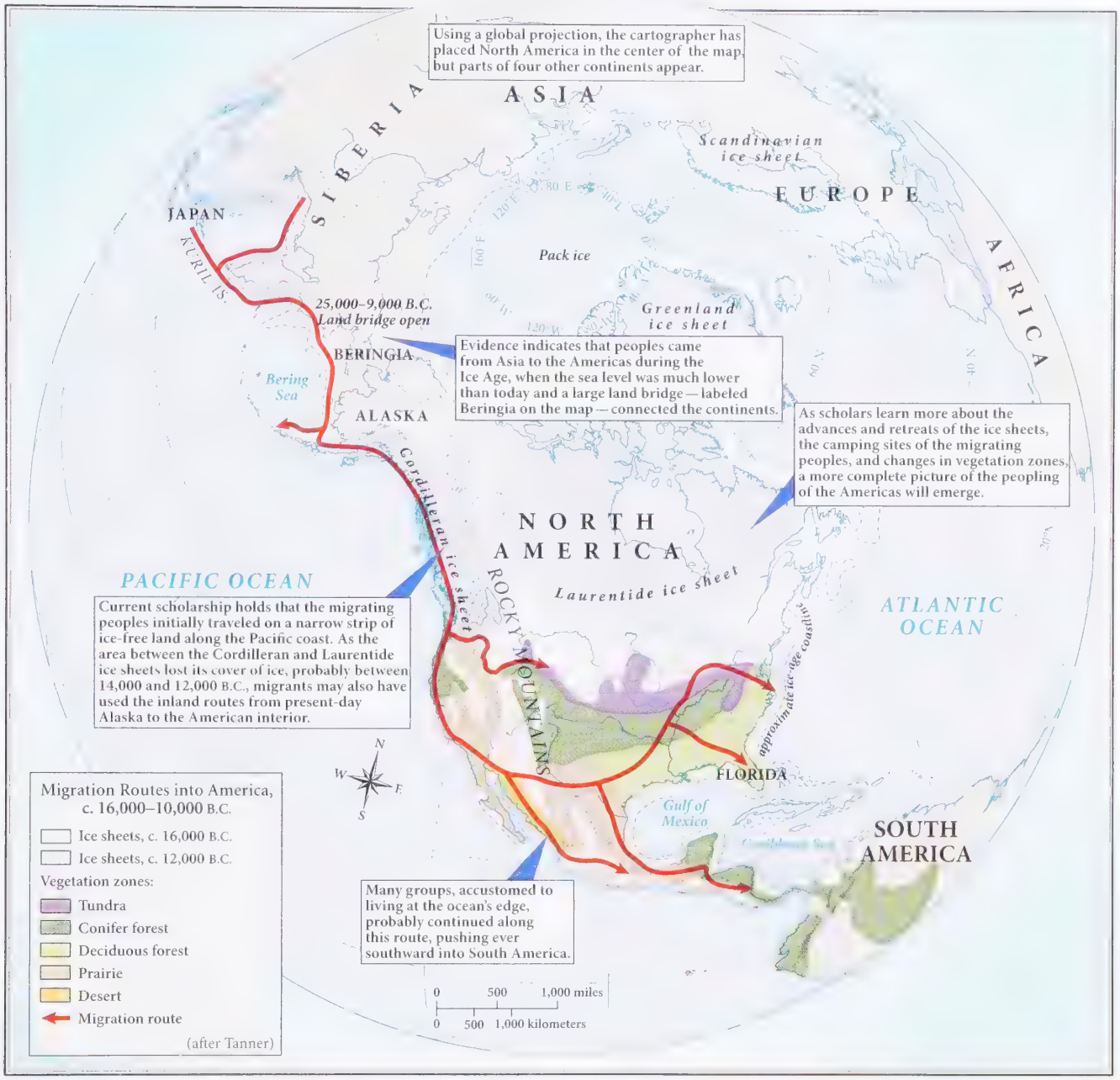
Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

The First Americans

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the diverse Native peoples that inhabited the Americas before the arrival of Columbus.

Archaeologists believe that migrants from Asia crossed a 100-mile-wide land bridge connecting Siberia and Alaska during the last Ice Age sometime between 13,000 and 3000 B.C. and thus became the first Americans. The first wave of this migratory stream from Asia lasted from about fifteen thousand to eleven thousand years ago. Then the glaciers melted, and the rising ocean submerged the land bridge beneath the Bering Strait (Map 1.1). Around eight thousand years ago, a second movement of peoples, traveling by water across the same narrow strait, brought the ancestors of the Navajos and the Apaches to North America. The forebears of the Aleut and Inuit peoples, the "Eskimos," came in a third wave around five thousand years ago. Then, for three hundred generations, the peoples of the Western Hemisphere were largely cut off from the rest of the world.


Using a global projection, the cartographer has placed North America in the center of the map, but parts of four other continents appear.
ASIA
SIBERIA
Scandinavian ice sheet
EUROPE
AFRICA
JAPAN
KURIL IS.
Pack ice
25,000–9,000 B.C. Land bridge open
Greenland ice sheet
BERINGIA
Bering Sea
ALASKA
Evidence indicates that peoples came from Asia to the Americas during the Ice Age, when the sea level was much lower than today and a large land bridge—labeled Beringia on the map—connected the continents.
As scholars learn more about the advances and retreats of the ice sheets, the camping sites of the migrating peoples, and changes in vegetation zones, a more complete picture of the peopling of the Americas will emerge.
Cordilleran ice sheet
NORTH AMERICA
PACIFIC OCEAN
Laurentide ice sheet
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Current scholarship holds that the migrating peoples initially traveled on a narrow strip of ice-free land along the Pacific coast. As the area between the Cordilleran and Laurentide ice sheets lost its cover of ice, probably between 14,000 and 12,000 B.C., migrants may also have used the inland routes from present-day Alaska to the American interior.
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
approximate ice-age coastline
FLORIDA
Gulf of Mexico
SOUTH AMERICA
Many groups, accustomed to living at the ocean's edge, probably continued along this route, pushing ever southward into South America.
N
W
E
S
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers
Migration Routes into America, c. 16,000–10,000 B.C.
Ice sheets, c. 16,000 B.C.
Ice sheets, c. 12,000 B.C.
Vegetation zones:
Tundra
Conifer forest
Deciduous forest
Prairie
Desert
Migration route
(after Tanner)

MAP 1.1 The Ice Age and the Settling of the Americas

Some sixteen thousand years ago, a sheet of ice covered much of Europe and North America. As the ice lowered the level of the world's oceans, a broad bridge of land was created between Siberia and Alaska. Using that land bridge, hunting peoples from Asia migrated to North America as they pursued woolly mammoths and other large game animals and sought ice-free habitats. By 10,000 B.C., the descendants of these migrant peoples had moved south to present-day Florida and central Mexico. In time, they would settle as far south as the tip of South America and as far east as the Atlantic coast of North America.

Migrants moved across the continents as they hunted and gathered available resources. Most flowed southward, and the densest populations developed in central Mexico—home to some 20 million people at the time of first contact with Europeans—and the Andes Mountains, with a population of perhaps 12 million. In North America, a secondary trickle pushed to the east, across the Rockies and into the Mississippi Valley and the eastern woodlands.

Around 6000 B.C., Native peoples in present-day Mexico and Peru began raising domesticated crops. Mesoamericans cultivated maize (corn) into a nutritious plant

AP® EXAM TIP

Knowledge of the impact of maize cultivation on Native populations is essential for success on the AP™ exam.

MAP 1.2 Native American Peoples, 1492

Having learned to live in many environments, Native Americans populated the entire Western Hemisphere. They created cultures that ranged from centralized empires (the Incas and Aztecs), to societies that combined farming with hunting, fishing, and gathering (the Iroquois and Algonquians), to nomadic tribes of hunter-gatherers (the Micmacs and Shoshones). The great diversity of Native American peoples — in language, tribal identity, and ways of life — and the long-standing rivalries among neighboring peoples usually prevented them from uniting to resist the European invaders.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors allowed for the development of empires in central Mexico and the Andes?

with a higher yield per acre than wheat, barley, or rye, the staple cereals of Europe. In Peru they also bred the potato, a root crop of unsurpassed nutritional value. The resulting agricultural surpluses encouraged population growth and laid the foundation for wealthy, urban societies in Mexico and Peru, and later in the Mississippi Valley and the southeastern woodlands of North America (Map 1.2).

American Empires

In Mesoamerica and the Andes, the two great empires of the Americas — the Aztecs and Incas — dominated the landscape. Dense populations, productive agriculture, and an aggressive **bureaucratic** state were the keys to their power. Each had an impressive

capital city. Tenochtitlán, established in 1325 at the center of the Aztec Empire, had at its height around 1500 a population of about 250,000, at a time when the European cities of London and Seville each had perhaps 50,000. The Aztec state controlled the fertile valleys in the highlands of Mexico, and Aztec **merchants** forged trading routes that crisscrossed the empire. Trade, along with tribute demanded from subject peoples (comparable to taxes in Europe), brought gold, textiles, turquoise, obsidian, tropical bird feathers, and cacao to Tenochtitlán. The Europeans who first encountered this city in 1519 marveled at its wealth and beauty. "Some of the soldiers among us who had been in many parts of the world," wrote Spanish **conquistador** Bernal Díaz del Castillo, "in Constantinople, and all over Italy, and in Rome, said that [they had never seen] so large a market place and so full of people, and so well regulated and arranged."

Ruled by priests and warrior-nobles, the Aztecs **subjugated** most of central Mexico. Captured enemies were brought to the capital, where Aztec priests brutally sacrificed thousands of them. The Aztecs believed that these ritual murders sustained the cosmos, ensuring fertile fields and the daily return of the sun.

Cuzco, the Inca capital located more than 11,000 feet above sea level, had perhaps 60,000 residents. A dense network of roads, storehouses, and administrative centers stitched together this improbable high-altitude empire, which ran down the 2,000-mile-long spine of the Andes Mountains. A king claiming divine status ruled the empire through a bureaucracy of nobles. As with the Aztecs, the empire consisted of subordinate kingdoms that had been conquered by the Incas, and tribute flowed from local centers of power to the imperial core.

Chiefdoms and Confederacies

Nothing on the scale of the Aztec and Inca empires ever developed north of Mexico, but maize agriculture spread from Mesoamerica across much of North America beginning around A.D. 800, laying a foundation for new ways of life there as well.

The Mississippi Valley The spread of maize to the Mississippi River Valley and the Southeast around A.D. 800 led to the development of a large-scale northern Native American culture. The older Adena and Hopewell cultures had already introduced moundbuilding and distinctive pottery styles to the region. Now residents of the Mississippi River Valley experienced the greater urban density and more complex social organization that agriculture encouraged.

The city of Cahokia, in the fertile bottomlands along the Mississippi River, emerged around A.D. 1000 as the foremost center of the new **Mississippian culture**. At its peak, Cahokia had about 10,000 residents; including satellite communities, the region's population was 20,000 to 30,000. In an area of 6 square miles, archaeologists have found 120 mounds of varying size, shape, and function. Some contain extensive burials; others, known as platform mounds, were used as bases for ceremonial buildings or rulers' homes. Cahokia had a powerful ruling class and a priesthood that worshipped the sun. After peaking in size around 1350, it declined rapidly. Scholars speculate that its decline was caused by a period of ruinous warfare, made worse by environmental changes that made the site less habitable. It had been abandoned by the time Europeans arrived in the area.

Mississippian culture endured, however, and was still in evidence throughout much of the Southeast at the time of first contact with Europeans. The Lady of Cofachiqui encountered by Hernando de Soto in 1540 ruled over a Mississippian community, and others dotted the landscape between the Carolinas and the lower Mississippi River. In Florida, sixteenth-century Spanish explorers encountered the Apalachee Indians, who occupied a network of towns built around mounds and fields of maize.

Eastern Woodlands In the **eastern woodlands**, the Mississippian-influenced peoples of the Southeast interacted with other groups, many of whom adopted maize agriculture but did not otherwise display Mississippian characteristics. **Algonquian** and **Iroquoian** speakers shared related languages and lifeways but were divided into

The Great Serpent Mound Scholars long believed that this mound was the work of the Adena peoples (500 B.C.–A.D. 200) because of its proximity to an Adena burial site in present-day southern Ohio. Recent research places the mound at a much later date (A.D. 950–1200) and, because of the serpent imagery, ties it to the Fort Ancient culture, which is closely related to the Mississippian complex. The head of the serpent is aligned with the sunset of the summer solstice (June 20 or 21 in the Northern Hemisphere), an event of great religious significance to a sun-worshipping culture. Richard A [illegible] ity Image

dozens of distinct societies. Most occupied villages built around fields of maize, beans, and squash during the summer months; at other times of the year, they dispersed in smaller groups to hunt, fish, and gather. Throughout the eastern woodlands, as in most of North America, women tended crops, gathered plants, and oversaw affairs within the community, while men were responsible for activities beyond it, especially hunting, fishing, and warfare.

In this densely forested region, Indians regularly set fires — in New England, twice a year, in spring and fall — to clear away underbrush, open fields, and make it easier to hunt big game. The catastrophic population decline accompanying European colonization quickly put an end to seasonal burning, but in the years before Europeans arrived in North America, bison roamed east as far as modern-day New York and Georgia. Early European colonists remarked upon landscapes that "resemble[d] a stately Parke," where men could ride among widely spaced trees on horseback and even a "large army" could pass unimpeded (AP® America in the World).

Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples had no single style of political organization. Many were chiefdoms, with one individual claiming authority. Some were paramount chiefdoms, in which numerous communities with their own local chiefs banded together under a single, more powerful ruler. For example, the Powhatan Chiefdom, which dominated the Chesapeake Bay region, was made up of more than thirty subordinate chiefdoms, and some 20,000 people, when Englishmen established the colony of Virginia. Powhatan himself, according to the English colonist John Smith, was attended by "a guard of 40 or 50 of the tallest men his Country affords."

The Kincaid Site Located on the north bank of the Ohio River 140 miles from Cahokia, the Kincaid site was a Mississippian town from c. A.D. 1050 to 1450. It contains at least nineteen mounds topped by large buildings thought to have been temples or council houses. Now a state historic site in Illinois, it has been studied by anthropologists and archaeologists since the 1930s. Artist Herb Roe depicts the town as it may have looked at its peak. Herb Roe

Elsewhere, especially in the Mid-Atlantic region, the power of chiefs was strictly local. Along the Delaware and Hudson rivers, Lenni Lenape (or Delaware) and Munsee Indians lived in small, independent communities without overarching political organizations. Early European maps of this region show a landscape dotted with a bewildering profusion of Indian names. Colonization would soon drive many of these groups into oblivion and force survivors to coalesce into larger groups.

Some Native American groups were not chiefdoms at all but instead granted political authority to councils of sachems, or leaders. This was the case with the **Iroquois Confederacy**. Sometime shortly before the arrival of Europeans, probably around 1500, five nations occupying the region between the Hudson River and Lake Erie — the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas — banded together to form the Iroquois.

These nations had been fighting among themselves for years. Then, according to Iroquois legend, a Mohawk man named Hiawatha lost his family in one of these wars. Stricken by grief, he met a spirit who taught him a series of condolence rituals. He returned to his people preaching a new gospel of peace and power, and the condolence rituals he taught became the foundation for the Iroquois Confederacy. Once bound by these rituals, the Five Nations began acting together as a political confederacy. They

Altered Landscapes

In the eastern woodlands, Native Americans set fires once or twice a year to clear underbrush and open up landscapes that would otherwise have been densely wooded. The burnings made it easier to plant corn, beans, and squash and drew big game animals into the clearings, where hunters could fell them. As European colonization displaced Indian populations, this practice ended. Some scholars have even suggested that the decline in burning caused a drop of carbon in the atmosphere large enough to account for the Little Ice Age, an episode of global cooling that lasted from about 1550 to 1850, though the claim is controversial.

THOMAS MORTON, OF THE CUSTOME IN BURNING THE COUNTRY, AND THE REASON THEREOF (1637)

The Savages are accustomed to set fire of the Country in all places where they come, and to burne it twize a yeare, viz: at the Spring, and the fall of the leafe. The reason that mooves them to doe so, is because it would other wise be so overgrowne with underweedes that it would be all a coppice wood, and the people would not be able in any wise to passe through the Country out of a beaten path.

The meanes that they do it with, is with certaine minerall stones, that they carry about them in baggs made for that purpose of the skinnes of little beastes, which they convert into good lether, carrying in the same a peece of touch wood, very excellent for that purpose, of their owne making. These minerall stones they have from the Piquenteenes, (which is to the Southward of all the plantations in New England,) by trade and trafficke with those people.

The burning of the grasse destroyes the underwoods, and so scorcheth the elder trees that it shrinkes them, and hinders their grouth very much: so that hee that will looke to finde large trees and good tymber, must not depend upon the help of a woodden prospect to finde them on the uplandground; but must seeke for them, (as I and others have done,) in the lower grounds, where the grounds are wett, when the Country is fired, by reason of the snow water that remaines there for a time, untill the Sunne by continuance of that hath exhaled the vapoures of the earth, and dried up those places where the fire, (by reason of the moisture,) can have no power to doe them any hurt: and if he would endevoure to finde out any goodly Cedars, hee must not seeke for them on the higher grounds, but make his inquest for them in the vallies, for the Savages, by this custome of theirs, have spoiled all the rest: for this custome hath bin continued from the beginninge.

And least their firing of the Country in this manner should be an occasion of damnifying us, and indaingering our habitations, wee our selves have used carefully about the same times to observe the winds, and fire the grounds about our owne habitations; to prevent the Dammage that might happen by any neglect thereof, if the fire should come neere those howses in our absence.

For, when the fire is once kindled, it dilates and spreads it selfe as well against, as with the winde; burning continually night and day, untill a shower of raine falls to quench it.

And this custome of firing the Country is the meanes to make it passable; and by that meanes the trees growe here and there as in our parks: and makes the Country very beautifull and commodious.

SOURCE: Thomas Morton, *The New English Canaan* (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1883 [orig. pub. 1637]), 172–173.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What benefits and dangers does Morton attribute to the practice of Indian burning? How did he and his fellow colonists respond to the practice?
2. Since Europeans did not practice widespread burning in the Indian manner, they achieved deforestation only slowly, through many years of backbreaking labor. Thinking comparatively about European and Native American approaches to landscape management, how would you assess the benefits and challenges of each approach?

made peace among themselves and became one of the most powerful Native American groups in the Northeast.

The Iroquois did not recognize chiefs; instead, councils of sachems made decisions. These were **matriarchal** societies, with power inherited through female lines of authority. Women were influential in local councils, though men served as sachems, made war, and conducted diplomacy.

Along the southern coast of the region that would soon be called New England, a dense network of powerful chiefdoms—including the Narragansetts, Wampanoags,

Mohegans, Pequots, and others—competed for resources and dominance. When the Dutch and English arrived, they were able to exploit these rivalries and pit Indian groups against one another. Farther north, in northern New England and much of present-day Canada, the short growing season and thin, rocky soil were inhospitable to maize agriculture. Here the Native peoples were hunters and gatherers and therefore had smaller and more mobile communities.

The Great Lakes To the west, Algonquian-speaking peoples dominated the **Great Lakes**. The tribal groups recognized by Europeans in this region included the Ottawas, Ojibwas, and Potawatomis. But collectively they thought of themselves as a single people: the Anishinaabe. Clan identities—beaver, otter, sturgeon, deer, and others—crosscut tribal affiliations and were in some ways more fundamental. The result was a social landscape that could be bewildering to outsiders. Here lived, one French official remarked, "an infinity of undiscovered nations."

The extensive network of lakes and rivers, and the use of birchbark canoes, made Great Lakes peoples especially mobile. "They seem to have as many abodes as the year has seasons," wrote one observer. They traveled long distances to hunt and fish, to trade, or to join in important ceremonies or military **alliances**. Groups negotiated access to resources and travel routes. Instead of an area with clearly delineated tribal territories, it is best to imagine the Great Lakes as a porous region, where "political power and social identity took on multiple forms," as one scholar has written.

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of geography on the diversity of North American cultures is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

The Great Plains and Rockies Farther west lies the vast, arid **steppe** region known as the **Great Plains**, which was dominated by small, dispersed groups of hunter-gatherers. The world of these Plains Indians was transformed by a European import—the horse—long before Europeans themselves arrived on the plains. Horses were introduced in the Spanish colony of New Mexico in the late sixteenth century and gradually dispersed across the plains. Bison hunters who had previously relied on stealth became much more successful on horseback.

Indians on horseback were also more formidable opponents in war than their counterparts on foot, and some Plains peoples leveraged their control of horses to gain power over their neighbors. The Comanches were a small Shoshonean band on the northern plains that migrated south in pursuit of horses. They became expert raiders, capturing people and horses alike and trading them for weapons, food, clothing, and other necessities. Eventually they controlled a vast territory. Their skill in making war on horseback transformed the Comanches from a small group to one of the region's most formidable peoples.

Similarly, horses allowed the Sioux, a confederation of seven distinct peoples who originated in present-day Minnesota, to move west and dominate a vast territory ranging from the Mississippi River to the Black Hills. The Crow Indians moved from the Missouri River to the eastern slope of the **Rocky Mountains**, where they became nomadic bison hunters. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, they became horse breeders and traders as well.

In some places, farming communities were embedded within the much wider territories of hunter-gatherers. The Hidatsa and Mandan Indians, for example, maintained settled agricultural villages along the Missouri River, while the more mobile Sioux dominated the region around them. Similarly, the Caddos, who lived on the edge of the southern plains, inhabited farming communities that were like islands in a sea of more mobile peoples.

Three broad swaths of Numic-speaking peoples occupied the **Great Basin** that separated the Rockies from the Sierra Mountains: Bannocks and Northern Paiutes in the north, Shoshones in the central basin, and Utes and Southern Paiutes in the south. Resources were varied and spread thin on the land. Kin-based bands traveled great distances to hunt bison along the Yellowstone River (where they shared territory with the Crows) and bighorn sheep in high altitudes, to fish for salmon, and to gather pine

Anasazi Ladle Crafted between A.D. 1300 and 1600 and found in a site in central Arizona, this Anasazi dipper was coiled and molded by hand and painted with a geometric motif. Anasazi pottery is abundant in archaeological sites, thanks in part to the Southwest's dry climate. Clay vessels and ladles helped Anasazi peoples handle water — one of their most precious resources — with care. National Museum of the American Indian Smithsonian Institution

nuts when they were in season. Throughout the Great Basin, some groups adopted horses and became relatively powerful, while others remained foot-borne and **impoverished** in comparison with their more mobile neighbors.

The Arid Southwest In the part of North America that appears to be most hostile to agriculture — the canyon-laced country of the arid Southwest — surprisingly large farming settlements developed. Anasazi peoples were growing maize by the first century A.D., earlier than anywhere else north of Mexico, and Pueblo cultures emerged around A.D. 600. By A.D. 1000, the Hohokams, Mogollons, and Anasazis (all Pueblo peoples) had developed irrigation systems to manage scarce water, enabling them to build sizable villages and towns of adobe and rock that were often molded to sheer canyon walls. Chaco Canyon, in modern New Mexico, supported a dozen large Anasazi towns, while beyond the canyon a network of roads tied these settlements together with hundreds of small Anasazi villages.

Extended droughts and soil exhaustion caused the abandonment of Chaco Canyon and other large settlements in the Southwest after 1150, but smaller communities still dotted the landscape when the first Europeans arrived. It was the Spanish who called these groups Pueblos: *pueblo* means "town" in Spanish, and the name refers to their distinctive building style. When Europeans arrived, Pueblo peoples, including the Acomas, Zuñis, Tewas, and Hopis, were found throughout much of modern New Mexico, Arizona, and western Texas.

The Pacific Coast Hunter-gatherers inhabited the Pacific coast. Before the Spanish arrived, California was home to more than 300,000 people, subdivided into dozens of small, localized groups and speaking at least a hundred distinct languages. This diversity of languages and cultures discouraged intermarriage and kept these societies independent. Despite their differences, many groups did share common characteristics, including clearly defined social hierarchies separating elites from commoners. They gathered acorns and other nuts and seeds, caught fish and shellfish, and hunted game.

The Pacific Northwest also supported a dense population that was divided into many distinct groups who controlled small territories — both on land and on the sea — and spoke different languages. Their **stratified** societies were ruled by wealthy families. To maintain control of their territories, the more powerful nations, including the Chinooks, Coast Salishes, Haidas, and Tlingits, nurtured strong warrior traditions. They developed sophisticated fishing technologies and crafted oceangoing dugout canoes, made from enormous cedar trees, that ranged up to 60 feet in length. Their distinctive material culture included large longhouses that were home to dozens of people and totem poles representing clan lineages or local legends.

Chilkat Tlingit Bowl This bowl in the form of a brown bear, which dates to the mid-nineteenth century, is made of alder wood and inlaid with snail shells. The brown bear is a Tlingit clan totem. Animal-form bowls like this one, which express an affinity with nonhuman creatures, are a common feature of Tlingit culture. National Museum of the American Indian

Patterns of Trade

Expansive trade networks tied together regions and carried valuable goods hundreds and even thousands of miles. Trade goods included food and raw materials, tools, ritual artifacts, and decorative goods. Trade enriched diets,

enhanced economies, and allowed the powerful to set themselves apart with luxury items.

In areas where Indians specialized in a particular economic activity, regional trade networks allowed them to share resources. Thus nomadic hunters of the southern plains, including the Navajos and Apaches, conducted annual trade fairs with Pueblo farmers, exchanging hides and meat for maize, pottery, and cotton blankets. Similar patterns of exchange occurred throughout the Great Plains, wherever hunters and farmers coexisted. In some parts of North America, a regional trade in war captives who were offered as slaves helped to sustain friendly relations among neighboring groups. One such network developed in the Upper Mississippi River basin, where Plains Indian captives were traded, or given as diplomatic gifts, to Ottawas and other Great Lakes and eastern woodlands peoples.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
How did landscape, climate, and resources influence the development of Native American societies?

Rare and valuable objects traveled longer distances. Great Lakes copper, Rocky Mountain mica, jasper from Pennsylvania, obsidian from New Mexico and Wyoming, and pipestone from the Midwest have all been found in archaeological sites hundreds of miles from their points of origin. Seashells — often shaped and polished into beads and other artifacts — were highly prized and widely distributed. Grizzly bear claws and eagle feathers were valuable, high-status objects. After European contact, Indian hunters often traveled long distances to trade for cloth, iron tools, and weapons. Historians debate the extent to which such long-distance connections helped to create deeper cultural ties (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Powerful leaders controlled much of a community's wealth and redistributed it to prove their generosity and strengthen their authority. In small, kin-based bands, the strongest hunters possessed the most food, and sharing it was essential. In chiefdoms, rulers filled the same role, often collecting the wealth of a community and then redistributing it to their followers. Powhatan, the powerful Chesapeake Bay chief, reportedly collected nine-tenths of the produce of the communities he oversaw — "skins, beads, copper, pearls, deer, turkeys, wild beasts, and corn" — and then gave much of it back to his subordinates. His generosity was considered a mark of good leadership. In the Pacific Northwest, the Chinook word *potlatch* refers to periodic festivals in which wealthy residents gave away belongings to friends, family, and followers.

Sacred Power

Most Native North Americans were animists who believed that the natural world was suffused with spiritual power. They interpreted dreams and visions to understand the world, and their rituals appeased guardian spirits to ensure successful hunts and other forms of good fortune. Although their views were subject to countless local variations, certain patterns were widespread.

Women and men interacted differently with these spiritual forces. In farming communities, women grew crops and maintained hearth, home, and village. Native American ideas about female power linked their bodies' generative functions with the earth's fertility, and rituals like the Green Corn Ceremony — a summer ritual of purification and renewal — helped to sustain the life-giving properties of the world around them.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
POINT OF VIEW
How did Native Americans' conceptions of the spiritual world influence their daily lives?

For men, spiritual power was invoked in hunting and war. To ensure success in hunting, men took care not to offend the spirits of the animals they killed. They performed rituals before, during, and after a hunt to acknowledge the power of those guardian spirits, and they believed that, when an animal had been killed properly, its spirit would rise from the earth unharmed. Success in hunting and prowess in war were both interpreted as signs of sacred protection and power.

Ideas about war varied widely. War could be fought for geopolitical reasons — to gain ground against an enemy — but for many groups, warfare was a crucial rite of passage for young men, and raids were conducted to allow warriors to prove themselves in battle. Motives for war could be highly personal; war was often more like a blood feud

How Connected Were Native American Communities Before 1492?

For a long time, American history textbooks largely ignored the thousands of years of history lived by North America's Native peoples before the arrival of Europeans. The focus of U.S. history was on the planting of European ideas and institutions in the "new world." More recently, some historians have explored the long history of the Americas that stretches back more than fifteen thousand years. Peopled by diverse groups with distinctive customs and unique cultures, America's early history defies easy categorization. In the following excerpts, historians Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. and Neal Salisbury reach different conclusions regarding the extent to which Native North American peoples interacted with each other prior to European contact.

ROBERT F. BERKHOFER JR.

SOURCE: Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1978), 3.

The first residents of the Americas were by modern estimates divided into at least two thousand cultures and more societies, practiced a multiplicity of customs and lifestyles, held an enormous variety of values and beliefs, spoke numerous languages mutually unintelligible to the many speakers, and did not conceive of themselves as a single people — if they knew about each other at all.

NEAL SALISBURY

SOURCE: Neal Salisbury, "The Indians' Old World: Native Americans and the Coming of Europeans," *William and Mary Quarterly* 53 (July 1996): 444.

Given the archaeological record, North American "prehistory" can hardly be characterized as a multiplicity of discrete microhistories. Fundamental to the social and economic patterns . . . were exchanges that linked peoples across geographic, cultural, and linguistic boundaries. The effects of these links are apparent in the spread of raw materials and finished goods, of beliefs and ceremonies, and of techniques for food production and for manufacturing. . . . Exchange constitutes an important key to conceptualizing American history before Columbus.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Describe one way in which these historians disagree in their understanding of early Native American history.
2. How does each of these historians explain the diversity among Native American peoples?
3. Identify a specific passage or section from the textbook chapter that supports or challenges the arguments presented by each of these two historians.

between families than a contest between nations. If a community lost warriors in battle, it might retaliate by capturing or killing a like number of warriors in response — a so-called mourning war. Some captives were adopted into new communities, while others were enslaved or tortured.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What factors might best explain the variations among Native American societies and cultures?

Western Europe: The Edge of the Old World

In 1491, Western Europe lay at the far edge of the Eurasian and African continents. It had neither the powerful centralized empires nor the hunter-gatherer bands and semi-sedentary societies of the Americas. Western Europe was, instead, a patchwork of roughly equivalent kingdoms, duchies, and republics vying with one another and struggling to reach out effectively to the rest of the world. No one would have predicted that Europeans would soon become overlords of the Western Hemisphere. A thousand years after the fall of the Roman Empire, Europe's populations still relied on subsistence

agriculture and were never far from the specter of famine. Moreover, around 1350, a deadly plague was introduced from Central Asia — the Black Death — that killed one-third of Europe's people. The lives of ordinary people were afflicted by poverty, disease, and uncertainty, and the future looked as difficult and dark as the past.

Hierarchy and Authority

In traditional hierarchical societies — American or European — authority came from above. In Europe, kings and princes owned vast tracts of land, forcibly conscripted men for military service, and lived off the peasantry's labor. Yet monarchs were far from supreme: local nobles also owned large estates and controlled hundreds of peasant families. Collectively, these nobles challenged royal authority with both their military power and their legislative institutions, such as the French *parlements* and the English House of Lords.

Just as kings and nobles ruled society, men governed families. These were **patriarchies**, in which property and social identity descended in male family lines. Rich or poor, the man was the head of the house, his power justified by the teachings of the Christian Church. As one English clergyman put it, "The woman is a weak creature not embued with like strength and constancy of mind"; law and custom "subjected her to the power of man." Once married, an Englishwoman assumed her husband's surname, submitted to his orders, and surrendered the right to her property.

Men also controlled the lives of their children, who usually worked for their father into their middle or late twenties. Then landowning peasants would give land to their sons and **dowries** (property or money given by a bride's family to her husband) to their daughters and choose marriage partners of appropriate wealth and status. In many regions, fathers bestowed all their land on their eldest son — a practice known as primogeniture — forcing many younger children to join the ranks of the roaming poor. Few men and even fewer women had much personal freedom.

Powerful institutions — **nobility**, church, and village — enforced hierarchy and offered ordinary people a measure of security in a violent and unpredictable world. Carried by migrants to America, these security-conscious institutions would shape the character of family and society well into the eighteenth century.

AP® EXAM TIP

Consider the ways that European societies were similar to and different from Native societies in the Americas.

Peasant Society

Most Europeans were **peasants**, farmworkers who lived in small villages surrounded by fields farmed cooperatively by different families. On **manorial** lands, farming rights were given in exchange for labor on the lord's estate, an arrangement that turned peasants into serfs. Gradually, obligatory manorial services gave way to paying rent or, as in France, landownership. Once freed from the obligation to labor for their farming rights, European farmers began to produce surpluses and created local market economies.

As with Native Americans, the rhythm of life followed the seasons. In March, villagers began the exhausting work of plowing and then planting wheat, rye, and oats. During the spring, the men sheared wool, which the women washed and spun into yarn. In June, peasants cut hay and stored it as winter fodder for their livestock. During the summer, life was more relaxed, and families repaired their houses and barns. Fall brought the harvest, followed by solemn feasts of thanksgiving and riotous bouts of merrymaking. As winter approached, peasants slaughtered excess livestock and salted or smoked the meat. During the cold months, they threshed grain and wove textiles, visited friends and relatives, and celebrated the winter solstice or the birth of Christ. Just before the cycle began again in the spring, they held carnivals, celebrating with drink and dance the end of the long winter.

For most peasants, survival meant constant labor, and poverty corroded family relationships. Malnourished mothers fed their babies sparingly, calling them "greedy and gluttonous," and many newborn girls were "helped to die" so that their brothers would

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

In what ways were the lives of Europeans similar to and different from those of Native Americans?

have enough to eat. Half of all peasant children died before the age of twenty-one, victims of malnourishment and disease. Many peasants drew on strong religious beliefs, "counting blessings" and accepting their harsh existence. Others hoped for a better life. It was the peasants of Spain, Germany, and Britain who would supply the majority of white migrants to the Western Hemisphere.

Expanding Trade Networks

In the **millennium** before contact with the Americas, Western Europe was the barbarian fringe of the civilized world. In the Mediterranean basin, Arab scholars carried on the legacy of Byzantine civilization, which had preserved the achievements of the Greeks and Romans in **medicine**, **philosophy**, mathematics, astronomy, and geography, while Arab merchants controlled trade in the Mediterranean, Africa, and the Near East. This control gave them access to spices from India and silks, magnetic compasses, water-powered mills, and mechanical clocks from China.

In the twelfth century, merchants from the Italian city-states of Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and especially Venice began to push their way into the Arab-dominated trade routes of the Mediterranean. Trading in Alexandria, Beirut, and other eastern Mediterranean ports, they carried the luxuries of Asia into European markets. At its peak, Venice had a merchant fleet of more than three thousand ships. This enormously profitable commerce created wealthy merchants, bankers, and textile manufacturers who expanded trade, lent vast sums of money, and spurred technological **innovation** in silk and wool production.

Italian moneyed elites ruled their city-states as **republics**, states that had no prince or king but instead were governed by merchant **coalitions**. They celebrated civic humanism, an **ideology** that praised public virtue and service to the state; over time, this tradition profoundly influenced European and American conceptions of government. They sponsored great artists — Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and others — who produced an unprecedented flowering of genius. Historians have labeled the arts

Procession in St. Mark's Square in Venice, 1496 Venice was one of the world's great trading centers in the fifteenth century. Its merchant houses connected Europe to Asia and the Middle East, while its complex republican government aroused both admiration and mistrust. Here, Venetian painter Gentile Bellini (c. 1429–1507) depicts a diplomatic procession celebrating the League of Venice, a union of European states opposed to French expansion into Italy.

and learning associated with this cultural transformation from 1300 to 1450 the Renaissance.

The economic revolution that began in Italy spread slowly to northern and western Europe. England's principal export was woolen cloth, which was prized in the colder parts of the continent but had less appeal in southern Europe and beyond. Northern Europe had its own trade system, controlled by an alliance of merchant communities called the Hanseatic League. Centered on the Baltic and North seas, it dealt in timber, furs, wheat and rye, honey, wax, and amber.

As trade picked up in Europe, merchants and **artisans** came to dominate its growing cities and towns. While the Italian city-states ruled themselves without a powerful monarch, in much of Europe the power of merchants stood in tension with that of kings and nobles. In general, the rise of commerce favored the power of kings at the expense of the landed nobility. The kings of Western Europe established royal law courts that gradually eclipsed the manorial courts controlled by nobles; they also built bureaucracies that helped them centralize power while they forged alliances with merchants and urban artisans. Monarchs allowed merchants to trade throughout their realms; granted privileges to guilds or artisan organizations that regulated trades; and safeguarded commercial transactions, thereby encouraging domestic manufacturing and foreign trade. In return, they extracted taxes from towns and loans from merchants to support their armies and officials.

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the changing structure of the European economy from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries and how that in turn impacted European society.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the growth of commerce shift the structure of power in European societies?

Myths, Religions, and Holy Warriors

The oldest European religious beliefs drew on a form of animism similar to that of Native Americans, which held that the natural world — the sun, wind, stones, animals — was animated by spiritual forces. As in North America, such beliefs led ancient European peoples to develop localized cults of knowledge and spiritual practice. Wise men and women created rituals to protect their communities, ensure abundant harvests, heal illnesses, and bring misfortunes to their enemies.

The **pagan** traditions of Greece and Rome overlaid animism with elaborate myths about gods interacting directly with the affairs of human beings. As the Roman Empire expanded, it built temples to its gods wherever it planted new settlements. Thus peoples throughout Europe, North Africa, and the Near East were exposed to the Roman pantheon. Soon the teachings of Christianity began to flow in these same channels.

The Rise of Christianity

Christianity, which grew out of Jewish monotheism (the belief in one god), held that Jesus Christ was himself divine. As an institution, Christianity benefitted enormously from the conversion of the Roman emperor Constantine in A.D. 312. Prior to that time, Christians were an underground sect at odds with the Roman Empire. After Constantine's conversion, Christianity became Rome's official religion, temples were abandoned or remade into churches, and noblemen who hoped to retain their influence converted to the new state religion.

For centuries, the Roman Catholic Church was the great unifying institution in Western Europe. The pope in Rome headed a vast hierarchy of cardinals, bishops, and priests. Catholic theologians preserved Latin, the language of classical scholarship, and imbued kingship with divine power. Christian dogma provided a common understanding of God and human history, and the authority of the Church **buttressed** state institutions. Every village had a church, and holy shrines served as points of contact with the sacred world. Often those shrines had their origins in older, animist practices, now largely forgotten and replaced with Christian ritual.

Christian doctrine penetrated deeply into the everyday lives of peasants. While animist traditions held that spiritual forces were alive in the natural world, Christian priests taught that the natural world was flawed and fallen. Spiritual power came from outside nature, from a supernatural God who had sent his divine son, Jesus Christ, into the world to save humanity from its sins. The Christian Church devised a religious

***The Beaune Altarpiece*, c. 1445–1450** Fifteenth-century Christians understood their lives to be part of a cosmic drama. Death — and their fate in the afterlife — loomed large in their imaginations, and artists depicted their hopes and fears in vividly rendered scenes. In this massive altarpiece by Dutch painter Rogier van der Weyden, Christ sits in judgment as the world ends and the dead rise from their graves. The archangel Michael weighs the souls of the dead in a balance to determine their final fate: either eternal life with God in heaven or everlasting punishment in hell.

calendar that transformed animist festivals into holy days. The winter solstice, which had for millennia marked the return of the sun, became the feast of Christmas.

The Church also taught that Satan, a wicked supernatural being, was constantly challenging God by tempting people to sin. People who spread **heresies** — doctrines that were inconsistent with the teachings of the Church — were seen as the tools of Satan, and suppressing false doctrines became an obligation of Christian rulers.

The Crusades In their work suppressing false doctrines, Christian rulers were also obliged to combat **Islam**, the religion whose followers considered Muhammad to be God's last prophet. Islam's reach expanded until it threatened European Christendom. Following the death of Muhammad in A.D. 632, the newly converted Arab peoples of North Africa used force and fervor to spread the Muslim faith into sub-Saharan Africa, India, and Indonesia, as well as deep into Spain and the Balkan regions of Europe. Between A.D. 1096 and 1291, Christian armies undertook a series of **Crusades** to reverse the Muslim advance in Europe and win back the holy lands where Christ had lived. Under the banner of the pope and led by Europe's Christian monarchs, crusading armies aroused great waves of popular piety as they marched off to combat. New orders of knights, like the Knights Templar and the Teutonic Knights, were created to support them.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the relationship between religious causes and exploration by European nations.

The crusaders had some military successes, but their most profound impact was on European society. Religious warfare intensified Europe's Christian identity and prompted the persecution of Jews and their **expulsion** from many European countries. The Crusades also introduced Western European merchants to the trade routes that stretched from Constantinople to China along the Silk Road and from the Mediterranean Sea through the Persian Gulf to the Indian Ocean. And crusaders encountered sugar for the first time. Returning soldiers brought it back from the Middle East, and as Europeans began to conquer territory in the eastern Mediterranean, they experimented with raising it themselves. These early experiments with sugar would have a profound impact on European enterprise in the Americas — and European involvement with the African slave trade — in the centuries to come. Although Western Europe

in 1491 remained relatively isolated from the centers of civilization in Eurasia and Africa, the Crusades and the rise of Italian merchant houses had introduced it to a wider world.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the growing influence of the Christian Church affect events in Europe?

The Reformation In 1517, Martin Luther, a German monk and professor at the university in Wittenberg, took up the cause of reform in the Catholic Church. Luther's *Ninety-five Theses* condemned the Church for many corrupt practices. More radically, Luther downplayed the role of the clergy as mediators between God and believers and said that Christians must look to the Bible, not to the Church, as the ultimate authority in matters of faith. So that every literate German could read the Bible, previously available only in Latin, Luther translated it into German.

Meanwhile, in Geneva, Switzerland, French theologian John Calvin established a rigorous Protestant regime. Even more than Luther, Calvin stressed human weakness and God's omnipotence. His *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536) depicted God as an absolute ruler. Calvin preached the doctrine of predestination, the idea that God chooses certain people for salvation before they are born and condemns the rest to eternal damnation. In Geneva, he set up a model Christian community ruled by ministers who prohibited frivolity and luxury. "We know," wrote Calvin, "that man is of so perverse and crooked a nature, that everyone would scratch out his neighbor's eyes if there were no bridle to hold them in." Calvin's authoritarian doctrine won converts all over Europe, including the Puritans in Scotland and England.

Luther's criticisms triggered a war between the Holy Roman Empire and the northern principalities in Germany, and soon the controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and radical reformers like Luther and Calvin spread throughout much of Western Europe. The **Protestant Reformation**, as this movement came to be called, triggered a **Counter-Reformation** in the Catholic Church that sought change from within and created new monastic and **missionary** orders, including the Jesuits (founded in 1540), who saw themselves as soldiers of Christ. The competition between these divergent Christian traditions did much to shape European colonization of the Americas. Roman Catholic powers — Spain, Portugal, and France — sought to win souls in the Americas for the Church, while Protestant nations — England and the Netherlands — viewed the Catholic Church as corrupt and exploitative and hoped instead to create godly communities attuned to the true gospel of Christianity.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How had recent developments changed Western Europe by 1491?

West and Central Africa: Origins of the Atlantic Slave Trade

Homo sapiens originated in Africa. Numerous civilizations had already risen and fallen there, and contacts with the Near East and the Mediterranean were millennia old, when Western Europeans began sailing down its Atlantic coast. Home to perhaps 100 million in 1400, Africa was divided by the vast expanse of the Sahara Desert. North Africa bordered on the Mediterranean, and its peoples fell under the domination of Christian Byzantium until the seventh century, when Muslim conquests brought the region under Islamic influence. In its coastal seaports, the merchandise of Asia, the Near East, Africa, and Europe converged. South of the Sahara, by contrast, the societies of West and Central Africa bordering on the Atlantic were relatively isolated. After 1400, that would quickly change.

Empires, Kingdoms, and Ministates

West Africa — the part of the continent that bulges into the Atlantic — can be visualized as a broad horizontal swath divided into three **climatic** zones. The Sahel is the mostly

flat, semiarid zone immediately south of the Sahara. Below it lies the savanna, a grassland region dotted with trees and shrubs. South of the savanna, in a band 200 to 300 miles wide along the West African coast, lies a tropical rain forest. A series of four major watersheds — the Senegal, Gambia, Volta, and Niger — dominate West Africa (Map 1.3).

Sudanic civilization took root at the eastern end of West Africa beginning around 9000 B.C. and traveled westward. Sudanic peoples domesticated cattle (8500–7500 B.C.) and cultivated sorghum and millet (7500–7000 B.C.). Over several thousand years, these peoples developed a distinctive style of pottery, began to grow and weave cotton (6500–3500 B.C.), and invented techniques for working copper and iron (2500–1000 B.C.). Sudanic civilization had its own tradition of monotheism distinct from that of Christians, Muslims, and Jews. Most Sudanic peoples in West Africa lived in stratified states ruled by kings and princes who were regarded as divine.

MAP 1.3 West Africa and the Mediterranean in the Fifteenth Century
Trade routes across the Sahara had long connected West Africa with the Mediterranean region. Gold, ivory, and slaves moved north and east; fine textiles, spices, and the Muslim faith traveled south. Beginning in the 1430s, the Portuguese opened up maritime trade with the coastal regions of West Africa, which were home to many peoples and dozens of large and small states. Over the next century, the movement of gold and slaves into the Atlantic would surpass that across the Sahara.

From these cultural origins, three great empires arose in succession in the northern savanna. The first, the Ghana Empire, appeared sometime around A.D. 800. Ghana capitalized on the recently domesticated camel to pioneer trade routes across the Sahara to North Africa, where Ghana traders carried the wealth of West Africa. The Ghana Empire gave way to the Mali Empire in the thirteenth century, which was eclipsed in turn by the Songhai Empire in the fifteenth century. All three empires were composed of smaller **vassal** kingdoms, not unlike the Aztec and Inca empires, and relied on military might to control their valuable trade routes.

Gold, abundant in West Africa, was the cornerstone of power and an indispensable medium of international trade. By 1450, West African traders had carried so much of it across the Sahara that it constituted one-half to two-thirds of all the gold in circulation in Europe, North Africa, and Asia. Mansa Musa, the tenth emperor of Mali, was a devout Muslim famed for his construction projects and his support of mosques and schools. In 1326, he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca with a vast **retinue** that crossed the Sahara and passed through Egypt. They spent so much gold along the way that the region's money supply was devalued for more than a decade after their visit.

To the south of these empires, the lower savanna and tropical rain forest of West Africa were home to a complex mosaic of kingdoms that traded among themselves and with the empires to the north. In such a densely populated, resource-rich region, they also fought frequently in a competition for local power. A few of these coastal kingdoms were quite large in size, but most were small enough that they have been termed ministates by historians. Comparable to the city-states of Italy, they were often about the size of a modern-day county in the United States. The tropical ecosystem prevented them from raising livestock, since the tsetse fly (which carries a parasite deadly to livestock) was **endemic** to the region, as was **malaria**. In place of the grain crops of the savanna, these peoples pioneered the cultivation of yams; they also gathered resources from the rivers and seacoast.

Terracotta Figure from Mali Dating to the thirteenth or fourteenth century, this terracotta figure came from an archaeological site near Djenné. The rider wears a large, ornate necklace, while the horse has a decorative covering on its head. The Mali Empire relied on a large cavalry to expand and defend its borders, and the horse was an important symbol of Mali's wealth and power. Werner Forman/Art Resource, N

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How do the states of the savanna compare to those of the Americas and Europe?

Trans-Saharan and Coastal Trade

For centuries, the primary avenue of trade for West Africans passed through the Ghana, Mali, and Songhai empires, whose power was based on the monopoly they enjoyed over the trans-Saharan trade. Their **caravans** carried West African goods — including gold, copper, salt, and slaves — from the south to the north across the Sahara, then returned with textiles and other products. For the smaller states clustered along the West African coast, merchandise originating in the world beyond the Sahara was scarce and expensive, while markets for their own products were limited.

Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, a new coastal trade with Europeans offered many West African peoples a welcome alternative. As European sailors made their way along the coast of West and then Central Africa, they encountered a bewilderingly complicated political landscape. Around the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia rivers, numerous Mande-speaking states controlled access to the trade routes into the interior. Proceeding farther along the coast, they encountered the Akan states, a region of several dozen independent but culturally linked peoples. The Akan states had goldfields of their own, and this region soon became known to Europeans as the Gold Coast. East of

Colliding Cultures

Carefully consider each of the objects or texts below. What meanings might you—thinking like a historian—impart to them?

1. **Mississippian warrior gorget (neck guard), A.D. 1250–1350.**

National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution 15/853

2. **Portuguese officer's account of de Soto's expedition, 1557.** *This excerpt describes Indian resistance in the face of de Soto's campaign of conquest against Indians in the southeastern United States.*

[Spanish soldiers] went over a swampy land where the horsemen could not go. A half league from camp they came upon some Indian huts near the river; [but] the people who were inside them plunged into the river. They captured four Indian women, and twenty Indians came at us and attacked us so stoutly that we had to retreat to the camp, because of their being (as they are) so skillful with their weapons. Those people are so warlike and so quick that they make no account of foot soldiers; for if these go for them, they flee, and when their adversaries turn their backs they are immediately on them. The farthest they flee is the distance of an arrow shot. They are never quiet but always running and crossing from one side to another so that the crossbows or the arquebuses can not be aimed at them; and before a crossbowman can fire a shot, an Indian can shoot three or four arrows, and very seldom does he miss what he shoots at. If the arrow does not find armor, it penetrates as deeply as a crossbow. The bows are very long and the arrows are made of certain reeds like canes, very heavy and so tough that a sharpened cane passes through a shield. Some are pointed with a fish bone, as sharp as an awl, and others with a certain stone like a diamond point.

3. **Duarte Lopez, *A Report on the Kingdom of Kongo*, 1591.** *A Portuguese explorer's account of his travels in southern Africa in the sixteenth century.*

[T]he Kingdom of Sofala lies between the two rivers, Magnice and Cuama, on the sea-coast. It is small in size, and has but few villages and towns. . . . It is peopled by Mohammedans, and the king himself belongs to the same sect. He pays allegiance to the crown of Portugal, in order not to be subject to the government of Monomotapa [Mutapa]. On this account the Portuguese have a fortress at the mouth of the River Cuama, trading with those countries in gold, amber, and ivory, all found on that coast, as well as in slaves, and giving in exchange silk stuffs and taffetas. . . . It is said, that from these regions the gold was brought by sea which served for Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem, a fact by no means improbable, for in these countries of Monomotapa are found several ancient buildings of stone, brick, and wood, and of such wonderful workmanship, and architecture, as is nowhere seen in the surrounding provinces.

The Kingdom of Monomotapa is extensive, and has a large population of Pagan heathens, who are black, of middle stature, swift of foot, and in battle fight with great bravery, their weapons being bows and arrows, and light darts. There are numerous kings tributary to Monomotapa, who constantly rebel and wage war against it. The Emperor maintains large armies, which in the provinces are divided into legions, after the manner of the Romans, for, being a great ruler, he must be at constant warfare in order to maintain his dominion. Amongst his warriors, those most renowned for bravery, are the female legions, greatly valued by the Emperor, being the sinews of his military strength.

4. **Benin figurine of a Portuguese soldier from the seventeenth century.** *This brass figure would have been kept on an altar or on the roof of the royal palace of Benin.*

Source: © The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

5. **Sixteenth-century Portuguese coin made from African gold.** *Before the discovery of the Americas, half of the Old World's gold came from sub-Saharan Africa.*

© The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

6. **Sixteenth- or seventeenth-century Spanish silver real.** *Spain minted enormous quantities of American silver; much of it was shipped to Manila, where it was exchanged for Asian luxury goods.*

Source: © RMN-Grand Palais/Art Resource, NY

Sources: (2) John E. Worth, "Account of the Northern Conquest and Discovery of Hernando de Soto by Rodrigo Rangel," trans. John E. Worth, in Lawrence A. Clayton et al., eds., *The De Soto Chronicles: The Expedition of Hernando de Soto to North America in 1539–1543* (University of Alabama Press, 1993), 59; (3) Filippo Pigafetta, *A Report of the Kingdom of Congo*, trans. Margarite Hutchinson (London: John Murray, 1881), 117–119.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What can you infer about cultural values among Mississippian peoples from source 1? About the cultural values of the Spanish and Portuguese from sources 5 and 6? What *can't* you infer from these objects?
2. How does de Soto describe the Native peoples he encounters in Florida (source 2)? How does that compare to the traits of the African kingdoms that Lopez comments upon in source 3? Why might the king of Sofala prefer a Portuguese alliance to subjection to Monomotapa?
3. What does source 4 suggest about Benin relations with the Portuguese?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

What do these sources tell us about the ways Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans thought about themselves, perceived one another, and capitalized on cross-cultural exchanges as they came into sustained contact? Write a short essay that considers the connection between the impulses of warfare and commerce, which appear again and again in contact settings.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why were West African leaders eager to engage in trade with Europeans?

the Akan states lay the Bight of Benin, which became an early center of the slave trade and thus came to be called the Slave Coast. Bending south, fifteenth-century sailors encountered the Kingdom of Kongo in Central Africa, the largest state on the Atlantic seaboard, with a coastline that ran for some 250 miles. It was here in 1578 that Duarte Lopez visited the capital city of more than 100,000 residents. Wherever they went ashore along this route, European traders had to negotiate contacts on local terms (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

The Spirit World

Some West Africans who lived immediately south of the Sahara—the Fulanis in Senegal, the Mande-speakers in Mali, and the Hausas in northern Nigeria—learned about Islam from Arab merchants and Muslim leaders called imams. Converts to Islam knew the Koran and worshipped only a single God. Some of their cities, like Timbuktu, the legendary commercial center on the Niger River, became centers of Islamic learning and instruction. But most West Africans acknowledged multiple gods, as well as spirits that lived in the earth, animals, and plants.

Like animists in the Americas and Europe, African communities had wise men and women adept at manipulating these forces for good or ill. The Sudanic tradition of divine kingship persisted, and many people believed that their kings could contact the spirit world. West Africans treated their ancestors with great respect, believing that the dead resided in a nearby spiritual realm and interceded in their lives. Most West African peoples had secret societies, such as the Poro for men and the Sande for women, that united people from different lineages and clans. These societies conducted rituals that celebrated male virility and female fertility. "Without children you are naked," said a Yoruba proverb. Happy was the man with a big household, many wives, many children, and many relatives—and, in a not very different vein, many slaves.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How was sub-Saharan Africa affected by the arrival of European traders?

Exploration and Conquest

Beginning around 1400, the Portuguese monarchy propelled Europe into overseas expansion. Portugal soon took a leading role in the African slave trade, while the newly unified kingdom of Spain undertook Europe's first conquests in the Americas. These two ventures, though not initially linked, eventually became cornerstones in the creation of the "Atlantic World," which connected Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

Portuguese Expansion

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the impact of technology on Europeans' ability to explore away from the Atlantic coast and reach the Americas.

As a young soldier fighting in the Crusades, Prince Henry of Portugal (1394–1460) learned about the trans-Saharan trade in gold and slaves. Seeking a maritime route to the source of this trade in West Africa, Henry founded a center for oceanic navigation. Henry's mariners, challenged to find a way through the treacherous waters off the northwest African coast, designed a better-handling vessel, the caravel, which was rigged with a lateen (triangular) sail that enabled the ship to tack into the wind. This innovation allowed them to sail far into the Atlantic, where they discovered and colonized the Madeira and Azore islands. From there, they sailed in 1435 to sub-Saharan Sierra Leone, where they exchanged salt, wine, and fish for African ivory and gold.

Henry's efforts were soon joined to those of Italian merchants, who were being forced out of eastern Mediterranean trade routes by the rising power of the Ottoman Empire. Cut off from Asia, Genoese traders sought an Atlantic route to the lucrative

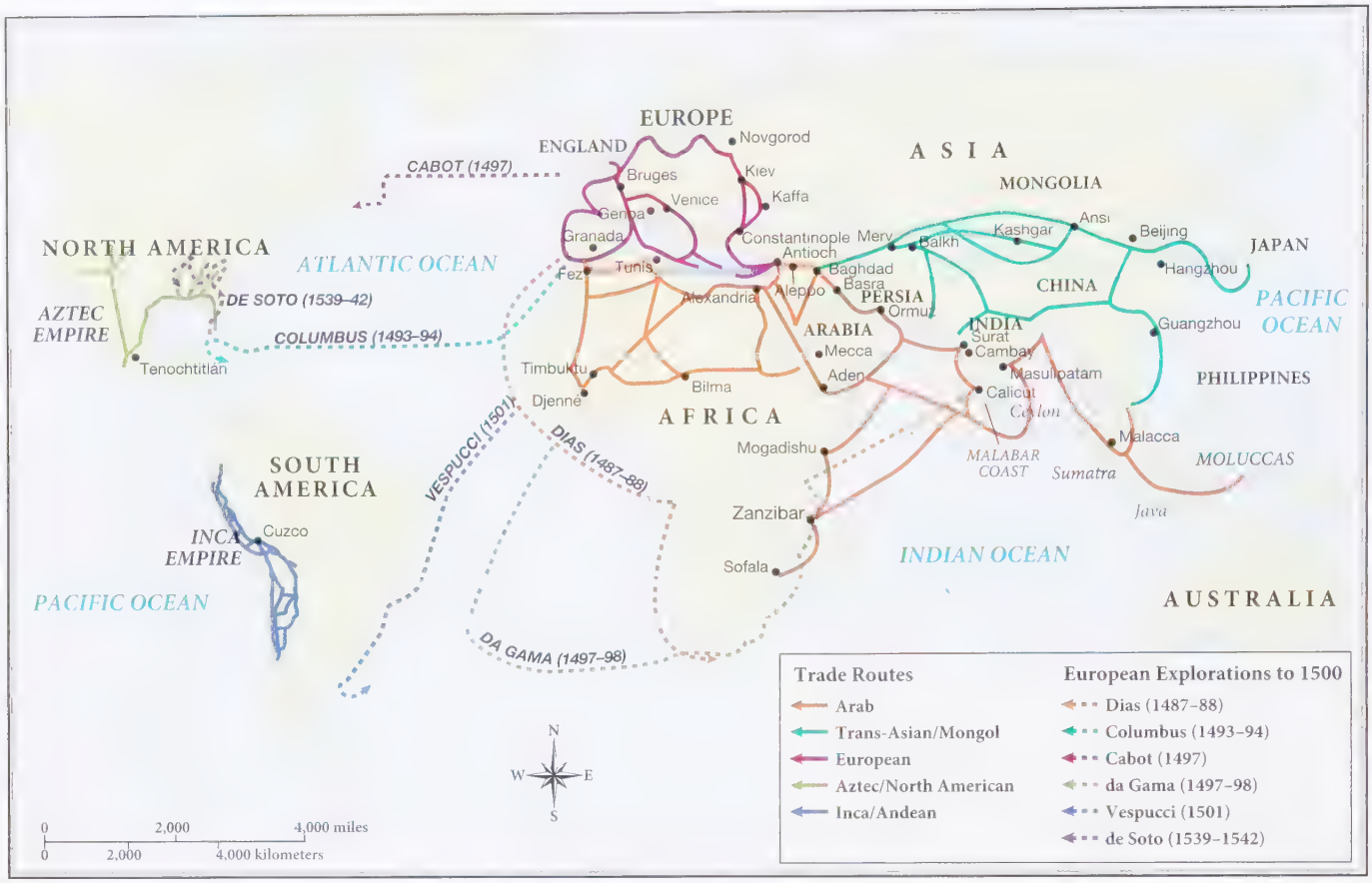
Banza in the Kingdom of Kongo, c. 1668 The city of Banza, or Mbanza Kongo, was the capital of the Kingdom of Kongo when Portuguese traders first arrived in 1483. Kongo's king, Nzinga a Nkuwu, chose to be baptized to cement an alliance with Portugal and took the name João I. Kongo became officially Christian, and Banza came to be known as São Salvador. Duarte Lopez visited and described the city in 1578; this engraving shows the city as it appeared a century later. Banza 'n the Kingdom of Kongo, San Sa vador, from Olfert Dapper, c 1668 Picture Researc h Consu tants & Arch ves

markets of the Indian Ocean. They began to work with Portuguese and Castilian mariners and monarchs to **finance** trading voyages, and the African coast and its offshore islands opened to their efforts. European voyagers discovered the Canaries, the Cape Verde Islands, and São Tomé; all of them became laboratories for the expansion of Mediterranean agriculture.

On these Atlantic islands, planters transformed local ecosystems to experiment with a variety of familiar cash crops: wheat, wine grapes, and woad, a blue dye plant; livestock and honeybees; and, where the climate permitted, sugar. By 1500, Madeira was producing 2,500 metric tons a year, and Madeira sugar was available—in small, expensive quantities—in London, Paris, Rome, and Constantinople. Most of the islands were unpopulated. The Canaries were the exception; it took Castilian adventurers decades to conquer the Guanches who lived there. Once defeated, they were enslaved to labor in the Canaries or on Madeira, where they carved irrigation canals into the island's steep rock cliffs.

Europeans made no such inroads on the continent of Africa itself. The coastal kingdoms were well defended, and yellow fever, malaria, and dysentery quickly struck down Europeans who spent any time in the interior of West Africa. Instead they maintained small, fortified trading posts on offshore islands or along the coast, usually as guests of the local king.

Portuguese sailors continued to look for an Atlantic route to Asia. In 1488, Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope, the southern tip of Africa. Vasco da Gama reached East Africa in 1497 and India in the following year; his ships were mistaken for those of Chinese traders, the last pale-skinned men to arrive by sea. Although



MAP 1.4 The Eurasian Trade System and European Maritime Ventures, c. 1500
For centuries, the Mediterranean Sea was the meeting point for the commerce of Europe, North Africa, and Asia — via the Silk Road from China and the Spice Route from India. Beginning in the 1490s, Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch rulers and merchants subsidized Christian maritime explorers who discovered new trade routes around Africa and new sources of wealth in the Americas. These initiatives undermined the commercial primacy of the Arab Muslim–dominated Mediterranean.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
How did Europe's desire for an ocean route to Asia shape its contacts with Africa?

da Gama's inferior goods — tin basins, coarse cloth, honey, and coral beads — were snubbed by the Arab and Indian merchants along India's Malabar Coast, he managed to acquire a highly profitable cargo of cinnamon and pepper. Da Gama returned to India in 1502 with twenty-one fighting vessels, which outmaneuvered and outgunned the Arab fleets. Soon the Portuguese government set up fortified trading posts for its merchants at key points around the Indian Ocean, in Indonesia, and along the coast of China (Map 1.4). In a transition that sparked the momentous growth of European wealth and power, the Portuguese and then the Dutch replaced the Arabs as the leaders in Asian commerce.

The African Slave Trade

AP® EXAM TIP
Identifying the origins of the slave trade system in the Atlantic world is critical to success on the AP® exam.

Portuguese traders also ousted Arab merchants as the leading suppliers of African slaves. **Coerced** labor — through slavery, serfdom, or indentured servitude — was the norm in most premodern societies, and in Africa slavery was widespread. Some Africans were held in bondage as security for debts; others were sold into servitude by their kin in exchange for food in times of famine; many others were war captives. Slaves were a key **commodity**, sold as agricultural laborers, concubines, or military recruits. Sometimes their descendants were freed, but others endured hereditary bondage. Sonni Ali (r. 1464–1492), the ruler of the powerful Songhai Empire, personally owned twelve "tribes" of hereditary agricultural slaves, many of them seized in raids against neighboring peoples.

Slaves were also central to the trans-Saharan trade. When the renowned Tunisian adventurer Ibn Battuta crossed the Sahara from the Kingdom of Mali around 1350, he traveled with a caravan of six hundred female slaves, destined for domestic service or concubinage in North Africa, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. Between A.D. 700 and 1900, it is estimated that as many as nine million Africans were sold in the trans-Saharan slave trade.

Europeans initially were much more interested in trading for gold and other commodities than in trading for human beings, but gradually they discovered the enormous value of human trafficking. To exploit and redirect the existing African slave trade, Portuguese merchants established fortified trading posts like those in the Indian Ocean beginning at Elmina in 1482, where they bought gold and slaves from African princes and warlords. First they enslaved a few thousand Africans each year to work on sugar plantations on São Tomé, Cape Verde, the Azores, and Madeira; they also sold slaves in Lisbon, which soon had an African population of 9,000. After 1550, the Atlantic slave trade, a forced **diaspora** of African peoples, expanded enormously as Europeans set up sugar plantations across the Atlantic, in Brazil and the West Indies.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How was the African slave trade adapted to European needs?

Sixteenth-Century Incursions

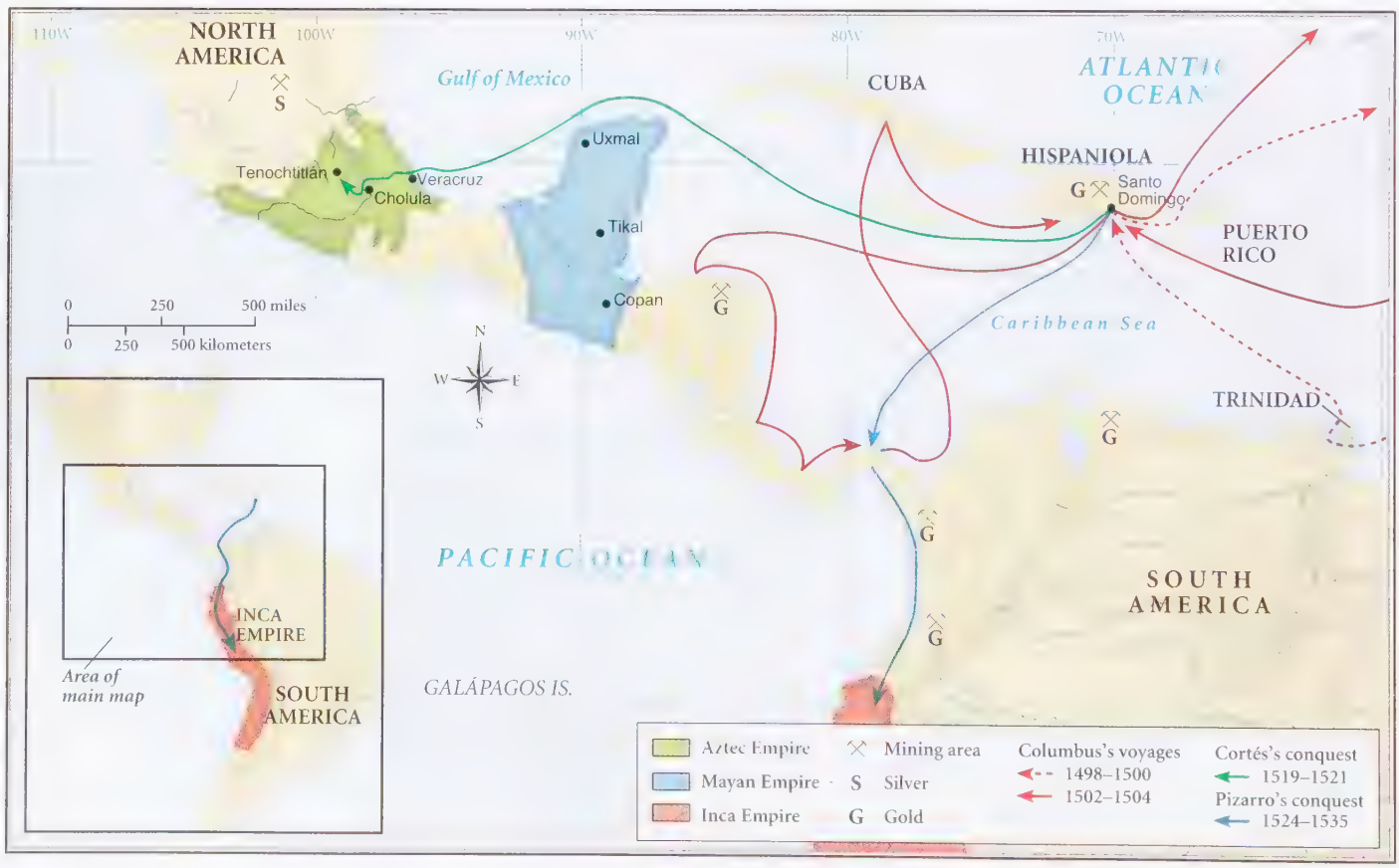
As Portuguese traders sailed south and east, the Spanish monarchs Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile financed an explorer who looked to the west. As Renaissance rulers, Ferdinand (r. 1474–1516) and Isabella (r. 1474–1504) saw national

The Map Behind Columbus's Voyage In 1489, Henricus Martellus, a German cartographer living in Florence, produced this huge (4 feet by 6 feet) view of the known world, probably working from a map devised by Christopher Columbus's brother, Bartholomew. The map uses the spatial projection of the ancient Greek philosopher Claudius Ptolemy (A.D. 90–168) and incorporates information from Marco Polo's explorations in Asia and Bartolomeu Dias's recent voyage around the tip of Africa. Most important, it greatly exaggerates the width of Eurasia, thereby suggesting that Asia lies only 5,000 miles west of Europe (rather than the actual distance of 15,000 miles). Using Martellus's map, Columbus persuaded the Spanish monarchs to support his westward voyage. bpk Bildagentur Berlin/Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Ruth Schacht/Art Resource, NY

unity and foreign commerce as the keys to power and prosperity. Married in an arranged match to combine their Christian kingdoms, the young rulers completed the centuries-long *reconquista*, the campaign by Spanish Catholics to drive Muslim Arabs from the European mainland, by capturing Granada, the last Islamic territory in Western Europe, in 1492. Using Catholicism to build a sense of "Spanishness," they launched the brutal Inquisition against suspected Christian heretics and expelled or forcibly converted thousands of Jews and Muslims.

Columbus and the Caribbean Simultaneously, Ferdinand and Isabella sought trade and empire by **subsidizing** the voyages of Christopher Columbus, an ambitious and daring mariner from Genoa. Columbus believed that the Atlantic Ocean, long feared by Arab merchants as a 10,000-mile-wide "green sea of darkness," was a much narrower channel of water separating Europe from Asia. After six years of lobbying, Columbus persuaded Genoese investors and Ferdinand and Isabella to accept his dubious theories and finance a western voyage to Asia.

Columbus set sail in three small ships in August 1492. Six weeks later, after a perilous voyage of 3,000 miles, he disembarked on an island in the present-day Bahamas. Believing that he had reached Asia—"the Indies," in fifteenth-century **parlance**—Columbus called the native inhabitants Indians and the islands the West Indies. He was surprised by the crude living conditions but expected the Native peoples "easily [to] be made Christians." He claimed the islands for Spain and then explored the neighboring Caribbean islands, demanding tribute from the local Taino, Arawak, and Carib peoples. Columbus left forty men on the island of Hispaniola (present-day Haiti and the Dominican Republic) and returned triumphantly to Spain (Map 1.5).



MAP 1.5 The Spanish Conquest of America's Great Empires
The Spanish first invaded the islands of the Caribbean, largely wiping out the Native peoples. Rumors of a gold-rich civilization led to Cortés's invasion of the Aztec Empire in 1519. By 1535, other Spanish conquistadors had conquered the Mayan temple cities and the Inca Empire in Peru, completing one of the great conquests in world history.

The Spanish monarchs supported three more voyages. Columbus colonized the West Indies with more than 1,000 Spanish settlers — all men — and hundreds of domestic animals. But he failed to find either golden treasures or great kingdoms, and his death in 1506 went virtually unnoticed.

A German geographer soon named the newly found continents "America" in honor of a different explorer. Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine explorer who had visited the coast of present-day South America around 1500, denied that the region was part of Asia. He called it a *nuevo mundo*, a "new world." The Spanish crown called the two continents *Las Indias* ("the Indies") and wanted to make them a new Spanish world.

To see a longer excerpt of Columbus's views of the West Indies, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

The Spanish Invasion After brutally subduing the Arawaks and Tainos on Hispaniola, the Spanish probed the mainland for gold and slaves. In 1513, Juan Ponce de León explored the coast of Florida and gave that peninsula its name. In the same year, Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Darien (Panama) and became the first European to see the Pacific Ocean. Rumors of rich Indian kingdoms encouraged other Spaniards, including hardened veterans of the *reconquista*, to **invade** the mainland. The Spanish monarchs offered successful conquistadors noble titles, vast estates, and Indian laborers (AP® Analyzing Voices).

With these inducements before him, in 1519 Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) led an army of 600 men to the Yucatán Peninsula. Gathering allies among Native peoples who chafed under Aztec rule, he marched on Tenochtitlán and challenged its ruler, Moctezuma. Awed by the Spanish invaders, Moctezuma received Cortés with great ceremony. But Cortés soon took the emperor captive, and after a long siege he and his men captured the city. The conquerors cut off the city's supply of food and water, causing great suffering for the residents of Tenochtitlán. By 1521, Cortés and his men had toppled the Aztec Empire.

The Spanish had a silent ally: disease. Having been separated from Eurasia for thousands of years, the inhabitants of the Americas had no immunities to common European diseases. After the Spaniards arrived, a massive smallpox epidemic ravaged Tenochtitlán, "striking everywhere in the city," according to an Aztec source, and killing Moctezuma's brother and thousands more. "They could not move, they could not stir. . . . Covered, mantled with pustules, very many people died of them." Subsequent outbreaks of smallpox, influenza, and measles killed hundreds of thousands of Indians and sapped the survivors' morale. Exploiting this advantage, Cortés quickly extended Spanish rule over the Aztec Empire. His lieutenants then moved against the Mayan city-states of the Yucatán Peninsula, eventually conquering them as well.

In 1524, Francisco Pizarro set out to accomplish the same feat in Peru. By the time he and his small force of 168 men and 67 horses finally reached their destination in 1532, half of the Inca population had already died from European diseases. Weakened militarily and divided between rival claimants to the throne, the Inca nobility was easy prey. Pizarro killed Atahualpa, the last Inca emperor, and seized his enormous wealth.

The Codex Mendoza Millions of people spoke Nahuatl, the language of the Aztec Empire. It was also a written language: a pictographic system allowed scribes to record histories, tribute lists, and other official texts. Spanish colonizers systematically destroyed Aztec records but later encouraged Native scribes to re-create them. The Codex Mendoza, which dates to the 1540s, gives a history of the Aztec Empire. This page depicts the conquests of Ahuitzotl, the figure in a white cloak and turquoise crown. The toppling temples surrounding him symbolize the city-states he conquered. » Bodleian Libraries/early 1540s/shelfmark MS. Arch. Selden A. 1 fol. 01 3r/The Art Archive at Art Re

A Spanish Priest Criticizes His Fellow Colonists

Primary sources are documents, images, or artifacts that were created during the time you are studying. To analyze a primary source, you need to ask some basic questions about the source:

- Who is the author, and what circumstances led to the document's creation?
- Who was the author's intended audience?
- What was the author's goal in creating the document?
- What ideas, arguments, and images does the author use to make his or her point? How effective are they?
- What outside information can you bring to bear on this document? How does the primary source enhance your understanding of the textbook, and how does the textbook enhance your understanding of the source?
- What does this source tell you about the society in which it was produced?

These are general questions that you should have in mind whenever you read a primary source. Try to answer them for yourself as you read the following document. Then, once you have read it, answer the Questions for Analysis that follow.

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS

A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies

Bartolomé de las Casas first emigrated from Spain to the island of Hispaniola as a colonist and slave owner. After determining that Spain's treatment of Native Americans was cruel and unjust, Las Casas became a Dominican friar, or preacher, and argued that the Spanish king should intervene to protect Native populations. His writings persuaded King Charles V to impose the "New Laws of the Indies for the Good Treatment and Preservation of the Indians" (1542), which outlawed Indian slavery. Ironically, because they depicted Spanish cruelty to Native Americans so vividly, Las Casas's writings were quickly translated into other languages, including English, and Spain's enemies used these texts to support the so-called Black Legend — the view that Spanish colonization was uniquely exploitative and cruel.

SOURCE: *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* by Bartolomé De Las Casas, edited and translated by Nigel Griffin, introduction by Anthony Pagden (Penguin Classics, 2008). The Translation and Notes copyright © Nigel Griffin, 1992. Introduction copyright © Anthony Pagden, 1992. Reproduced by permission of Penguin Books Ltd.

"Most high and most mighty Lord:
As Divine Providence has ordained that the world shall, for the benefit and proper government of the human race, be divided into kingdoms and peoples and that these shall be ruled by kings, who are . . . the noblest and most virtuous of beings, there is no doubt . . . that these kings entertain nothing save that which is morally unimpeachable. It follows that if the commonwealth suffers from some . . . evil, the reason can only be that the ruler is unaware of it; once the matter is brought to his notice, he will work with the utmost diligence to set matters right. . . .

God made all the peoples of this area [the Americas], many and varied as they are, as open and as innocent as can be imagined. The simplest people in the world — unassuming, long-suffering, unassertive, and submissive — they are without malice or guile, and are utterly faithful and obedient both to their own native lords and to the Spaniards in whose service they now find themselves. . . . They are also among the poorest people on the face of the earth; they own next to nothing and

AP EXAM TIP

The patterns established by the early conflicts between the Spanish and Native populations are critical to identify to evaluate colonial systems.

Although Inca resistance continued for a generation, the conquest was complete by 1535, and Spain was now the master of the wealthiest and most populous regions of the Western Hemisphere.

The Spanish invasion changed life forever in the Americas. Disease and warfare wiped out virtually all of the Indians of Hispaniola — at least 300,000 people. In Peru, the population of 9 million in 1530 plummeted to fewer than 500,000 a century later. Mesoamerica suffered the greatest losses: in one of the great **demographic** disasters in world history, its population of 20 million Native Americans in 1500 had dwindled to just 3 million in 1650.

Cabral and Brazil At the same time, Portuguese efforts to sail around the southern tip of Africa led to a surprising find. As Vasco da Gama and his contemporaries experimented with winds and currents, their voyages carried them ever farther away from the African coast and into the Atlantic. On one such voyage in 1500, the Portuguese

have no urge to acquire material possessions. As a result they are neither ambitious nor greedy, and are totally uninterested in worldly power. . . . They are innocent and pure in mind and have a lively intelligence, all of which makes them particularly receptive to learning and understanding the truths of our Catholic faith and to being instructed in virtue. . . .

It was upon these gentle lambs, imbued by the Creator with all the qualities we have mentioned, that from the very first day they clapped eyes on them the Spanish fell like ravening wolves upon the fold, or like tigers and savage lions who have not eaten meat for days. The pattern established at the outset has remained unchanged to this day, and the Spaniards still do nothing save tear the natives to shreds, murder them and inflict upon them untold misery, suffering and distress, tormenting, harrying and persecuting them mercilessly. . . .

When the Spanish first journeyed there, the indigenous population of the island of Hispaniola stood at some three million; today only two hundred survive. The island of Cuba, which extends for a distance almost as great as that separating Valladolid from Rome, is now to all intents and purposes uninhabited; and two other large, beautiful and fertile islands, Puerto Rico and Jamaica, have been similarly devastated. Not a living soul remains today on any of the islands of the Bahamas. . . . On the mainland, we know for sure that our fellow-countrymen have, through their cruelty and wickedness, depopulated and laid waste an area which once boasted more than ten kingdoms, each of them larger in area than the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. . . . At a conservative estimate, the despotic and diabolical behaviour of the Christians has, over the last forty years, led to the unjust and totally unwarranted deaths of more than twelve million souls, women and children among them, and there are grounds for believing my own estimate of more than fifteen million to be nearer the mark.

There are two main ways in which those who have travelled to this part of the world pretending to be Christians have uprooted these pitiful peoples and wiped them from the face of the earth. First, they have waged war on them: unjust, cruel, bloody and tyrannical war. Second, they have murdered anyone and everyone who has shown the slightest sign of resistance, or even of wishing to escape the torment to which they have subjected him. This latter policy has been instrumental in suppressing the native leaders, and, indeed, given that the Spaniards normally spare only women and children, it has led to the annihilation of all adult males, whom they habitually subject to the harshest and most iniquitous and brutal slavery that man has ever devised for his fellow-men, treating them, in fact, worse than animals. . . .

The reason the Christians have murdered on such a vast scale and killed anyone and everyone in their way is purely and simply greed. They have set out to line their pockets with gold and to amass private fortunes as quickly as possible so that they can then assume a status quite at odds with that into which they were born. Their insatiable greed and overweening ambition know no bounds. . . .

One fact in all this is widely known and beyond dispute, for even the tyrannical murderers themselves acknowledge the truth of it: the indigenous peoples never did the Europeans any harm whatever; on the contrary, they believed them to have descended from the heavens, at least until they or their fellow-citizens had tasted, at the hands of these oppressors, a diet of robbery, murder, violence, and all other manner of trials and tribulations. ❞

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Who is Las Casas's intended audience? What does the opening passage tell you about his view of royal authority?
2. How does Las Casas want the king to view Native Americans? Why does he think it is especially important to treat Native Americans humanely?
3. How does Las Casas want the king to view Spanish colonists? What imagery does he use to make his point?
4. How does the use of population figures strengthen the case Las Casas is presenting?
5. Using the information on pages 31–36, how would you place Las Casas's argument in context? What does Las Casas's writing tell you about Spanish colonial society?

commander Pedro Alvares Cabral and his fleet were surprised to see land loom in the west. Cabral named his discovery Ihla da Vera Cruz — the Island of the True Cross — and continued on his way toward India. Others soon followed and changed the region's name to Brazil after the **indigenous** tree that yielded a valuable red dye; for several decades, Portuguese sailors traded with the Tupi Indians for brazilwood. Then in the 1530s, to secure Portugal's claim, King Dom João III sent settlers, who began the long, painstaking process of carving out sugar plantations in the coastal lowlands.

For several decades, Native Americans supplied most of the labor for these operations, but African slaves gradually replaced them. Brazil would soon become the world's leading producer of sugar; it would also devour African lives. By introducing the **plantation system** to the Americas — a form of estate agriculture using slave labor that was pioneered by Italian merchants and crusading knights in the twelfth century and transplanted to the islands off the coast of Africa in the fifteenth century — the Portuguese

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the Portuguese plantation system since it will be important to compare it to the Spanish *encomienda* system that will be introduced in Ch 2.

European Map of Brazil, c. 1519 This lavishly illustrated map of Brazil is drawn from the Miller Atlas, made by order of King Manuel I of Portugal around 1519. It features images of Indians harvesting brazilwood; macaws and other colorful birds; a monkey; and — improbably — a fire-breathing dragon. Note, too, the dense annotations and place names along the coast — a reminder that Portuguese familiarity with Brazil was confined almost entirely to the seaboard. Scala/White Images/Art

set in motion one of the most significant developments of the early modern era.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the European colonization of the Americas had barely begun. Yet several of its most important elements were already taking shape. Spanish efforts demonstrated that densely populated empires were especially vulnerable to conquest and were also especially valuable sources of wealth. The Portuguese had discovered the viability of sugar plantations in the tropical regions of the Americas and pioneered the transatlantic slave trade as a way of manning them. And contacts with Native peoples revealed their devastating vulnerabilities to Eurasian diseases — one part of the larger phenomenon of the Columbian Exchange (discussed in Chapter 2).

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What motivated Portuguese and Spanish expansion into the Atlantic, and what were its unintended consequences?**

SUMMARY

Native American, European, and African societies developed independently over thousands of years before they experienced direct contacts with one another. In the Americas, residents of Mesoamerica and the Andes were fully sedentary (with individual ownership of land and intensive agriculture), but elsewhere societies were semisedentary (with central fields and villages that were occupied seasonally) or nonsedentary (hunter-gatherers). West and Central Africa also had a mix of sedentary, semisedentary, and nonsedentary settlements. Western Europe, by contrast, was predominantly sedentary. All three continents had a complex patchwork of political organizations, from empires, to kingdoms and chiefdoms, to principalities, duchies, and ministates; everywhere, rulership was imbued with notions of spiritual power. Ruling classes relied on warfare, trade, and tribute (or taxes) to dominate those around them and accumulate precious goods that helped to set them apart from ordinary laborers, but they also bore responsibility for the well-being of their subjects and offered them various forms of protection.

As sailors pushed into the Atlantic, they set in motion a chain of events whose consequences they could scarcely imagine. From a coastal trade with Africa that was secondary to their efforts to reach the Indian Ocean, from the miscalculations of Columbus and the happy accident of Cabral, developed a pattern of transatlantic exploration, conquest, and exploitation that no one could have foretold or planned. In the tropical zones of the Caribbean and coastal Brazil, invading Europeans enslaved Native Americans and quickly drove them into extinction or exile. The demands of plantation agriculture soon led Europeans to import slaves from Africa, initiating a transatlantic trade that would destroy African lives on both sides of the ocean. And two of the greatest empires in the world — the Aztec and Incan empires — collapsed in response to unseen biological forces that acted in concert with small invading armies.

CHAPTER 1 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What factors might best explain the variations among Native American societies and cultures?
2. How had recent developments changed Western Europe by 1491?
3. How was sub-Saharan Africa affected by the arrival of European traders?
4. What motivated Portuguese and Spanish expansion into the Atlantic, and what were its unintended consequences?
5. Review the events listed under "Work, Exchange, and Technology" and "Migration and Settlement" on the thematic timeline on pages 4–5. How did contacts among Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans alter the economies of the three continents?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

hunters and gatherers (p. 8)
semisedentary societies (p. 8)
Mississippian culture (p. 11)
eastern woodlands (p. 11)
Algonquian cultures/ languages (p. 11)
Iroquoian cultures/ languages (p. 11)
Iroquois Confederacy (p. 13)
Great Lakes (p. 15)
Great Plains (p. 15)
Rocky Mountains (p. 15)
Great Basin (p. 15)
peasants (p. 19)
republic (p. 20)
Christianity (p. 21)
Islam (p. 22)
Crusades (p. 22)
Protestant Reformation (p. 23)
Counter-Reformation (p. 23)
plantation system (p. 35)

Key People

Hiawatha (p. 13)
Martin Luther (p. 23)
Christopher Columbus (p. 32)
Hernán Cortés (p. 33)
Moctezuma (p. 33)
Pedro Alvares Cabral (p. 35)

Key Academic Terms

symbolic (p. 2)
culture (p. 2)
society (p. 2)
warfare (p. 2)
colonization (p. 2)
imperial (p. 3)
adaptation (p. 3)
ecosystem (p. 3)
enterprise (p. 3)
domesticate (p. 3)
smallpox (p. 3)
disease (p. 3)
tribute (p. 3)
plantation (p. 3)
autonomy (p. 3)
profit (p. 3)
epidemic (p. 6)
exploitation (p. 6)
architecture (p. 8)
sedentary (p. 8)
archaeologist (p. 8)
bureaucracy (p. 10)
merchant (p. 11)
conquistador (p. 11)
subjugate (p. 11)
matriarchy (p. 14)
alliance (p. 15)
steppe (p. 15)
impoverished (p. 16)
stratification (p. 16)
patriarchy (p. 19)
dowry (p. 19)
nobility (p. 19)
manorial (p. 19)
millennium (p. 20)
medicine (p. 20)
philosophy (p. 20)
innovation (p. 20)
coalition (p. 20)
ideology (p. 20)
artisan (p. 21)
paganism (p. 21)
buttress (p. 21)
heresy (p. 22)
expulsion (p. 22)
missionary (p. 23)
climate (p. 23)
vassal (p. 25)
retinue (p. 25)
endemic (p. 25)
malaria (p. 25)
caravan (p. 25)
finance (p. 29)
coerce (p. 30)
commodity (p. 30)
diaspora (p. 31)
subsidize (p. 32)
parlance (p. 32)
invade (p. 33)
demographic (p. 34)
indigenous (p. 35)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. The century following the first contacts among Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Americas brought some of the most momentous changes in world history: a dramatic reconfiguration of human populations across the globe, new patterns of trade and warfare, and immense challenges to peoples' worldviews. Thinking about our contemporary world, what monumental changes are currently affecting our lives? How would you compare them with the events described in this chapter?
2. Return to the image of *The Beaune Altarpiece* on page 22. How does the emphasis on universal truth and everlasting punishment and reward make Christianity different from animism? How might faith in such a religious system shape the values and priorities of believers?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 8 for help in answering the questions below.

The domestication of maize (6000 B.C.), the founding of Tenochtitlán (1325), and the conquest of the Aztec Empire (1519–1521): How did the domestication of maize make the city of Tenochtitlán possible? What characteristics of the Aztec Empire and its capital city made it vulnerable to conquest?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the image below.

***The New World as Paradise*, engraving by Theodore de Bry, 1588.**

Library of Congress

1. As shown in the image at left, the goals European elites pursued in colonialism included all of the following EXCEPT
   a. spreading epidemics among American Indian populations.
   b. searching for new sources of wealth.
   c. improving the diet of Europeans.
   d. fostering the spread of Christianity.
2. By 1588, Spanish development of the Americas flourished mostly because
   a. American Indian populations eagerly embraced the *encomienda* system.
   b. the Spanish partnered with West African groups securing enslaved labor.
   c. Spanish colonists rejected the use of American Indians as enslaved laborers.
   d. Spain refused to export precious metals to Asia.
3. The engraving was most likely intended to
   a. convince American Indians to defend their political sovereignty.
   b. justify the poor treatment of American Indians by Europeans.
   c. stimulate European interest in the settlement and development of the New World.
   d. illustrate American Indian religious traditions to Europeans.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Widely dispersed over the great land mass of the Americas, [American Indians] numbered 15 or 20 million people by the time Columbus came, perhaps 5 million in North America. Responding to the different environments of soil and climate, they developed hundreds of different tribal cultures, perhaps two thousand different languages. They perfected the art of agriculture, and figured out how to grow maize (corn), which cannot grow by itself and must be planted, cultivated, fertilized, harvested, husked, shelled. They ingeniously developed a variety of other vegetables and fruits, as well as peanuts and chocolate and tobacco and rubber."
>
> Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492–Present*, 1980

4. The passage describes which of the following historical developments in the period 1491 to 1607?
   a. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, American Indians had developed advanced irrigation systems.
   b. Spanish exploration of the Americas stemmed from a search for new sources of economic competition.
   c. The Spanish developed a refined caste system that defined the status of Europeans, Africans, and American Indians.
   d. American Indians in present-day California supported themselves by hunting and gathering.
5. The passage would be most useful as a source of information about which of the following?
   a. The role of the African slave trade in the development of plantation-based agriculture
   b. Improvements in maritime technologies that fueled the Columbian Exchange
   c. Economic, cultural, and racial justifications for the subjugation of Native Americans
   d. Exchanges of goods between Europe and the Americas that stimulated the growth of European capitalism
6. Which of the following pieces of evidence would best support Zinn's description of economic changes of this era?
   a. Written accounts of early transatlantic voyages to the Americas
   b. Archeological evidence of permanent, indigenous villages in the American Northeast
   c. European testimony of mutual misunderstandings between Europeans and American Indians
   d. European debates by religious and political leaders about the treatment of American Indians

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The reason the Christians have murdered on such a vast scale and killed anyone and everyone in their way is purely and simply greed. They have set out to line their pockets with gold and to amass private fortunes as quickly as possible so that they can then assume a status quite at odds with that into which they were born. Their insatiable greed and overweening ambition know no bounds."
>
> Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, 1552.

7. The excerpt from de las Casas can be used most directly to prove which of the following developments in the period 1491 to 1607?
   a. Many Europeans adopted aspects of American Indian culture and tradition.
   b. European settlers often misunderstood American Indian cultures and traditions.
   c. American Indians often sought diplomatic solutions to conflict.
   d. Europeans disagreed about how American Indians should be treated.
8. Which of the following contributed most directly to the developments described by de las Casas?
   a. Advances in European maritime technologies
   b. European encroachment on American Indians' land
   c. Widespread epidemics
   d. The importation of enslaved labor

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "The first residents of the Americas were by modern estimates divided into at least two thousand cultures and more societies, practiced a multiplicity of customs and lifestyles, held an enormous variety of values and beliefs, spoke numerous languages mutually unintelligible to the many speakers, and did not conceive of themselves as a single people — if they knew about each other at all."
>
> Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian*, 1978

> "Given the archaeological record, North American 'prehistory' can hardly be characterized as a multiplicity of discrete micro histories. Fundamental to the social and economic patterns . . . were exchanges that linked peoples across geographic, cultural, and linguistic boundaries. The effects of these links are apparent in the spread of raw materials and finished goods, of beliefs and ceremonies, and of techniques for food production and for manufacturing. . . . Exchange constitutes an important key to conceptualizing American history before Columbus."
>
> Neal Salisbury, *The Indians' Old World*, 1966

1. Using the two excerpts at the bottom of the previous page, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Berkhofer's and Salisbury's historical interpretations of the lives of American Indians in the period 1491 to 1607.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1491 to 1607 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Berkhofer's interpretation.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1491 to 1607 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Salisbury's interpretation.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE important way in which the Columbian Exchange transformed interactions between American Indian societies prior to 1607.
   b. Briefly explain ONE important way in which the Columbian Exchange transformed European societies prior to 1607.
   c. Briefly explain ANOTHER important way in which the Columbian Exchange transformed European societies prior to 1607.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE important technological change that led to the growth of Spanish colonies in the Americas prior to 1607.
   b. Briefly explain ONE important economic change that led to the development of colonies in the Americas prior to 1607.
   c. Briefly explain why ONE of the changes that you described in (a) or (b) was more significant to the growth of Spanish colonies in the Americas prior to 1607.

CHAPTER 2

American Experiments
1521–1700

Spain's Tribute Colonies

A New American World

The Columbian Exchange

The Protestant Challenge to Spain

Plantation Colonies

Brazil's Sugar Plantations

England's Tobacco Colonies

The Caribbean Islands

Plantation Life

Neo-European Colonies

New France

New Netherland

The Rise of the Iroquois

New England

Instability, War, and Rebellion

Native American Resistance

Bacon's Rebellion

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

In what ways did European migrants transfer familiar patterns and institutions to their colonies in the Americas, and in what ways did they create new American worlds? How did Native Americans adapt to the growing presence of Europeans among them?

Beginning in the 1660s, legislators in Virginia and Maryland hammered out the legal definition of **chattel slavery**: the ownership of human beings as property. The institution of slavery—which would profoundly affect African Americans and shape much of American history—had been obsolete in England for centuries, and articulating its logic required lawmakers to reverse some of the most basic presumptions of English law. For example, in 1662 a Virginia statute declared, "all children borne in this country shalbe held bond or free only according to the condition of the mother." This idea—that a child's legal status derived from the mother, rather than the father—ran contrary to the patriarchal foundations of English law. The men who sat in Virginia's House of Burgesses would not propose such a thing lightly. Why would they decide that the principle of patriarchal descent, which was so fundamental to their own worlds, was inappropriate for their slaves?

The question needed to be addressed, according to the statute's preamble, since "doubts have arisen whether children got by an Englishman upon a negro woman should be slave or free." One such case involved Elizabeth Key, a woman whose father was a free Englishman and mother was an African slave. She petitioned for her freedom in 1656, based on her father's status. Her lawyer was an Englishman named William Greensted. He not only took Key's case, but he also fathered two of her children and, eventually, married her. Key won her case and her freedom from bondage. Elizabeth Key escaped her mother's fate—a life in slavery—because her father and her husband were both free Englishmen. The 1662 statute aimed to close Key's avenue to freedom.

The process by which the institution of chattel slavery was molded to the needs of colonial planters is just one example of the way Europeans adapted the principles they brought with them to the unfamiliar demands of their new surroundings. In the showdown between people like Elizabeth Key and William Greensted, on the one hand, and the members of Virginia's House of Burgesses on the other, we see how people in disorienting circumstances—some in positions of power, others in various states of subjection to their social and political superiors—scrambled to make sense of their world and bend its rules to their advantage. Through countless contests of power and authority like this one, the outlines of a new world gradually began to emerge from the collision of cultures.

By 1700, three distinct types of colonies had developed in the Americas. The tribute colonies created in Mexico and Peru relied initially on the wealth and labor of indigenous peoples. Plantation colonies produced sugar and other tropical and subtropical crops with bound labor. Finally, **neo-Europes** sought to replicate, or at least approximate, economies and social structures that colonists knew at home.

Power and Race in the Chesapeake In this 1670 painting by Gerard Soest, proprietor Lord Baltimore holds a map of Maryland, the colony he owned and which would soon belong to his grandson Cecil Calvert, shown in the painting as already grasping his magnificent inheritance. The presence of a young African servant foretells the importance of slave labor in the post-1700 economy of the Chesapeake colonies.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1521	Aztec Empire falls to the Spanish
1550–1630	English crown supports mercantilism
1556–1598	Reign of Philip II, king of Spain
1558–1603	Reign of Elizabeth I, queen of England
1560–1620	Growth of English Puritan movement
1577–1580	Francis Drake's *Golden Hind* circles the globe, captures Spanish treasure fleet
1588	Storms and English ships destroy Spanish Armada
1603–1625	Reign of James I, king of England
1607	English traders settle Jamestown (Virginia)
1608	Samuel de Champlain founds Quebec
1609	Henry Hudson explores North America for the Dutch
1614	Dutch set up fur-trading post at Fort Orange (Albany)
1619	First Africans arrive in Chesapeake region House of Burgesses convenes in Virginia
1620	Pilgrims found Plymouth Colony
1620–1660	Chesapeake colonies enjoy tobacco boom
1621	Dutch West India Company chartered
1622	Opechancanough's uprising
1624	Virginia becomes royal colony
1625–1649	Reign of Charles I, king of England
1630	Puritans found Massachusetts Bay Colony
1634	Colonists arrive in Maryland
1636	Beginning of Puritan-Pequot War Roger Williams founds Providence
1637	Anne Hutchinson banished from Massachusetts Bay
1640s	Iroquois initiate wars over fur trade
1642–1659	Puritan Revolution in England
1660	Restoration of the English monarchy Tobacco prices fall and remain low
1664	English conquer New Netherland
1675–1676	Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia Metacom's War in New England
1692	Salem witchcraft trials

Spain's Tribute Colonies

European interest in the Americas took shape under the influence of Spain's conquest of the Aztec and Inca empires. There, Spanish colonizers capitalized on preexisting systems of tribute and labor discipline to tap the enormous wealth of Mesoamerica and the Andes. Once native rulers were overthrown, the Spanish monarchs transferred their institutions — municipal councils, the legal code, the Catholic Church — to America; the empire was centrally controlled to protect the crown's immensely valuable holdings. The Spanish conquest also set in motion a global **ecological** transformation through a vast intercontinental movement of plants, animals, and diseases that historians call the Columbian Exchange. And the conquest triggered hostile responses from Spain's European rivals, especially the Protestant Dutch and English.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

A New American World

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the Spanish *encomienda* system with other European colonial systems in the Americas.

After Cortés toppled Moctezuma and Pizarro defeated Atahualpa (see Chapter 1), leading conquistadors received ***encomiendas*** from the crown, which allowed them to claim tribute in labor and goods from Indian communities. Later these grants were repartitioned, but the pattern was set early: **prominent** men controlled vast resources and monopolized Indian labor. The value of these grants was dramatically enhanced by the discovery of gold and, especially, silver deposits in both Mexico and the Andes. In the decades after the conquest, mines were developed in Zacatecas, in Guanajuato, and — most famously — at Potosí, high in the Andes. There, Spanish officials co-opted the *mita* system, which had made laborers available to the Inca Empire, to force Indian workers into the mines. At its peak, Potosí alone produced 200 tons of silver per year, accounting for half the world's supply.

The two great indigenous empires of the Americas thus became the core of an astonishingly wealthy European empire. Vast amounts of silver poured across the

Pacific Ocean to China, where it was minted into money; in exchange, Spain received valuable Chinese silks, spices, and ceramics. In Europe, the gold that had formerly honored Aztec and Inca gods now flowed into the countinghouses of Spain and gilded the Catholic churches of Europe. The Spanish crown benefitted enormously from all this wealth—at least initially. In the long run, it triggered ruinous inflation. As a French traveler noted in 1603, "Everything is dear [expensive] in Spain, except silver."

A new society took shape on the conquered lands. Between 1500 and 1650, at least 350,000 Spaniards migrated to Mesoamerica and the Andes. About two-thirds were males drawn from a cross section of Spanish society, many of them skilled tradesmen. Also arriving were 250,000 to 300,000 Africans. Racial mixture was widespread, and such groups as mestizos (Spaniard-Indian) and mulattos (Spaniard-African) grew rapidly. Zambo (Indian-African) populations developed gradually as well. Over time, a system of increasingly complex racial categories developed—**the casta system**—buttressed by a legal code that differentiated among the principal groups.

Indians were always in the majority in Mexico and Peru, but profound changes came as their numbers declined and peoples of Spanish and mixed-race descent grew in number. Spaniards initially congregated in cities, but gradually they moved into the countryside, creating large estates (known as haciendas) and regional networks of market exchange. Most Indians remained in their Native communities, under the authority of Native rulers and speaking Native languages. However, Spanish priests suppressed religious ceremonies and texts and converted Natives to Christianity *en masse*. Catholicism was transformed in the process: Catholic parishes took their form from Indian communities; indigenous ideas and expectations reshaped Church practices; and new forms of Native American Christianity emerged in both regions.

AP® EXAM TIP

The relationship between the *encomienda* system and the casta system is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

The Columbian Exchange

The Spanish invasion permanently altered the natural as well as the human environment. Smallpox, influenza, measles, yellow fever, and other silent killers carried from Europe and Africa ravaged Indian communities, whose inhabitants had never encountered these diseases before and thus had no immunities to them. In the densely populated core areas, populations declined by 90 percent or more in the first century of contact with Europeans. On islands and in the tropical lowlands, the toll was even heavier; Native populations were often wiped out altogether. Syphilis was the only significant illness that traveled in the opposite direction: Columbus's sailors carried a **virulent** strain of the sexually transmitted disease back to Europe with them.

The movement of diseases and peoples across the Atlantic was part of a larger pattern of **biological** transformation that historians call the **Columbian Exchange** (Map 2.1). Foods of the Western Hemisphere—especially maize, potatoes, manioc, sweet potatoes, and tomatoes—significantly increased agricultural yields and population growth in other continents. Maize and potatoes, for example, reached China around 1700; in the following century, the Chinese population tripled from 100 million to 300 million. At the same time, many animals, plants, and germs were carried to the Americas. European livestock transformed American landscapes. While Native Americans domesticated very few animals—dogs and llamas were the principal exceptions—Europeans brought an enormous Old World bestiary to the Americas, including cattle, swine, horses, oxen, chickens, and honeybees. Eurasian grain crops—wheat, barley, rye, and rice—made the transatlantic voyage along with inadvertent imports like dandelions and other weeds.

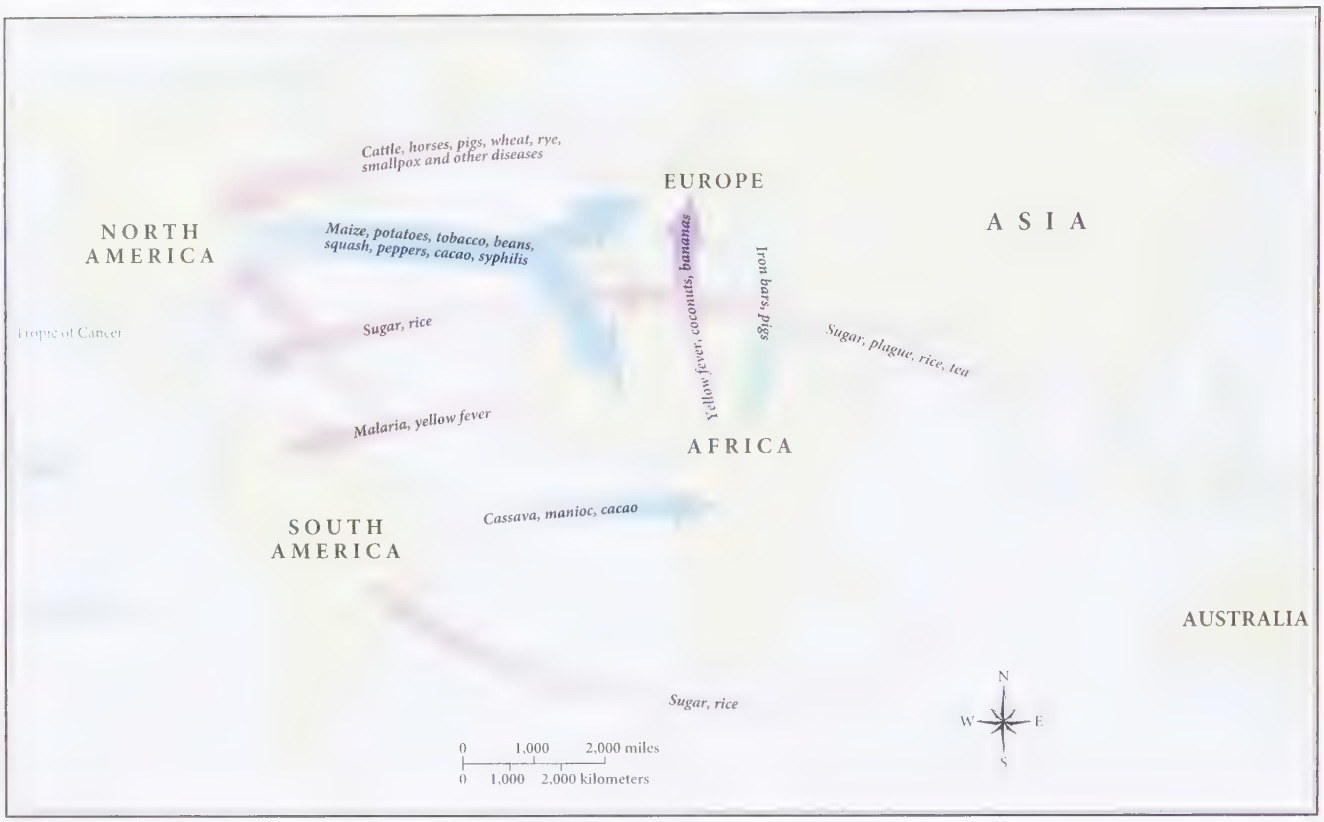
AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did the ecological context of colonization shape interactions between Europeans and Native Americans?

The Protestant Challenge to Spain

Beyond the core regions of its empire, Spain claimed vast American dominions but struggled to hold them. Controlling the Caribbean basin, which was essential for Spain's transatlantic shipping routes, was especially difficult, since the net of tiny islands



MAP 2.1 The Columbian Exchange
As European traders and adventurers traversed the world between 1430 and 1600, they began what historians call the Columbian Exchange, a vast intercontinental movement of plants, animals, and diseases that changed the course of historical development. The nutritious, high-yielding American crops of corn and potatoes enriched the diets of Europeans, Africans, and Asians. However, the Eurasian and African diseases of smallpox, diphtheria, malaria, and yellow fever nearly wiped out the native inhabitants of the Western Hemisphere and virtually ensured that they would lose control of their lands.

spanning the eastern Caribbean — the Lesser Antilles — provided many safe harbors for **pirates** and **privateers**. Fortified outposts in Havana (Cuba) and St. Augustine (Florida) provided some protection, but they were never sufficient to keep enemies at bay.

AP® EXAM TIP
Take detailed notes on religion as one driving force for imperial competition between European nations.

And Spain had powerful enemies, their animosity sharpened by the Protestant Reformation and the resulting split in European Christendom (see Chapter 1). In the wake of Martin Luther's attack on the Catholic Church, the Protestant critique of Catholicism broadened and deepened. Gold and silver from Mexico and Peru made Spain the wealthiest nation in Europe, and King Philip II (r. 1556–1598) — an ardent Catholic — its most powerful ruler. Philip was determined to root out challenges to the Catholic Church wherever they appeared. One such place was in the Spanish Netherlands, a collection of Dutch- and Flemish-speaking provinces that had grown wealthy from textile manufacturing and trade with Portuguese outposts in Africa and Asia. To protect their Calvinist faith and political liberties, they revolted against Spanish rule in 1566. After fifteen years of war, the seven northern provinces declared their independence, becoming the Dutch Republic (or Holland) in 1581.

The English king Henry VIII (r. 1509–1547) initially opposed Protestantism. However, when the pope refused to annul his marriage to the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon in 1534, Henry broke with Rome and placed himself at the head of the new Church of England, which promptly granted an annulment. Although Henry's new church maintained most Catholic doctrines and practices, Protestant teachings continued to spread. Faced with popular pressure for reform, Henry's

daughter and successor, Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558–1603), approved a Protestant confession of faith. But she also retained the Catholic ritual of Holy Communion and left the Church in the hands of Anglican bishops and archbishops. Elizabeth's compromises angered radical Protestants, but the independent Anglican Church was **anathema** to the Spanish king, Philip II.

Elizabeth supported a generation of English seafarers who took increasingly aggressive actions against Spanish control of American wealth. The most famous of these Elizabethan "sea dogs" was Francis Drake, a rough-hewn, devoutly Protestant farmer's son from Devon who took to the sea and became a scourge to Philip's American interests. In 1577, he ventured into the Pacific to disrupt Spanish shipping to Manila. Drake's fleet lost three ships and a hundred men, but the survivors captured two Spanish treasure ships and completed the first English circumnavigation of the globe. When Drake's flagship, the *Golden Hind,* returned to England in 1580, it brought enough silver, gold, silk, and spices to bring his investors a 4,700 percent return on their investment.

At the same time, Elizabeth imposed English rule over Gaelic-speaking Catholic Ireland. Calling the Irish "wild savages" who were "more barbarous and more brutish in their customs . . . than in any other part of the world," English soldiers brutally massacred thousands, prefiguring the treatment of Indians in North America.

To meet Elizabeth's challenges, Philip sent a Spanish Armada — 130 ships and 30,000 men — against England in 1588. Philip intended to restore the Roman Church in England and then wipe out Calvinism in Holland. But he failed utterly: a fierce storm and English ships destroyed the Spanish fleet. Philip continued to spend his American gold and silver on religious wars, an ill-advised policy that diverted workers and resources from Spain's fledgling industries. The gold was like a "shewer of Raine," complained one critic, that left "no benefite behind." Oppressed by high taxes on agriculture and fearful of military service, more than 200,000 residents of Castile, once the most prosperous region of Spain, migrated to America. By the time of Philip's death in 1598, Spain was in serious economic decline.

By contrast, England's population soared from 3 million in 1500 to 5 million in 1630. English merchants had long supplied European weavers with high-quality wool; around 1500, they created their own textile industry. Merchants bought wool from the owners of great estates and sent it to landless peasants in small cottages to spin and weave into cloth. The government aided textile **entrepreneurs** by setting low wage rates and helped merchants by giving them monopolies in foreign markets.

This system of state-assisted manufacturing and trade became known as **mercantilism**. By encouraging textile production, Elizabeth reduced imports and increased exports. The resulting favorable balance of trade caused gold and silver to flow into England and **stimulated** further economic expansion. Increased trade with Turkey and India also boosted import duties, which swelled the royal treasury and the monarch's

Queen Elizabeth Receiving Dutch Ambassadors This sixteenth-century Dutch painting by an anonymous artist depicts a pair of Dutch ambassadors being received by England's Queen Elizabeth I. The seventeen provinces that constituted the Dutch Republic were in rebellion against Spanish rule in the later decades of the sixteenth century and hoped for Elizabeth's support. In 1585 Elizabeth signed the Treaty of Nonsuch, pledging her support for the Dutch cause. An undeclared war with Spain ensued, punctuated by the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Neue Galerie, Kesse , German Museumslandschaft Hessen Kasse /Bridgeman Image

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

Why did Spain's economy deteriorate and England's economy improve in the sixteenth century?

power. By 1600, Elizabeth's mercantile policies had laid the foundations for overseas colonization. Now the English had the merchant fleet and wealth needed to challenge Spain's control of the Western Hemisphere.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did Spanish colonization affect people in the Americas and in Europe?

Plantation Colonies

As Spain hammered out its American empire and struggled against its Protestant rivals, Portugal, England, France, and the Netherlands created successful plantation settlements in Brazil, Jamestown, Maryland, and the Caribbean islands (Map 2.2). Worldwide demand for sugar and tobacco fueled the growth of these new colonies, and the resulting influx of colonists diminished Spain's dominance in the New World. At the same time, they imposed dramatic new pressures on Native populations, who scrambled to survive and carve out pathways to the future.

Brazil's Sugar Plantations

Portuguese colonists transformed the tropical lowlands of coastal Brazil into a sugar plantation zone like the ones they had recently created on Madeira, the Azores, the Cape Verdes, and São Tomé. The work proceeded slowly, but by 1590 more than a

MAP 2.2 The Plantation Colonies

The plantation zone in the Americas extended from the tropical coast of Brazil northwestward through the West Indies and into the tropical and subtropical lowlands of southeastern North America. Sugar was the most important plantation crop in the Americas, but where the soil or climate could not support it planters experimented with a wide variety of other possibilities, including tobacco, indigo, cotton, cacao, and rice.

thousand sugar mills had been established in Pernambuco and Bahia. Each large plantation had its own milling operation: because sugarcane is extremely heavy and rots quickly, it must be processed on site. Thus sugar plantations combined backbreaking agricultural labor with milling, extracting, and refining processes that made them look like Industrial Revolution–era factories.

Initially, Portuguese planters hoped that Brazil's indigenous peoples would supply the labor required to operate their sugar plantations. But, beginning with a smallpox epidemic in 1559, unfamiliar diseases ravaged the coastal Indian population. As a result, planters turned to African slaves in ever-growing numbers; by 1620, the switch was complete. While Spanish colonies in Mexico and Peru took shape with astonishing speed following conquest, Brazil's development required both trial and error and prolonged hard work.

England's Tobacco Colonies

England was slow to pursue colonization in the Americas. There were fumbling attempts in the 1580s in Newfoundland and Maine, privately organized and poorly funded. Sir Walter Raleigh's three expeditions to North Carolina ended in disaster when 117 settlers on Roanoke Island, left unsupplied for several years, vanished. The fate of Roanoke — the "lost colony" — remains a compelling puzzle for modern historians.

Carolina Indians Fishing, 1585 Though maize was a mainstay of the Indian diet, Native peoples along the Atlantic coast also harvested protein-rich fish, crabs, and oysters. In this watercolor by the English adventurer John White, Indians gather fish (in their "cannow," or dugout canoe) in the shallow waters of the Albemarle Sound, off present-day North Carolina. On the left, note the weir used both to catch fish and to store them live for later consumption. © The Trustees of the British Museum/Art Resource, NY

The Jamestown Settlement Merchants then took charge of English expansion. In 1606, King James I (r. 1603–1625) granted to the Virginia Company of London all the lands stretching from present-day North Carolina to southern New York. To honor the memory of Elizabeth I, the never-married "Virgin Queen," the company's directors named the region Virginia (Map 2.3). This was a **joint-stock corporation** that pooled the resources of many investors, spreading the financial risk widely. Influenced by the Spanish example, in 1607 the Virginia Company dispatched an all-male group with no ability to support itself: there were no women, farmers, or ministers among the first arrivals. Instead the first colonists hoped to demand tribute from the region's Indian population while it searched out valuable commodities like pearls and gold. All they wanted, one of them said, was to "dig gold, refine gold, load gold."

But there was no gold, and the men fared poorly in their new environment. Arriving in Virginia after an exhausting four-month voyage, they settled on a swampy peninsula, which they named Jamestown to honor the king. There the adventurers lacked access to fresh water, refused to plant crops, and quickly died off; only 38 of the 120 men were alive nine months later. Death rates remained high: by 1611, the Virginia Company had dispatched 1,200 colonists to Jamestown, but fewer than half remained alive. "Our men were destroyed with cruell diseases, as Swellings, Fluxes, Burning Fevers, and by warres," reported one of the settlement's leaders, "but for the most part they died of meere famine."

Their plan to dominate the local Indian population ran up against the presence of Powhatan, the powerful paramount chief who oversaw some thirty subordinate chiefdoms between the James and Potomac rivers. He was willing to treat the English traders as potential allies who could provide valuable goods, but — just as the Englishmen expected tribute from the Indians — Powhatan expected tribute from the English. He provided the hungry English adventurers with corn; in return, he demanded "hatchets . . . bells, beads, and copper" as well as "two great guns" and expected

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the demographics of the Jamestown settlement to Spanish, Dutch, and French settlements.

John White's Map of Virginia This map, drawn by Roanoke colonist John White, may hold a clue to the fate of the so-called lost colony. The island of Roanoke is right of center, just off the mainland and within the barrier islands. Directly west, on the point where the Roanoke and Chowan rivers join, is a (barely visible) paper patch. When lit from behind, a red fort is clearly visible beneath the patch, suggesting that the Roanoke colonists may already have identified a settlement site there: when he left the colony, John White wrote that the remaining colonists "were prepared to remove from Roanoak 50 miles into the maine[land]." Archaeologists and historians plan to use this discovery to guide further explorations in the area. shutterstock

Jamestown to become a dependent community within his chiefdom. Subsequently, Powhatan arranged a marriage between his daughter Pocahontas and John Rolfe, an English colonist (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). But these tactics failed. The inability to decide who would pay tribute to whom led to more than a decade of uneasy relations, followed by a long era of ruinous warfare.

The war was precipitated by the discovery of a cash crop that — like sugar in Brazil — offered colonists a way to turn a profit but required steady expansion onto Indian lands. Tobacco was a plant native to the Americas, long used by Indians as a medicine and a stimulant. John Rolfe found a West Indian strain that could flourish in Virginia soil and produced a small crop — "pleasant, sweet, and strong" — that fetched a high price in England and spurred the migration of thousands of new settlers. The English soon came to crave the nicotine that tobacco contained. James I initially condemned the plant as a "vile Weed" whose "black stinking fumes" were "baleful to the nose, harmful to the brain, and dangerous to the lungs." But the king's attitude changed as taxes on imported tobacco bolstered the royal treasury. Powhatan, however, now accused the English of coming "not to trade but to invade my people and possess my country."

To encourage **immigration**, the Virginia Company allowed individual settlers to own land, granting 100 acres to every freeman and more to those who imported servants. The company also created a system of representative government: the **House of Burgesses**, first convened in 1619, could make laws and levy taxes, although the governor and the company council in England could veto its acts. By 1622, landownership, self-government, and a judicial system based on "the lawes of the realme of England" had attracted some 4,500 new recruits. To encourage the transition to a settler colony, the Virginia Company recruited dozens of "Maides young and uncorrupt to make wifes to the Inhabitants."

The Indian War of 1622 The influx of migrants sparked war with the neighboring Indians. The struggle began with an assault led by Opechancanough, Powhatan's younger brother and successor. In 1607, Opechancanough had attacked some of the first English invaders; subsequently, he "stood aloof" from the English settlers and "would not be drawn to any Treaty." In particular, he resisted English proposals to place Indian children in schools to be "brought upp in Christianytie." Upon becoming the paramount chief in 1621, Opechancanough told the leader of the neighboring Potomack Indians: "Before the end of two moons, there should not be an Englishman in all their Countries."

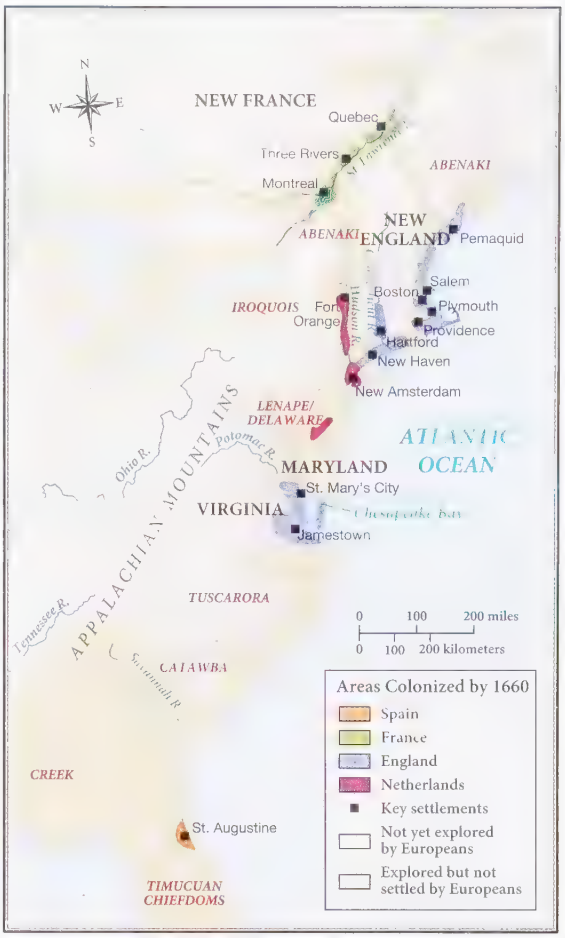
Opechancanough almost succeeded. In 1622, he coordinated a surprise attack by twelve Indian chiefdoms that killed 347 English settlers, nearly one-third of the population. The English fought back by seizing the fields and food of those they now called "naked, tanned, deformed Savages" and declared "a perpetual war without peace or truce" that lasted for a decade. They sold captured warriors into slavery, "destroy[ing] them who sought to destroy us" and taking control of "their cultivated places."

Shocked by the Indian uprising, James I revoked the Virginia Company's charter and, in 1624, made Virginia a **royal colony**. Now the king and his ministers appointed the governor and a small advisory council, retaining the locally elected House of

Burgesses but stipulating that the king's Privy Council (a committee of political advisors) must ratify all legislation. The king also decreed the legal establishment of the Church of England in the colony, which meant that residents had to pay taxes to support its clergy. These institutions—an appointed governor, an elected assembly, a formal legal system, and an established Anglican Church—became the model for royal colonies throughout English America.

Lord Baltimore Settles Catholics in Maryland A second tobacco-growing colony developed in neighboring Maryland. King Charles I (r. 1625–1649), James's successor, was secretly sympathetic toward Catholicism, and in 1632 he granted lands bordering the vast Chesapeake Bay to Catholic aristocrat Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Thus Maryland became a refuge for Catholics, who were subject to persecution in England. In 1634, twenty gentlemen, mostly Catholics, and two hundred artisans and laborers, mostly Protestants, established St. Mary's City at the mouth of the Potomac River. To minimize religious confrontations, the proprietor instructed the governor to allow "no scandall nor offence to be given to any of the Protestants" and to "cause All Acts of Romane Catholicque Religion to be done as privately as may be."

Maryland grew quickly because Baltimore imported many artisans and offered ample lands to wealthy migrants. But political conflict threatened the colony's stability. Disputing Baltimore's powers, settlers elected a representative assembly and insisted on the right to initiate legislation, which Baltimore grudgingly granted. Anti-Catholic agitation by Protestants also threatened his religious goals. To protect his coreligionists, Lord Baltimore persuaded the assembly to enact the Toleration Act (1649), which granted all Christians the right to follow their beliefs and hold church services. In Maryland, as in Virginia, tobacco quickly became the main crop, and that similarity, rather than any religious difference, ultimately made the two colonies very much alike in their economic and social systems.



MAP 2.3 Eastern North America, 1650
By 1650, four European nations had permanent settlements along the eastern coast of North America, but only England had substantial numbers of settlers, some 25,000 in New England and another 15,000 in the Chesapeake region. French, Dutch, Swedish, and English colonists were also trading European manufactures to Native Americans in exchange for animal furs and skins, with far-reaching implications for Indian societies.

The Caribbean Islands

Virginia's experiment with a cash crop that created a land-intensive plantation society ran parallel to developments in the Caribbean, where English, French, and Dutch sailors began looking for a permanent toehold. In 1624, a small English party under the command of Sir Thomas Warner established a settlement on St. Christopher (St. Kitts). A year later, Warner allowed a French group to settle the other end of the island so they could better defend their position from the Spanish. Within a few years, the English and French colonists on St. Kitts had driven the native Caribs from the island, weathered a Spanish attack, and created a common set of bylaws for mutual occupation of the island.

After St. Kitts, a dozen or so colonies were founded in the Lesser Antilles, including the French islands of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Bart's; the English outposts of Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, Anguilla, Tortola, and Barbados; and the Dutch colony of St. Eustatius. In 1655, an English fleet captured the Spanish island of Jamaica—one of the large islands of the Greater Antilles—and opened it to settlement as well. A few of these islands were unpopulated before Europeans settled there; elsewhere, native populations were displaced, and often wiped out, within a decade or so. Only on the largest islands did native populations hold out longer.

Colonists experimented with a wide variety of cash crops, including tobacco, indigo, cotton, cacao, and ginger. Beginning in the 1640s—and drawing on the example of

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the proximity of the Powhatan Chiefdom affect developments in early Virginia?

Who Was Pocahontas?

Matoaka — nicknamed Pocahontas — was born around 1596 in the region the English would soon name Virginia. A daughter of Chief Powhatan, her interactions with colonists were important at the time and have been mythologized ever since. Pocahontas left no writings, so what we know of her comes from others. From these accounts, we know that she acted as a mediator with the Jamestown settlers; she was the first Native American to marry an Englishman; and she traveled to England with her husband and son. Pocahontas fell ill and died in Gravesend, England, in June 1617.

1. **John Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1624.** *Smith's description of being a captive of Powhatan in 1607.*

   Having feasted [Smith] after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan: then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs, to beate out his braines, Pocahontas the Kings dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death: whereat the Emperour was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper.

2. **Robert Vaughn's engraving of Pocahontas saving Smith's life, from John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1624.**

King Powhatan cõmands Cap. Smith to be slaine, his
daughter Pokahontas begges his life his thankfullnes
and how he subiected 39 of their kings, reade ye history.

British Library/HIP/Art Resource, NY

3. **John Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1624.** *Pocahontas visited Jamestown regularly in the years following Smith's capture. Smith returned to England in 1609; four years later Captain Samuel Argall kidnapped Pocahontas and held her captive in Jamestown.*

   [S]he too James towne [was brought.] A messenger forthwith was sent to her father, that his daughter Pocahontas he loved so dearely, he must ransome with our men, swords, peeces, tooles, &c. he treacherously had stolen. . . . [H]e . . . sent us word, that when we would deliver his daughter, he would make us satisfaction for all injuries done to us, and give us five hundred bushels of Corne, and for ever be friends with us. . . . [W]e could not believe the rest of our armes were either lost or stolen from him, and therefore till he sent them, we would keep his daughter. . . . [W]e heard no more from him a long time after. . . . .

   [Long before this, Master John Rolfe, an honest Gentleman of good behavior had been in love with Pocahontas, and she with him. . . . T]his marriage came soone to the knowledge of Powhatan, a thing acceptable to him, as appeared by his sudden consent, for within ten daies he sent Opachisco, an old Uncle of hers, and two of his sons, to see the manner of the marriage, and to do in that behalf what they were requested . . . which was accordingly done about the first of April: And ever since we have had friendly trade and commerce.

4. **John Rolfe, Letter to Sir Thomas Dale, 1614.** *Pocahontas and John Rolfe married in April 1614. In June, Rolfe defended his motives in this letter to Virginia's deputy-governor.*

   I freely subject my selfe to your grave and mature judgment, deliberation, approbation and determination. . . . [I am not led by] the unbridled desire of carnal affection: but for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my owne salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, an unbeleeving creature, namely Pocahontas. To whom my hartie and best thoughts are, and have [for] a long time bin so intangled, and inthralled in so intricate a labyrinth, that I was even awearied to unwinde my selfe thereout. . . .

[I have often thought]: surely these are wicked instigations, hatched by him who seeketh and delighteth in man's destruction[.]

I say the holy spirit of God has often demanded of me, why I was created . . . but to labour in the Lord's vineyard. . . . Likewise adding hereunto her great appearance of love to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capableness of understanding, her aptness and willingness to receive any good impression, and also the spirituall, besides her owne incitements stirring me up hereunto. . . .

Now if the vulgar sort, who square all men's actions by the base rule of their owne filthiness, shall tax or taunt me in this my godly labour: let them know, it is not any hungry appetite, to gorge my selfe with incontinency; sure (if I would, and were so sensually inclined) I might satisfy such desire, though not without a seared conscience.

5. Portrait of Pocahontas by Simon Van De Pass, 1616. *In 1616, the Virginia Company of London sent Pocahontas, John Rolfe, and their son Thomas to England, where she met King James and sat for this portrait, the only surviving image of Pocahontas.*

Source: Library of Congress

6. John Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia*, 1624. *In 1624, John Smith recalled a meeting he had with Pocahontas during her 1616 tour of England.*

[H]earing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her: After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three houres. . . . But not long after, she began to talke, and remembred mee well what courtesies she had done: saying, ["]You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you:["] which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a Kings daughter; with a well set countenance she said, ["]Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee) and feare you here I should call you father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for ever and ever your Countrieman. They did tell us [always] you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to [Plymouth]; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakkin to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.["]

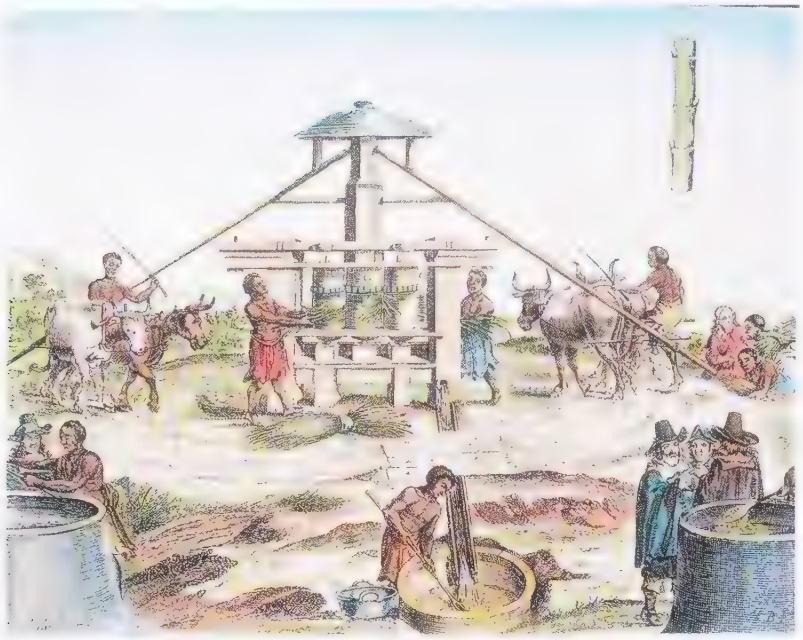
Sources: (1, 3, 6) John Smith, *Generall Historie of Virginia* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1907), 101, 218, 220, 238–239; (4) J. Franklin Jameson, *Narratives of Early Virginia* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907), 237–244.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Most historians now believe that the event described and shown in sources 1 and 2 was a Powhatan ritual to make Smith an ally and that his life was not actually in danger. What elements of these sources suggest the validity of this interpretation? Why would Pocahontas — a child of eleven or twelve at the time — have had a role in such a ritual?
2. How does Vaughn (source 2) depict power relations and social hierarchy among the Powhatans? Where does Pocahontas fit within this hierarchy? What messages about Pocahontas do you think Van De Pass (source 5) intended to convey? How do these images contribute to the Pocahontas myth?
3. How does Rolfe explain his interest in Pocahontas (source 4)? What is his view of her? How do you interpret the letter?
4. Assess the reliability of sources 1, 3, and 6 and consider Smith's motive in including them in his *Historie*. Source 6 purports to record an actual conversation between Pocahontas and Smith. What is the tone of this encounter, and what might explain Pocahontas's remarks?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Imagine the various encounters Pocahontas experienced with the Jamestown Englishmen from her point of view. Reflect on who Pocahontas was as described in these documents — savior and friend, captive, baptized wife, Virginia Company prize, and betrayed ally — and in a brief essay, use Pocahontas's experience to explore the uncertain nature of English-Powhatan relations in the first decade of contact.



A Sugar Mill in the French West Indies, 1655 Making sugar required both hard labor and considerable expertise. Field slaves labored strenuously in the hot tropical sun to cut the sugarcane and carry or cart it to an oxen- or wind-powered mill, where it was pressed to yield the juice. Then skilled slave artisans took over. They carefully heated the juice and, at the proper moment, added ingredients that granulated the sugar and separated it from the molasses, which was later distilled into rum. Sanford Images/Granger, NYC

Brazil — planters on many of the islands shifted to sugar cultivation. Where conditions were right, as they were in Barbados, Jamaica, Nevis, and Martinique, these colonies were soon producing substantial crops of sugar and, as a consequence, claimed some of the world's most valuable real estate.

Plantation Life

In North America and the Caribbean, plantations were initially small **freeholds**, farms of 30 to 50 acres owned and farmed by families or male partners. But the logic of plantation agriculture soon encouraged **consolidation**: large planters engrossed as much land as they could and experimented with new forms of labor discipline that maximized their control over production. In Virginia, the **headright system** guaranteed 50 acres of land to anyone who paid the passage of a new immigrant to the colony; thus, by buying additional indentured servants and slaves, the colony's largest planters also amassed ever-greater claims to land.

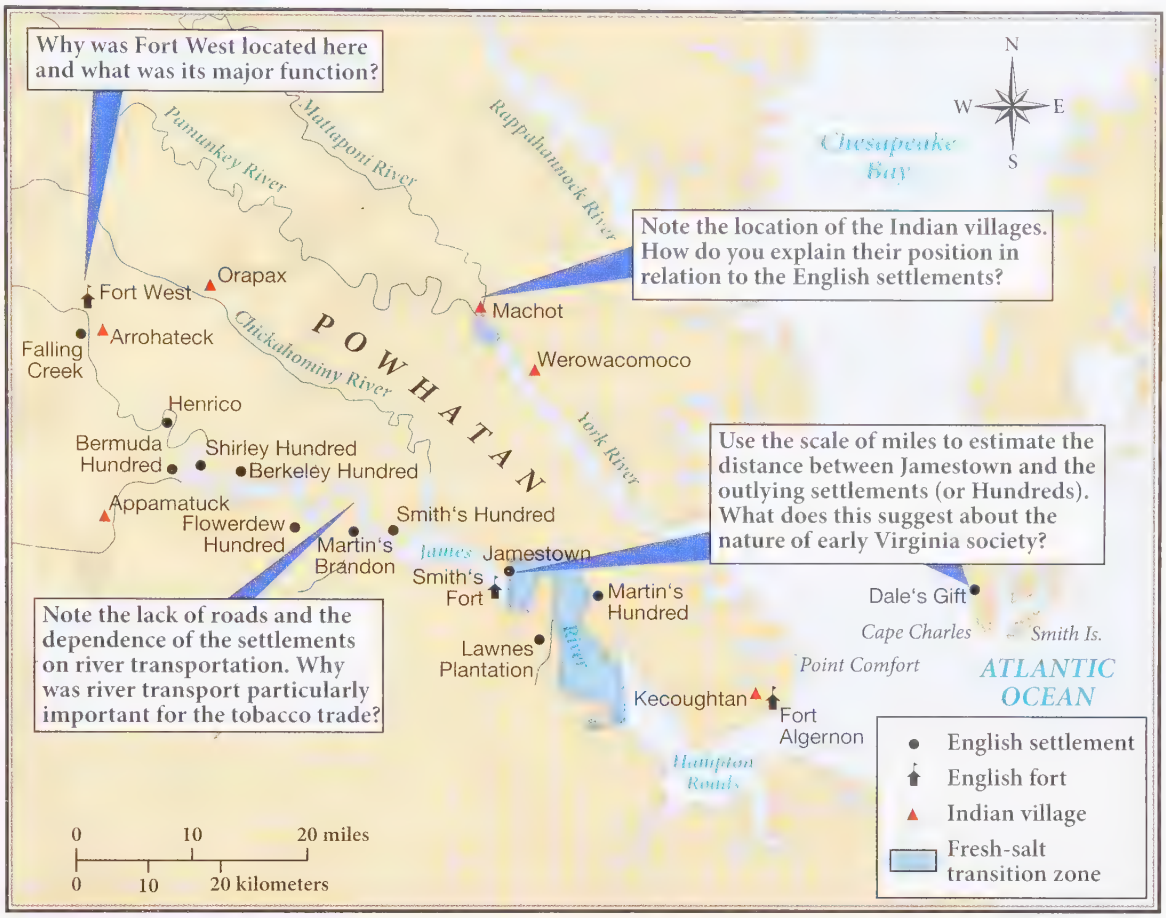
European demand for tobacco set off a forty-year economic boom in the Chesapeake. "All our riches for the present do consist in tobacco," a planter remarked in 1630. Exports rose from 3 million pounds in 1640 to 10 million pounds in 1660. After 1650, wealthy migrants from **gentry** or noble families established large estates along the coastal rivers, then acquired English indentured servants and enslaved Africans to work their lands. At about the same time, the switch to sugar production in Barbados caused the price of land there to quadruple, driving small landowners out.

For rich and poor alike, life in the plantation colonies of North America and the Caribbean was harsh. The scarcity of towns deprived settlers of community (Map 2.4). Families were equally scarce because there were few women, and marriages often ended with the early death of a spouse. Pregnant women were especially vulnerable to malaria, spread by mosquitoes that flourished in tropical and subtropical climates (AP® Interpreting the Past). Many mothers died after bearing a first or second child, so orphaned children (along with unmarried young men) formed a large segment of the society. Sixty percent of the children born in Middlesex County, Virginia, before 1680 lost one or both parents before they were thirteen. Death was pervasive. Although 15,000 English migrants arrived in Virginia between 1622 and 1640, the population rose only from 2,000 to 8,000. It was even harsher in the islands, where yellow fever epidemics killed indiscriminately. On Barbados, burials outnumbered baptisms in the second half of the seventeenth century by 4 to 1.

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of the introduction of tobacco on the development of the Chesapeake colonies is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Indentured Servitude Still, the prospect of owning land continued to lure settlers. By 1700, more than 100,000 English migrants had come to Virginia and Maryland and over 200,000 had migrated to the islands of the West Indies, principally to Barbados; the vast majority to both destinations traveled as indentured servants. Shipping registers from the English port of Bristol reveal the backgrounds of 5,000 servants embarking for the Chesapeake. Three-quarters were young men. They came to Bristol searching for work; once there, merchants persuaded them to sign contracts to labor in America. **Indentured servitude** contracts bound the men — and the quarter who



MAP 2.4 River Plantations in Virginia, c. 1640
The first migrants settled in widely dispersed plantations along the James River, a settlement pattern promoted by the tobacco economy. From their riverfront plantations wealthy planter-merchants could easily load heavy hogsheads of tobacco onto oceangoing ships and offload supplies that they then sold to smallholding planters. Consequently, few substantial towns or trading centers developed in the Chesapeake region.

were women — to work for a master for four or five years, after which they would be free to marry and work for themselves.

For merchants, servants were valuable cargo: their contracts fetched high prices from Chesapeake and West Indian planters. For the plantation owners, indentured servants were a bargain if they survived the voyage and their first year in a harsh new disease environment, a process called "seasoning." During the Chesapeake's tobacco boom, a male servant could produce five times his purchase price in a single year. To maximize their gains, many masters ruthlessly exploited servants, forcing them to work long hours, beating them without cause, and withholding permission to marry. If servants ran away or became pregnant, masters went to court to increase the term of their service. Female servants were especially vulnerable to abuse. A Virginia law of 1692 stated that "dissolute masters have gotten their maids with child; and yet claim the benefit of their service." Planters got rid of uncooperative servants by selling their contracts. In Virginia, an Englishman remarked in disgust that "servants were sold up and down like horses."

Few indentured servants escaped poverty. In the Chesapeake, half the men died before completing the term of their contract, and another quarter remained landless. Only one-quarter achieved their quest for property and respectability. Female servants generally fared better. Because men had grown "very sensible of the Misfortune of

What Role Did Climate Play in American Colonization?

When a January blizzard grounds the plane scheduled to whisk us to our tropical vacation, we immediately appreciate the role environmental factors play in shaping our daily lives. With the rise of environmental history, scholars, too, have come to recognize the compelling influence of environment and geography in shaping human experience. This has been particularly true for scholars of American colonization who study Europeans and indigenous peoples wrestling with climate issues largely beyond their control or even their understanding. In the two excerpts below, historians Karen Kupperman and Daniel K. Richter examine the early history of America from the perspective of these peoples' experience with climate change. In each case, climate is a key factor in explaining that history.

KAREN KUPPERMAN

The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period

SOURCE: Karen Kupperman, "The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period," *American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 1288–1289. *The American Historical Review* © 1982 Oxford University Press. Used by permission of Oxford University Press and the author.

Throughout the early period of colonization, there was continuing tension between hope that the environment might meet English expectations and requirements and accommodation by English settlers to the environment actually encountered. The steady accumulation and assimilation of facts about the climate of eastern North America threatened the classical concept of climates — the belief that climate is constant in any latitude around the world. Yet colonists and promoters struggled to adapt the old concept to fit new evidence. . . . Newfoundland came to be rejected for colonization, although its importance as a fishing ground continued. New England was finally perceived as a rough country where settlement was possible. . . . In the early seventeenth-century southern mainland colonies, settlers continued to base their expectations on latitude and to hope they could eventually produce commodities comparable to those England imported from southern Europe.

DANIEL K. RICHTER

Before the Revolution

SOURCE: Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010), 30–31.

Summer and winter, rain and snow, ceased to come predictably in the Southwest somewhat earlier than elsewhere in the northern hemisphere. . . . [D]ense populations had been living at the edge of the land's agricultural carrying capacity. . . . Perhaps the extraordinary religious fervor, political capital, and material resources devoted to agricultural ceremonies . . . shows a cultural recognition of just how unstable the balance was. In the arid Southwest, the balance had always been particularly delicate, and collapse appears to have come suddenly — not with the onset of global cooling in the early 1300s, but with a fifty-year-long local drought that struck the Chaco Canyon area after 1130. . . . All of the major Ancestral Puebloan and Hohokam urban centers were gradually abandoned in favor of new pueblos. . . . The former, stratified system of smaller supporting villages apparently disappeared in favor of a more egalitarian settlement pattern.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Name two key differences in the argument each historian makes about the role of climate in shaping the early history of America. What explains these differences?
2. What were the key differences in how European colonizers understood climate (excerpt 1) and how Native peoples in the Southwest understood climate (excerpt 2)?
3. To what extent does Chapter 2's examination of America's early history reflect each historian's emphasis on climate as a factor in explaining that history?

Wanting Wives," many propertied planters married female servants. Thus a few — very fortunate — men and women escaped early death or a life of landless poverty.

African Laborers The rigors of indentured servitude paled before the brutality that accompanied the large-scale shift to African slave labor. In Barbados and the other English islands, sugar production devoured laborers, and the supply of indentured servants quickly became inadequate to planters' needs. By 1690, blacks outnumbered

whites on Barbados nearly 3 to 1, and white slave owners were developing a code of force and terror to keep sugar flowing and maintain control of the black majority that surrounded them. The first comprehensive slave legislation for the island, adopted in 1661, was called an "Act for the better ordering and governing of Negroes."

In the Chesapeake, the shift to slave labor was more gradual. In 1619, John Rolfe noted that "a Dutch man of warre . . . sold us twenty Negars" — slaves originally shipped by the Portuguese from the port of Luanda in Angola. For a generation, the number of Africans remained small. About 400 Africans lived in the Chesapeake colonies in 1649, just 2 percent of the population. By 1670, that figure had reached 5 percent. Most Africans served their English masters for life. However, since English common law did not acknowledge chattel slavery, it was possible for some Africans to escape bondage. Some were freed as a result of Christian baptism; some purchased their freedom from their owners; some — like Elizabeth Key, whose story was related at the beginning of the chapter — won their freedom in the courts. Once free, some ambitious Africans became landowners and purchased slaves or the labor contracts of English servants for themselves.

Social mobility for Africans ended in the 1660s with the collapse of the tobacco boom and the increasing political power of the gentry. Tobacco had once sold for 30 pence a pound; now it fetched less than one-tenth of that. The "low price of Tobacco requires it should bee made as cheap as possible," declared Virginia planter-politician Nicholas Spencer, and "blacks can make it cheaper than whites." As they imported more African workers, the English-born political elite grew more race-conscious. Increasingly, Spencer and other leading legislators distinguished English from African residents by color (white-black) rather than by religion (Christian-pagan). By 1671, the Virginia House of Burgesses had forbidden Africans to own guns or join the militia. It also barred them — "tho baptized and enjoying their own Freedom" — from owning English servants. Being black was increasingly a mark of inferior legal status, and slavery was fast becoming a permanent and hereditary condition. As an English clergyman observed, "These two words, Negro and Slave had by custom grown Homogeneous and convertible."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did the labor demands of plantation colonies transform the process of colonization?

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the origins of the slave trade system in the Atlantic world is critical to success on the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How were the experiences of indentured servants and slaves in the Chesapeake and the Caribbean similar? In what ways were they different?

Neo-European Colonies

While Mesoamerica and the Andes emerged at the heart of a tribute-based empire in Latin America, and tropical and subtropical environments were transformed into plantation societies, a series of colonies that more closely replicated European patterns of economic and social organization developed in the temperate zone along North America's Atlantic coast (AP® America in the World). Dutch, French, and English sailors probed the continent's northern coastline, initially searching for a Northwest Passage through the continent to Asia. Gradually, they developed an interest in the region on its own terms. They traded for furs with coastal Native American populations, fished for cod on the Grand Banks off the coast of Newfoundland, and established freehold family farms and larger manors where they reproduced European patterns of agricultural life. Many migrants also came with aspirations to create godly communities, places of refuge where they could put religious ideals into practice. New France, New Netherland, and New England were the three pillars of neo-European colonization in the early seventeenth century.

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes that compare the settlements in New France, New Netherland, and New England.

New France

In the 1530s, Jacques Cartier ventured up the St. Lawrence River and claimed it for France. Cartier's claim to the St. Lawrence languished for three-quarters of a century,

make us die as his do." When a drought struck, Indians blamed the missionaries. "If you cannot make rain, they speak of nothing less than making away with you," lamented one Jesuit.

While New France became an expansive center of fur trading and missionary work, it languished as a farming settlement. In 1662, King Louis XIV (r. 1643–1714) turned New France into a royal colony and subsidized the migration of indentured servants. French servants labored under contract for three years, received a salary, and could eventually lease a farm—far more generous terms than those for indentured servants in the English colonies.

The Fur Trade Luxuriant pelts like ermine and silver fox were always desirable, but the humble beaver dominated the early trade between Europeans and Indians in the Northeast. It had thick, coarse hair, but beneath that outer layer was soft "underfur." Those fine hairs were covered in microscopic barbs that allowed them to mat into a dense mass. European hatmakers pressed this fur into felt so strong and pliable that even broad-brimmed hats would hold their shape. As such hats became fashionable in Europe and the colonies, beavers were hunted to near-extinction in North America. Library and Archives Canada/N.C. 3269

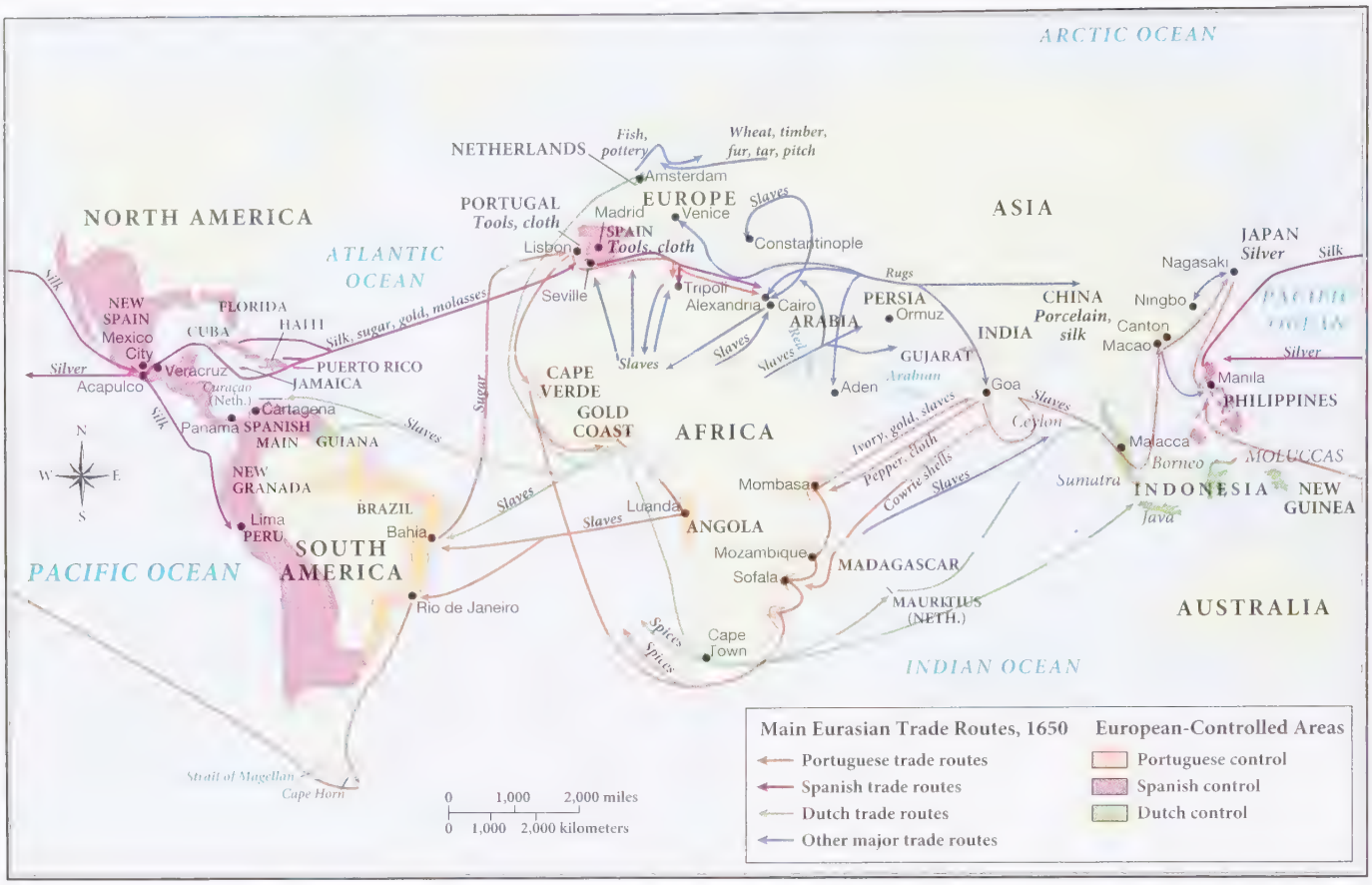
Nonetheless, few people moved to New France, a cold and forbidding country "at the end of the world," as one migrant put it. And some state policies discouraged migration. Louis XIV drafted tens of thousands of men into military service and barred Huguenots (French Calvinist Protestants) from migrating to New France, fearing they might win converts and take control of the colony. Moreover, the French legal system gave peasants strong rights to their village lands, whereas migrants to New France faced an oppressive, aristocracy- and church-dominated feudal system. In the village of Saint Ours in Quebec, for example, peasants paid 45 percent of their wheat crop to nobles and the Catholic Church. By 1698, only 15,200 Europeans lived in New France, compared to 100,000 in England's North American colonies.

Despite this small population, France eventually claimed a vast inland arc, from the St. Lawrence Valley through the Great Lakes and down the course of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Explorers and fur traders drove this expansion. In 1673, Jacques Marquette reached the Mississippi River in present-day Wisconsin; then, in 1681, Robert de La Salle traveled down the majestic river to the Gulf of Mexico. To honor Louis XIV, La Salle named the region Louisiana. By 1718, French merchants had founded the port of New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi. Eventually a network of about two dozen forts grew up in the Great Lakes and Mississippi. Soldiers and missionaries used them as bases of operations, while Indians, traders, and their métis (mixed-race) offspring created trading communities alongside them.

New Netherland

By 1600, Amsterdam had become the financial and commercial hub of northern Europe, and Dutch financiers dominated the European banking, **insurance**, and textile industries. Dutch merchants owned more ships and employed more sailors than did the combined fleets of England, France, and Spain. Indeed, the Dutch managed much of the world's commerce. During their struggle for independence from Spain and Portugal (ruled by Spanish monarchs, 1580–1640), the Dutch seized Portuguese forts in Africa and Indonesia and sugar plantations in Brazil. These conquests gave the Dutch control of the Atlantic trade in slaves and sugar and the Indian Ocean commerce in East Indian spices and Chinese silks and ceramics (Map 2.5).

In 1609, Dutch merchants sent the English mariner Henry Hudson to locate a navigable route to the riches of the East Indies. What he found as he probed the rivers of northeast America was a fur bonanza. Following Hudson's exploration of the river that



MAP 2.5 The Eurasian Trade System and European Spheres of Influence, 1650

Between 1550 and 1650, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch merchants took control of the maritime trade routes between Europe and India, Indonesia, and China. They also created two new trading connections. The South Atlantic System carried slaves, sugar, and manufactured goods between Europe, Africa, and the valuable plantation settlements in Brazil and the Caribbean islands. And a transpacific trade carried Spanish American silver to China in exchange for silks, ceramics, and other manufactures. (To trace long-term changes in trade and empires, see Map 1.4 on p. 30 and Map 5.1 on p. 143.)

now bears his name, the merchants built Fort Orange (Albany) in 1614 to trade for furs with the Munsee and Iroquois Indians. Then, in 1621, the Dutch government chartered the West India Company, which founded the colony of New Netherland, set up New Amsterdam (on Manhattan Island) as its capital, and brought in farmers and artisans to make the enterprise self-sustaining. The new colony did not thrive. The population of the Dutch Republic was too small to support much emigration — just 1.5 million people, compared to 5 million in Britain and 20 million in France — and its migrants sought riches in Southeast Asia rather than fur-trading profits in America. To protect its colony from rival European nations, the West India Company granted huge estates along the Hudson River to wealthy Dutchmen who promised to populate them. But by 1664, New Netherland had only 5,000 residents, and fewer than half of them were Dutch.

Like New France, New Netherland flourished as a fur-trading enterprise. Trade with the powerful Iroquois, though rocky at first, gradually improved. But Dutch settlers had less respect for their Algonquian-speaking neighbors. They seized prime farming land and disrupted Native American trade. In response, in 1643 the Algonquians launched attacks that nearly destroyed the colony. "Almost every place is abandoned," a settler lamented, "whilst the Indians daily threaten to overwhelm us." To defeat the Algonquians, the Dutch waged vicious warfare — maiming, burning, and killing hundreds of men, women, and children — and formed an alliance with the

New Amsterdam This early image of New Amsterdam shows a fictionalized scene. Although New Netherland was small and poorly defended, with nothing more than wooden palisades to protect the town, the engraver of this print hoped to reassure the viewer that all was well in the American colony. It is dominated by a large stone fort that appears to conform to the highest standards of European military engineering. Several Dutch merchant vessels ride at anchor, while Indians approach the shore in canoes hoping to trade their furs for European manufactures. Culture Club/Getty Images

Mohawks, who were no less brutal. The grim progression of Euro-Indian relations — an uneasy welcome, followed by rising tensions and war — afflicted even the Dutch, who had few designs on Indian lands or on their "unregenerate" souls and were only looking to do business.

After the crippling Indian war, the West India Company ignored New Netherland and expanded its profitable trade in African slaves and Brazilian sugar. In New Amsterdam, Governor Peter Stuyvesant ruled in an authoritarian fashion, rejecting demands for a representative system of government and alienating the colony's diverse Dutch, English, and Swedish residents. Consequently, the residents of New Netherland offered little resistance when England invaded the colony in 1664. New Netherland became New York and fell under English control.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why did New France and New Netherland struggle to attract colonists?

The Rise of the Iroquois

Like other Native groups **decimated** by European diseases and warfare, the Five Nations of the Iroquois suffered as a result of colonization, but they were able to capitalize on their strategic location in central New York to dominate the region between the French and Dutch colonies. Obtaining guns and goods from Dutch merchants at Fort Orange, Iroquois warriors inflicted terror on their neighbors. Partly in response to a virulent smallpox epidemic in 1633, which cut their number by one-third, the Iroquois waged a series of devastating wars against the Hurons (1649), Neutrals (1651), Eries (1657), and Susquehannocks (1660) — all Iroquoian-speaking peoples. They razed villages, killing many residents and taking many more captive. The conquered Hurons ceased to exist as a distinct people; survivors trekked westward with displaced Algonquian peoples and formed a new nation, the Wyandots. Iroquois warriors pressed still farther — eastward into New England, south to the Carolinas, north to Quebec, and west via the Great Lakes to the Mississippi — dominating Indian groups along the way. Collectively

AP® EXAM TIP

A critical idea for the AP® exam is the role of European rivals in altering conflicts between Native American groups in North America.

The Hurons' Feast of the Dead Hurons buried their dead in temporary raised tombs so they could easily care for their spirits. When they moved their villages in search of fertile soil and better hunting, the Hurons held a Feast of the Dead and reburied the bones of their own deceased (and often bones from other villages) in a common pit lined with beaver robes. This solemn ceremony united living and dead clan members, strengthening the bonds of the Huron Confederacy. It also was believed to release the spirits of the dead, allowing them to travel to the land where the first Huron, Aataentsic, fell from the sky, "made earth and man," and lived with her son and assistant, Iouskeha.

known as the Beaver Wars, these Iroquois campaigns dramatically altered the map of northeastern North America.

Many Iroquois raids came at the expense of French-allied Algonquian Indians, and in the 1660s New France committed to all-out war against the Iroquois. In 1667, the Mohawks were the last of the Five Nations to admit defeat. As part of the peace settlement, the Five Nations accepted Jesuit missionaries into their communities. A minority of Iroquois—perhaps 20 percent of the population—converted to Catholicism and moved to the St. Lawrence Valley, where they settled in mission communities near Montreal (where their descendants still live today).

The Iroquois who remained in New York did not collapse, however. Forging a new alliance with the Englishmen who had taken over New Netherland, they would continue to be a dominant force in the politics of the Northeast for generations to come.

New England

In 1620, 102 English Protestants landed at a place they called Plymouth, near Cape Cod. A decade later, a much larger group began to arrive just north of Plymouth, in the newly chartered Massachusetts Bay Colony. By 1640, the region had attracted more than 20,000 migrants. Unlike the early arrivals in Virginia and Barbados, these were not parties of young male adventurers seeking their fortunes or bound to labor for someone else. They came in family groups to create communities like the ones they left behind, except that they intended to establish them according to Protestant principles, as John Calvin had done in Geneva. Their numbers were small compared to the Caribbean and the Chesapeake, but their balanced sex ratio and organized approach to community formation allowed them to multiply quickly. By distributing land broadly, they built a society of independent farm families. And by establishing a "holy commonwealth," they gave a moral dimension to American history that survives today.

The Pilgrims. The Pilgrims were religious separatists—committed Protestants who had left the Church of England. When King James I threatened to drive them "out of the land, or else do worse," some chose to live among Dutch Calvinists in Holland. Subsequently, 35 of these exiles resolved to maintain their English identity by moving to America. Led by William Bradford and joined by 67 migrants from England, the Pilgrims sailed to America aboard the *Mayflower*. Because they lacked a royal charter, they combined themselves "together into a civill body politick," as their leader explained. This Mayflower Compact used the Pilgrims' self-governing religious congregation as the model for their political structure.

Only half of the first migrant group survived until spring, but thereafter Plymouth thrived; the cold climate inhibited the spread of mosquito-borne disease, and the Pilgrims' religious discipline encouraged a strong work ethic. Moreover, a smallpox

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the conflicts between the interests of European governments and the colonists they sent to the New World is a key idea for the AP® exam.

epidemic in 1618 had devastated the local Wampanoags, minimizing the danger they posed. By 1640, there were 3,000 settlers in Plymouth. To ensure political stability, they established representative self-government, broad political rights, property ownership, and religious freedom of conscience.

Meanwhile, England plunged deeper into religious turmoil. When King Charles I **repudiated** certain Protestant doctrines, English Puritans, now powerful in Parliament, accused the king of "popery"—of holding Catholic beliefs. In 1629, Charles dissolved Parliament. When his archbishop, William Laud, began to purge Protestant ministers, thousands of **Puritans**—Protestants who (unlike the Pilgrims) did not separate from the Church of England but hoped to purify it of its ceremony and hierarchy—fled to America.

John Winthrop and Massachusetts Bay The Puritan exodus began in 1630 with the departure of 900 migrants led by John Winthrop, a well-educated country squire who became the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Calling England morally corrupt and "overburdened with people," Winthrop sought land for his children and a place in Christian history for his people. "We must consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill," Winthrop told the migrants. "The eyes of all people are upon us." Like the Pilgrims, the Puritans envisioned a reformed Christian society with "authority in magistrates, liberty in people, purity in the church," as minister John Cotton put it. By their example, they hoped to inspire religious reform throughout Christendom.

To see a longer excerpt of Winthrop's "City upon a Hill" sermon, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of "A City upon a Hill" is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

Winthrop and his associates governed the Massachusetts Bay Colony from the town of Boston. Like the Virginia Company, the Massachusetts Bay Company was a joint-stock corporation. But the colonists transformed the company into a representative political system with a governor, council, and assembly. To ensure rule by the godly, the Puritans limited the right to vote and hold office to men who were church members. Rejecting the Plymouth Colony's policy of religious tolerance, the Massachusetts Bay Colony established Puritanism as the state-supported religion, barred other faiths from conducting services, and used the Bible as a legal guide. "Where there is no Law," they said, magistrates should rule "as near the law of God as they can." Over the next decade, about 10,000 Puritans migrated to the colony, along with 10,000 others fleeing hard times in England.

Seeing bishops as "traitours unto God," the New England Puritans placed power in the congregation of members—hence the name *Congregationalist* for their churches. Inspired by John Calvin, many Puritans embraced predestination, the idea that God saved only a few chosen people. Church members often lived in great anxiety, worried that God had not placed them among the "elect." Some hoped for a conversion experience, the intense sensation of receiving God's grace and being "born again." Other Puritans relied on "preparation," the confidence in salvation that came from spiritual guidance by their ministers. Still others believed that they were God's chosen people, the new Israelites, and would be saved if they obeyed his laws.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

What made New England different from New France and New Netherland?

Roger Williams and Rhode Island To maintain God's favor, the Massachusetts Bay magistrates purged their society of religious **dissidents**. One target was Roger Williams, the Puritan minister in Salem, a coastal town north of Boston. Williams opposed the decision to establish an official religion and praised the Pilgrims' separation of church and state. He advocated **toleration**, arguing that political magistrates had authority over only the "bodies, goods, and outward estates of men," not their spiritual lives. Williams also questioned the Puritans' seizure of Indian lands. The magistrates banished him from the colony in 1636.

Williams and his followers settled 50 miles south of Boston, founding the town of Providence on land purchased from the Narragansett Indians. Other religious dissidents settled nearby at Portsmouth and Newport. In 1644, these settlers obtained a corporate charter from Parliament for a new colony—Rhode Island—with full authority to rule themselves. In Rhode Island, as in Plymouth, there was no legally established church, and individuals could worship God as they pleased.

Anne Hutchinson The Massachusetts Bay magistrates saw a second threat to their authority in Anne Hutchinson. The wife of a merchant and mother of seven, Hutchinson held weekly prayer meetings for women and accused various Boston clergymen of placing undue emphasis on good behavior. Like Martin Luther, Hutchinson denied that salvation could be earned through good deeds. There was no "**covenant of works**" that would save the well-behaved, only a "**covenant of grace**" through which God saved those he predestined for salvation. Hutchinson likewise declared that God "revealed" divine truth directly to individual believers, a controversial doctrine that the Puritan magistrates denounced as heretical.

The magistrates also resented Hutchinson because of her sex. Like other Christians, Puritans believed that both men and women could be saved. But **gender** equality stopped there. Women were inferior to men in earthly affairs, said leading Puritan divines, who told married women: "Thy desires shall bee subject to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." Puritan women could not be ministers or lay preachers, nor could they vote in church affairs. In 1637, the magistrates accused Hutchinson of teaching that inward grace freed an individual from the rules of the Church and found her guilty of holding heretical views. Banished, she followed Roger Williams into exile in Rhode Island.

Other Puritan groups moved out from Massachusetts Bay in the 1630s and settled on or near the Connecticut River. For several decades, the colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, and Saybrook were independent of one another; in 1660, they secured a charter from King Charles II (r. 1660–1685) for the self-governing colony of Connecticut. Like Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut had a legally established church and an elected governor and assembly; however, it granted voting rights to most property-owning men, not just to church members as in the original Puritan colony.

Puritan-Pequot War Many rival Indian groups lived in New England before Europeans arrived; by the 1630s, these groups were bordered by the Dutch colony of New Netherland to their west and the various English settlements to the east—Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Haven, and Saybrook. The region's Indian leaders created various alliances for the purposes of trade and defense: Wampanoags with Plymouth; Mohegans with Massachusetts and Connecticut; Pequots with New Netherland; and Narragansetts with Rhode Island.

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the causes and effects of conflicts between British settlers and American Indians.

Because of their alliance with the Dutch, the Pequots became a thorn in the side of English traders. A series of violent encounters began in July 1636 and escalated until May 1637, when a combined force of Massachusetts and Connecticut militiamen, accompanied by Narragansett and Mohegan warriors, attacked a Pequot village and massacred some five hundred men, women, and children. In the months that followed, the New Englanders drove the surviving Pequots into oblivion and divided their lands.

Believing they were God's chosen people, Puritans considered their presence to be divinely ordained. Initially, they pondered the morality of acquiring Native American lands. "By what right or warrant can we enter into the land of the Savages?" they asked themselves. Responding to such concerns, John Winthrop detected God's hand in a recent smallpox epidemic: "If God were not pleased with our inheriting these parts," he asked, "why doth he still make roome for us by diminishing them as we increase?" Experiences like the Pequot War confirmed New Englanders' confidence in their enterprise. "God laughed at the Enemies of his People," one soldier boasted after the 1637 massacre, "filling the Place with Dead Bodies."

Like Catholic missionaries, Puritans believed that their church should embrace all peoples. However, their strong emphasis on predestination—the idea that God saved only a few chosen people—made it hard for them to accept that Indians could be counted among the elect. "Probably the devil" delivered these "miserable savages" to America, Cotton Mather suggested, "in hopes that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ would never come here." A few Puritan ministers committed themselves to the effort to

convert Indians. On Martha's Vineyard, Jonathan Mayhew helped to create an Indian-led community of Wampanoag Christians. John Eliot translated the Bible into Algonquian and created fourteen Indian praying towns. By 1670, more than 1,000 Indians lived in these settlements, but relatively few Native Americans were ever permitted to become full members of Puritan congregations.

The Puritan Revolution in England Meanwhile, a religious civil war engulfed England. Archbishop Laud had imposed the Church of England prayer book on Presbyterian Scotland in 1637; five years later, a rebel Scottish army invaded England. Thousands of English Puritans (and hundreds of American Puritans) joined the Scots, demanding religious reform and parliamentary power. After years of civil war, parliamentary forces led by Oliver Cromwell emerged victorious. In 1649, Parliament beheaded King Charles I, proclaimed a republican Commonwealth, and banished bishops and elaborate rituals from the Church of England.

The Puritan triumph in England was short-lived. Popular support for the Commonwealth ebbed after Cromwell took dictatorial control in 1653. Following his death in 1658, moderate Protestants and a resurgent aristocracy restored the monarchy and the hierarchy of bishops. With Charles II (r. 1660–1685) on the throne, England's experiment in radical Protestant government came to an end.

For the Puritans in America, the restoration of the monarchy began a new phase of their "errand into the wilderness." They had come to New England expecting to return to Europe in triumph. When the failure of the English Revolution dashed that sacred mission, ministers exhorted congregations to create a godly republican society in America. The Puritan colonies now stood as outposts of Calvinism and the Atlantic republican tradition.

The Execution of Charles I, 1649 Charles I led the royalist army in the English Civil War until he was captured by Oliver Cromwell's rebelling New Model Army. Tried by members of the so-called Rump Parliament for treason, Charles was found guilty after three days of deliberation. On a platform erected in the street outside Whitehall, the royal palace in London, the king was beheaded on January 30, 1649. In this image, Charles — dressed in black, with head bowed — approaches the executioner and the chopping block as members of Parliament and throngs of Londoners look on. Private Collection/© Look and Learn/Peter Jackson Collection/Bridgeman Images

Susanna Martin, Accused Witch

Before reading the document below, review again the questions you should ask of every primary source (p. 34). The answers to these questions are not always straightforward. Consider the nature of the document and the motives of its creators as you read.

COTTON MATHER

Tryal of Susanna Martin in Salem, June 29, 1692

Susanna Martin was tried for witchcraft in Salem, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1692, during the height of the crisis there. Cotton Mather, a prominent Boston minister, published summaries of the testimony against her in the following year in *The Wonders of the Invisible World*, a book that sought to defend the colony's effort to root out the witches who he believed were doing the devil's work. "The New-Englanders are a people of God settled in those, which were once the Devil's Territories," he wrote. "The devil is now making one Attempt more upon us." Mather compiled the following testimony, but he is quoting witnesses who also must be treated, in a sense, as authors: witnesses with their own ideas and purposes, which may have been similar to Mather's but were not identical. In the bizarre stories they tell, we get a glimpse of how early New Englanders believed that the devil used people like Susanna Martin to act in the world.

SOURCE: "Tryal of Susanna Martin in Salem, June 29, 1692," in Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (London: J. R. Smith, 1862), 138–148.

Susanna Martin, pleading *Not Guilty* to the Indictment of *Witchcraft*, brought in against her, there were produced the Evidences of many Persons very sensibly and grievously Bewitched; who all complained of the Prisoner at the Bar, as the Person whom they believed the cause of their Miseries. . . .

IV. *John Atkinson* testifi'd, That he exchanged a Cow with a Son of *Susanna Martin's*, whereat she muttered, and was unwilling he should have it. Going to receive this Cow, tho he Hamstring'd her, and Halter'd her, she, of a Tame Creature, grew so mad, that they could scarce get her along. She broke all the Ropes that were fastned unto her, and though she were ty'd fast unto a Tree, yet she made her escape, and gave them such further trouble, as they could ascribe to no cause but Witchcraft.

V. *Bernard Peache* testifi'd, That being in Bed, on the Lord's-day Night, he heard a scrabbling at the Window, whereat he then saw *Susanna Martin* come in, and jump down upon the Floor. She took hold of this Deponent's Feet, and drawing his Body up into an Heap, she lay upon him near Two Hours; in all which time he could neither speak nor stir. At length, when he could begin to move, he laid hold on her Hand, and pulling it up to his Mouth, he bit three of her Fingers, as he judged, unto the Bone. Whereupon she went from the Chamber, down the Stairs, out at the Door. This Deponent thereupon called unto the People of the House, to advise them of what passed; and he himself did follow her. The People saw her not; but there being a Bucket at the Left-hand of the Door, there was a drop of Blood found upon it; and several more drops of Blood upon the Snow newly fallen abroad: There was likewise the print of her 2 Feet just without the Threshold; but no more sign of any Footing further off. . . .

VI. *Robert Downer* testified, That this Prisoner being some Years ago prosecuted at Court for a Witch, he then

Puritanism and Witchcraft Like Native Americans, Puritans believed that the physical world was full of supernatural forces. Devout Christians saw signs of God's (or Satan's) power in blazing stars, birth defects, and other unusual events. Noting after a storm that the houses of many ministers "had been smitten with Lightning," Cotton Mather, a prominent Puritan theologian, wondered "what the meaning of God should be in it."

Puritans were hostile toward people who they believed tried to manipulate these forces, and many were willing to condemn neighbors as Satan's "wizards" or "witches." People in the town of Andover "were much addicted to sorcery," claimed one observer, and "there were forty men in it that could raise the Devil as well as any astrologer." Between 1647 and 1662, civil authorities in New England hanged fourteen people for witchcraft, most of them older women accused of being "double-tongued" or of having "an unruly spirit" (AP® Analyzing Voices).

The most dramatic episode of witch-hunting occurred in Salem in 1692. Several girls who had experienced strange seizures accused neighbors of bewitching them. When judges at the accused witches' trials allowed the use of "spectral" evidence—visions of evil beings and marks seen only by the girls—the accusations spun out of control. Eventually, Massachusetts Bay authorities tried 175 people for witchcraft and executed 19 of them. The causes of this mass hysteria were complex and are still debated.

said unto her, *He believed she was a Witch.* Whereat she being dissatisfied, said, *That some She-Devil would shortly fetch him away!* Which words were heard by others, as well as himself. The Night following, as he lay in his Bed, there came in at the Window, the likeness of a *Cat*, which flew upon him, took fast hold of his Throat, lay on him a considerable while, and almost killed him. At length he remembered what *Susanna Martin* had threatned the Day before; and with much striving he cried out, *Avoid, thou She-Devil! In the Name of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Avoid!* Whereupon it left him, leap'd on the Floor, and flew out at the Window. . . .

VIII. *William Brown* testifi'd, That Heaven having blessed him with a most Pious and Prudent Wife, this Wife of his, one day met with *Susanna Martin*; but when she approach'd just unto her, *Martin* vanished out of sight, and left her extreamly affrighted. After which time, the said *Martin* often appear'd unto her, giving her no little trouble; and when she did come, she was visited with Birds, that sorely peck'd and prick'd her; and sometimes, a Bunch, like a Pullet's Egg, would rise in her Throat, ready to choak her, till she cry'd out, *Witch, you shan't choak me!* While this good Woman was in this extremity, the Church appointed a Day of Prayer, on her behalf; whereupon her Trouble ceas'd; she saw not *Martin* as formerly; and the Church, instead of their Fast, gave Thanks for her Deliverance. But a considerable while after, she being Summoned to give in some Evidence at the Court, against this *Martin*, quickly thereupon, this Martin came behind her, while she was milking her Cow, and said unto her, *For thy defaming her at Court, I'll make thee the miserablest Creature in the World.* Soon after which, she fell into a strange kind of distemper, and became horribly frantick, and uncapable of any reasonable Action; the Physicians declaring, that her Distemper was preternatural, and that some Devil had certainly bewitched her; and in that condition she now remained.

IX. *Sarah Atkinson* testify'd, That *Susanna Martin* came from *Amesbury* to their House at *Newbury*, in an extraordinary Season, when it was not fit for any to Travel. She came (as she said, unto *Atkinson*), all that long way on Foot. She brag'd and shew'd how dry she was; nor could it be perceived that so much as the Soles of her Shoes were wet. *Atkinson* was amazed at it; and professed, that she should her self have been wet up to the knees, if she had then came so far; but *Martin* reply'd, *She scorn'd to be Drabbled!* It was noted, that this Testimony upon her Trial, cast her in a very singular Confusion. . . .

Note, this Woman was one of the most imprudent, scurrilous, wicked Creatures in the World; and she did now throughout her whole Tryal, discover [reveal] her self to be such an one. Yet when she was asked, what she had to say for her self? Her chief Plea was, *That she had lead a most virtuous and holy Life.* ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Who is Mather's intended audience? What was he trying to achieve in presenting this information to them?
2. How might the motives of the witnesses in Susanna Martin's trial have differed from Mather's? What were they trying to achieve?
3. What kinds of actions alienated Martin from her neighbors? What occurrences do her neighbors blame her for, and why?
4. Some witnesses describe events that are hard to imagine or understand. What should we make of their stories? Do we arrive at a clearer understanding of events if we try to explain them away, or is it best to accept the validity of their experiences?
5. Consider the discussion of New England culture on pages 58–65. How would you put this testimony in context? What aspects of New England society and culture predisposed people to view some of their neighbors as witches?

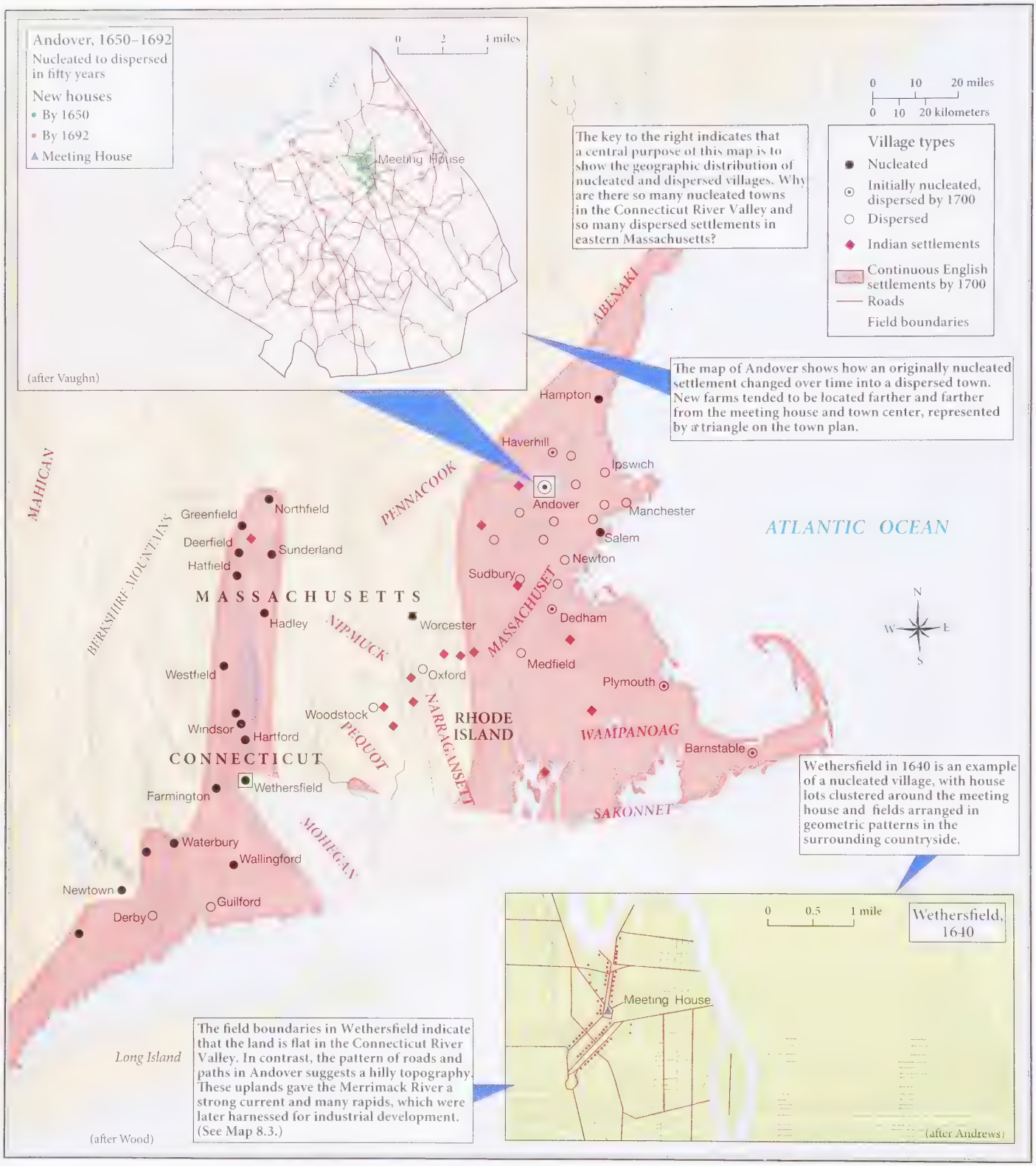
Some historians point to group rivalries: many accusers were the daughters or servants of poor farmers, whereas many of the alleged witches were wealthier church members or their friends. Because 18 of those put to death were women, other historians see the episode as part of a broader Puritan effort to subordinate women. Still others focus on political instability in Massachusetts Bay in the early 1690s and on fears raised by recent Indian attacks in nearby Maine, which had killed the parents of some of the young accusers. It is likely that all of these causes played some role in the executions.

Whatever the cause, the Salem episode marked a major turning point. Shaken by the number of deaths, government officials now discouraged legal prosecutions for witchcraft. Moreover, many influential people embraced the outlook of the European Enlightenment, a major intellectual movement that began around 1675 and promoted a rational, scientific view of the world. Increasingly, educated men and women explained strange happenings and sudden deaths by reference to “natural causes,” not witchcraft. Unlike Cotton Mather (1663–1728), who believed that lightning was a supernatural sign, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) and other well-read men of his generation would investigate it as a natural phenomenon.

AP® EXAM TIP

Note the differences in the ways that historians interpret evidence related to the Salem witch trials.

A Yeoman Society, 1630–1700 In building their communities, New England Puritans consciously rejected the feudal practices of English society. Many Puritans



MAP 2.6 Settlement Patterns in New England Towns, 1630–1700

Throughout New England, colonists pressed onto desirable Indian lands. Initially, most Puritan towns were compact, or nucleated: families lived close to one another in village centers and traveled daily to work in the surrounding fields. This 1640 map of Wethersfield, Connecticut, a town situated on the broad plains of the Connecticut River Valley, shows this pattern clearly. The first settlers in Andover, Massachusetts, also chose to live in the village center. However, the rugged topography of eastern Massachusetts encouraged the townspeople to disperse. By 1692 (as the varied location of new houses shows), many Andover residents were living on farms distant from the village center.

came from middling families in East Anglia, a region of pasture lands and few manors, and had no desire to live as tenants of wealthy aristocrats or submit to oppressive taxation by a distant government. They had "escaped out of the pollutions of the world," the settlers of Watertown in Massachusetts Bay declared, and vowed to live "close togither" in self-governing communities. Accordingly, the General Courts of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut bestowed land on groups of settlers, who then distributed it among the male heads of families.

Widespread ownership of land did not mean equality of wealth or status. "God had Ordained different degrees and orders of men," proclaimed Boston merchant John Saffin, "some to be Masters and Commanders, others to be Subjects, and to be commanded." Town proprietors normally awarded the largest plots to men of high social status who often became selectmen and justices of the peace. However, all families received some land, and most adult men had a vote in the **town meeting**, the main institution of local government (Map 2.6).

In this society of independent households and self-governing communities, ordinary farmers had much more political power than Chesapeake yeomen and European peasants did. Although Nathaniel Fish was one of the poorest men in the town of Barnstable — he owned just a two-room cottage, 8 acres of land, an ox, and a cow — he was a voting member of the town meeting. Each year, Fish and other Barnstable farmers levied taxes; enacted ordinances governing fencing, roadbuilding, and the use of common fields; and chose the selectmen who managed town affairs. The farmers also selected the town's representatives to the General Court, which gradually displaced the governor as the center of political authority. For Fish and thousands of other ordinary settlers, New England had proved to be a new world of opportunity.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What conditions were necessary to establish successful neo-European colonies?

Mrs. Elizabeth Freake and Baby Mary This portrait, completed around 1674 by an unknown artist, depicts the wife and youngest daughter of a wealthy Bostonian. Their clothes and surroundings illustrate the growing prosperity of well-to-do households. Mother and child both wear fine linen edged with fine lace. Elizabeth Freake's sleeve is decorated with colorful red and black ribbons and she wears a beaded bracelet on her wrist. They are seated on a chair colorfully upholstered in a style intended to imitate a Turkish carpet. Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts, U[illegible]

Instability, War, and Rebellion

Everywhere in Europe's American colonies, conflicts arose over the control of resources, the legitimacy of colonial leaders' claims to power, and attempts to define social and cultural norms. Periodically, these conflicts flared spectacularly into episodes of violence. Each episode has its own story — its own unique logic and narrative — but taken together, they also illustrate the way that, in their formative stages, colonial societies pressured people to accept new patterns of authority and new claims to power. When these claims were contested, the results could quickly turn deadly.

Native American Resistance

In the English Northeast and the Spanish Southwest, European claims to power and territory prompted Native American wars of resistance. In New England, Wampanoags and other Indian groups had maintained alliances with neighboring colonies for years. But these relations were unstable, and the potential for violence was never far from the surface. In the Spanish colony of New Mexico, soldiers and missionaries conquered Pueblo communities and ruled by force; there, too, violence was woven into colonial relations, and Native American resistance flared spectacularly.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare attempts by Native populations to maintain autonomy in the face of European encroachment in British North America.

Metacom's War, 1675–1676 By the 1670s, Europeans in New England outnumbered Indians by 3 to 1. The English population had multiplied to 55,000, while Native peoples had diminished from an estimated 120,000 in 1570 to barely 16,000. To the Wampanoag leader Metacom (also known as King Philip), the prospects for

coexistence looked dim. When his people copied English ways by raising hogs and selling pork in Boston, Puritan officials accused them of selling at "an under rate" and restricted their trade. When Indians killed wandering hogs that devastated their cornfields, authorities prosecuted them for violating English property rights.

Metacom concluded that the English colonists had to be expelled. In 1675, the Wampanoag leader forged a military alliance with the Narragansetts and Nipmucks and attacked white settlements throughout New England. Almost every day, settler William Harris fearfully reported, he heard new reports of the Indians "burneing houses, takeing cattell, killing men & women & Children: & carrying others captive." Bitter fighting continued into 1676, ending only when the Indian warriors ran short of gunpowder and the Massachusetts Bay government hired Mohegan and Mohawk warriors, who killed Metacom.

Metacom's War of 1675–1676 (which English settlers called King Philip's War) was a deadly affair. Indians destroyed one-fifth of the English towns in Massachusetts and Rhode Island and killed 1,000 settlers, nearly 5 percent of the adult population; for a time the Puritan experiment hung in the balance. But the Natives' losses — from famine and disease, death in battle, and sale into slavery — were much larger: about 4,500 Indians died, one-quarter of an already diminished population. Many of the surviving Wampanoag, Narragansett, and Nipmuck peoples moved west, intermarrying with Algonquian tribes allied to the French. Over the next century, these displaced Indian peoples would take their revenge, joining with French Catholics to attack their Puritan enemies. Metacom's War did not eliminate the presence of Native Americans in southern New England, but it effectively destroyed their existence as independent peoples.

The Pueblo Revolt From the time of their first arrival in Pueblo country in 1540, Spanish soldiers and Franciscan missionaries had attempted to dominate its Indian communities. They demanded tribute, labor, and forced conversions to Catholicism, and they ferociously suppressed resistance. A small minority ruling over a population of some 17,000 people, the Spanish were mistrusted and often hated. A drought beginning in 1660 compounded the Pueblos' misery; one priest wrote, "a great many Indians perished of hunger, lying dead along the roads, in the ravines, and in their huts." In this period of suffering, many Pueblos turned away from Christianity and back to their own holy men and traditional ceremonies. Seeking to suppress these practices, in 1675 Spanish officials hanged three Pueblo priests and whipped dozens of others as punishment for sorcery.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of the Pueblo Revolt on Spanish policy in North America.

One of the convicted sorcerers was a religious leader from San Juan Pueblo named Popé. Five years later, he organized a complex military offensive against the Spanish that came to be known as the **Pueblo Revolt** (also called Popé's Rebellion). Drawing on warriors from two dozen pueblos spread across several hundred miles and speaking six languages, Popé orchestrated an uprising that **liberated** the pueblos and culminated in the capture of Santa Fe; 400 Spaniards were killed; the remaining 2,100 fled south. New Mexico was in Pueblo hands. Under the leadership of Diego de Vargas, the Spanish returned and recaptured Santa Fe in 1693; three years later, they had reclaimed most of the pueblos of New Mexico. But Spanish policy was redirected by the revolt. Officials reduced their labor demands on Pueblo communities, and across the Southwest — from Baja California to Tejas y Coahuila — Spain relied on Indian missions to create a defensive perimeter against their Ute, Apache, and Navajo neighbors.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Compare the pressures that Native American groups faced from colonists in New England and New Mexico. What was similar, and in what ways did their circumstances differ?

In the century that followed, Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries built a dense network of missions extending north from Mexico along the coast of Baja and Alta (or lower and upper) California. From San José del Cabo in the south to San Francisco in the north, these institutions sought to pacify Native peoples and transform their ways of life. Massive waves of smallpox, typhus, and other diseases drove surviving Indians to the missions; their desperation often accomplished what the faithful labors of missionaries could not. Throughout coastal California, remnant Indian populations gravitated toward mission communities and the sustenance and protection they could offer.

Bacon's Rebellion

At about the same time that New England fought its war with Metacom and the Pueblos took up arms with Popé, Virginia was wracked by a rebellion that nearly toppled its government. It, too, grew out of a conflict with neighboring Indians, but this one inspired a popular uprising against the colony's royal governor. Like Metacom's War, it highlighted the way that a land-intensive settler colony created friction with Native American populations; in addition, it dramatized the way that ordinary colonists could challenge the authority of a new planter elite to rule over them.

By the 1670s, economic and political power in Virginia was in the hands of a small circle of men who amassed land, slaves, and political offices. Through headrights and royal grants, they controlled nearly half of all the settled land in Virginia. What they could not plant themselves, they leased to tenants. Freed indentured servants found it ever harder to get land of their own; many were forced to lease lands, or even sign new indentures, to make ends meet. To make matters worse, the price of tobacco fell until planters received only a penny a pound for their crops in the 1670s.

At the top of Virginia's narrow social pyramid was William Berkeley, governor between 1642 and 1652 and again after 1660. To consolidate power, Berkeley bestowed large land grants on members of his council. The councilors exempted these lands from taxation and appointed friends as justices of the peace and county judges. To win support in the House of Burgesses, Berkeley bought off legislators with land grants and **lucrative** appointments as sheriffs and tax collectors. But social unrest erupted when the Burgesses took the vote away from landless freemen, who by now constituted half the adult white men. Although property-holding yeomen retained their voting rights, they were angered by falling tobacco prices, political corruption, and "grievous taxations" that threatened the "utter ruin of us the poor commonalty." Berkeley and his allies were living on borrowed time.

Frontier War An Indian conflict ignited the flame of social rebellion. In 1607, when the English intruded, 30,000 Native Americans resided in Virginia; by 1675, the Native population had dwindled to only 3,500. By then, Europeans numbered some 38,000 and Africans another 2,500. Most Indians lived on treaty-guaranteed territory along the **frontier**, where poor freeholders and landless former servants now wanted to settle, demanding that the Natives be expelled or exterminated. Their demands were ignored by wealthy planters, who wanted a ready supply of tenants and laborers, and by Governor Berkeley and the planter-merchants, who traded with the Occaneechee Indians for beaver pelts and deerskins.

Fighting broke out late in 1675, when a vigilante band of Virginia militiamen murdered thirty Indians. Defying Berkeley's orders, a larger force then surrounded a fortified Susquehannock village and killed five leaders who came out to negotiate. The Susquehannocks retaliated by attacking outlying plantations and killing three hundred whites. In response, Berkeley proposed a defensive strategy: a series of frontier forts to deter Indian intrusions. The settlers dismissed this scheme as a militarily useless plot by planter-merchants to impose high taxes and take "all our tobacco into their own hands."

Challenging the Government Enter Nathaniel Bacon, a young, well-connected migrant from England who emerged as the leader of the rebels. Bacon held a position on the governor's council, but he was shut out of Berkeley's inner circle and differed with Berkeley on Indian policy. When the governor refused to grant him a military commission, Bacon **mobilized** his neighbors and attacked any Indians he could find. Condemning the frontiersmen as "rebels and mutineers," Berkeley expelled Bacon from the council and had him arrested. But Bacon's army forced the governor to release their leader and hold legislative elections. The newly elected House of Burgesses enacted far-reaching reforms that curbed the powers of the governor and council and restored voting rights to landless freemen.

These much-needed reforms came too late. Poor farmers and servants resented years of exploitation by wealthy planters, arrogant justices of the peace, and "wicked & pernicious Counsellors." As one **yeoman** rebel complained, "A poor man who has only his labour to maintain himself and his family pays as much [in taxes] as a man who has 20,000 acres." Backed by 400 armed men, Bacon issued a "Manifesto and Declaration of the People" that demanded the removal of Indians and an end to the rule of wealthy "parasites." "All the power and sway is got into the hands of the rich," Bacon proclaimed as his army burned Jamestown to the ground and plundered the plantations of Berkeley's allies. When Bacon died suddenly of dysentery in October 1676, the governor took revenge, dispersing the rebel army, seizing the estates of well-to-do rebels, and hanging 23 men.

In the wake of Bacon's Rebellion, Virginia's leaders worked harder to appease their humble neighbors. But the rebellion also coincided with the time when Virginia planters were switching from indentured servants, who became free after four years, to slaves, who labored for life. In the eighteenth century, wealthy planters would make common cause with poorer whites, while slaves became the colony's most exploited workers. That fateful change eased tensions within the free population but committed subsequent generations of Americans to a labor system based on racial exploitation. Bacon's Rebellion, like Metacom's War, reminds us that these colonies were unfinished worlds, still searching for viable foundations.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

In what ways was Bacon's Rebellion symptomatic of social tensions in the colony of Virginia?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What did these three rebellions — Metacom's War, the Pueblo Revolt, and Bacon's Rebellion — have in common?

SUMMARY

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, three types of colonies took shape in the Americas. In Mesoamerica and the Andes, Spanish colonists made indigenous empires their own, capitalizing on preexisting labor systems and using tribute and the discovery of precious metals to generate enormous wealth, which Philip II used to defend the interests of the Catholic Church in Europe. In tropical and subtropical regions, colonizers transferred the plantation complex — a centuries-old form of production and labor discipline — to places suited to growing exotic crops like sugar, tobacco, and indigo. The rigors of plantation agriculture demanded a large supply of labor, which was first filled in English colonies by indentured servants and later supplemented and eclipsed by African slaves. The third type of colony, neo-European settlement, developed in North America's temperate zone, where European migrants adapted familiar systems of social and economic organization in new settings.

Everywhere in the Americas, colonization was, first and foremost, a process of experimentation. As resources from the Americas flowed to Europe, monarchies were strengthened and the competition among them — sharpened by the schism between Protestants and Catholics — gained new force and energy. Establishing colonies demanded political, social, and cultural innovations that threw Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans together in bewildering circumstances, triggered massive ecological change through the Columbian Exchange, and demanded radical adjustments. In the Chesapeake and New England — the two earliest regions of English settlement on mainland North America — the adjustment to new circumstances sparked conflict with neighboring Indians and waves of instability within the colonies. These external and internal crises were products of the struggle to adapt to the rigors of colonization.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. How did Spanish colonization affect people in the Americas and in Europe?
2. How did the labor demands of plantation colonies transform the process of colonization?
3. What conditions were necessary to establish successful neo-European colonies?
4. What did these three rebellions — Metacom's War, the Pueblo Revolt, and Bacon's Rebellion — have in common?
5. Review the events listed under "Politics and Power" and "Culture and Society" on the thematic timeline on pages 4–5. How did political developments in seventeenth-century England impact the development of its American colonies?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

chattel slavery (p. 38)
neo-Europes (p. 38)
encomienda (p. 40)
casta system (p. 41)
Columbian Exchange (p. 41)
mercantilism (p. 43)
joint-stock corporation (p. 45)
House of Burgesses (p. 46)
royal colony (p. 46)
freeholds (p. 50)
headright system (p. 50)
indentured servitude (p. 50)
Pilgrims (p. 58)
Puritans (p. 59)
toleration (p. 59)
covenant of works (p. 60)
covenant of grace (p. 60)
town meeting (p. 65)
Metacom's War (p. 66)
Pueblo Revolt (p. 66)

Key People

Philip II (p. 42)
Opechancanough (p. 46)
Lord Baltimore (p. 47)
John Winthrop (p. 59)
Roger Williams (p. 59)
Anne Hutchinson (p. 60)
Metacom (p. 65)

Key Academic Terms

ecology (p. 40)
prominent (p. 40)
virulent (p. 41)
biology (p. 41)
pirate (p. 42)
privateer (p. 42)
anathema (p. 43)
entrepreneur (p. 43)
stimulate (p. 43)
immigrant (p. 46)
consolidate (p. 50)
gentry (p. 50)
insurance (p. 55)
decimate (p. 57)
repudiate (p. 59)
dissident (p. 59)
gender (p. 60)
liberation (p. 66)
lucrative (p. 67)
frontier (p. 67)
mobilize (p. 67)
yeoman (p. 68)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. In Chapter 1, we saw that there were many parallels between Native American, European, and African societies on the eve of contact. Yet Europeans ended up dominating both Native American and African populations in colonial American settings. Based on what you learned in Chapter 2, what factors help to explain that dominance?
2. Look closely at the depiction of the Hurons' Feast of the Dead on page 58. Where do you see the bodies of the dead? What do you think the people gathered around the fires are doing? Do you consider this image macabre? Reverent? How would you defend your interpretation?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the Chapter Chronology on p. 40 for help in answering the questions below.

The Chesapeake tobacco boom (1620–1660), Opechancanough's uprising (1622), and the takeover of Virginia by the crown (1624): How were these events related to each other? What was their cumulative result?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

> "I must now speak of the skilled workmen whom Montezuma employed in all the crafts they practiced, beginning with the jewelers and workers in silver and gold . . . which excited the admiration of our great silversmiths at home. . . . There were other skilled craftsmen who worked with precious stones . . . and very fine painters and carvers.
>
> But why waste so many words on the goods in their great market? If I describe everything in detail I shall never be done. . . . Having examined and considered all that we had seen, we turned back to the great market and the swarm of buying and selling. The mere murmur of their voices talking was loud enough to be heard more than three miles away. Some of our soldiers who had been in many parts of the world, in Constantinople, in Rome, and all over Italy, said that they had never seen a market so well laid out, so orderly, and so full of people."
>
> Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain,* 1632

1. The scene described in the excerpt is an example of which of the following developments in the 1600s?
   - **a.** A debate among European religious and political leaders about how non-Europeans should be treated
   - **b.** The Columbian Exchange facilitating the European shift from feudalism to capitalism
   - **c.** The mutual misunderstandings between Europeans and Native Americans as each group sought to make sense of the other
   - **d.** The development of a caste system by the Spanish that defined the status of the diverse population in their empire
2. The events described in the passage most directly foreshadowed which of the following developments?
   - **a.** Spanish attempts to convert Native populations to Christianity
   - **b.** Native peoples seeking to maintain their economic prosperity through diplomatic negotiations and military resistance
   - **c.** The Europeans' and American Indians' adoptions of useful aspects of each other's culture
   - **d.** Spanish efforts to extract wealth from the New World

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

> "We cannot in our hearts find one single spot of Rebellion of Treason or that we have in any manner aimed at subverting the settled Government. . . . We appeal to the Country itself . . . of what nature their Oppressions have been . . . let us trace the men in Authority and Favor [here] . . . let us observe the sudden rise of their Estates composed with the Quality in which they first entered this country . . . let us [also] consider whether any Public work for our safety and defense or for the Advancement of and propagation of [our] trade . . . is here . . . in [any] way adequate to our vast charge. . . .
>
> Another main article of our guilt is our open and manifest aversion of all . . . Indians, this we are informed is a Rebellion . . . we do declare and can prove that they have been for these Many years enemies to the King and Country . . . but yet have by persons in authority [here] been defended and protected even against His Majesties loyal Subjects. . . .
>
> . . . may all the world know that we do unanimously desire to represent our sad and heavy grievances to his most sacred Majesty . . . where we do well know that our Causes will be impartially heard and Equal justice administered to all men."
>
> Nathaniel Bacon, *Declaration,* 1676

3. The excerpt is best understood in the context of
   - **a.** the gradual Anglicization of the British colonies over time.
   - **b.** the first Great Awakening and the spread of Enlightenment ideas.
   - **c.** the diverging goals and interests of European leaders and colonists.
   - **d.** the development of plantation economies in the British West Indies.
4. Which of the following was most likely to have supported the perspective expressed in Bacon's *Declaration*?
   - **a.** Male indentured servants
   - **b.** Plantation-owning colonial politicians
   - **c.** Colonial representative assemblies
   - **d.** Fur trading American Indians
5. Which of the following was an important consequence of the historical processes discussed in the excerpt?
   - **a.** A decrease in British conflicts with American Indians over land, resources, and political boundaries
   - **b.** An increasing attempt of the British government to incorporate North American colonies into a coherent imperial structure in pursuit of mercantilist aims
   - **c.** Expanded use of enslaved labor in the plantation systems of the Chesapeake
   - **d.** The development of autonomous political communities influenced by the spread of Protestant evangelism

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Throughout the early period of colonization, there was continuing tension between hope that the environment might meet English expectations and requirements and accommodation by the English settlers to the environment actually encountered. The steady accumulation and assimilation of facts about the climate of eastern North America threatened the classical concept of climates — the belief that climate is constant in any latitude around the world. Yet colonists and promoters struggled to adapt the old concept to fit new evidence. . . . Newfoundland came to be rejected for colonization, although its importance as a fishing ground continued. New England was finally perceived as a rough country where settlement was possible. . . . In the early seventeenth-century southern mainland colonies, settlers continued to base their expectations on latitude and to hope they could eventually produce commodities comparable to those England imported from southern Europe."

Karen Kupperman, "The Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period," *American Historical Review* 87 (1982): 1288–1289.

"Summer and winter, rain and snow, ceased to come predictably in the Southwest somewhat earlier than elsewhere in the northern hemisphere. . . . [D]ense populations had been living at the edge of the land's agricultural carrying capacity. . . . Perhaps the extraordinary religious fervor, political capital and material resources devoted to agricultural ceremonies . . . shows a cultural recognition of just how unstable the balance was. In the arid Southwest, the balance had always been particularly delicate, and collapse appears to have come suddenly — not with the onset of global cooling in the 1300s, but after a fifty-year-long local drought struck the Chaco Canyon area after 1130. . . . All of the major Puebloan and Hohokam urban centers were gradually abandoned in favor of new pueblos . . . the former, stratified system of smaller supporting villages apparently disappeared in favor of a more egalitarian settlement pattern."

Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts*, 2010

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Kupperman's and Richter's historical interpretations of how climate affected settlement in North America prior to 1700.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event, development, or circumstance from the period before 1700 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Kupperman's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event, development, or circumstance from the period before 1700 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Richter's argument.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE important difference in the development of British and French colonies in North America between 1500 and 1700.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ANOTHER important difference in the development of British and French colonies in North America between 1500 and 1700.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE important similarity in the development of British and French colonies in North America between 1500 and 1700.

3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development supports one of the following as the most significant factor contributing to increased British colonization of North America prior to 1700.
     - Desires of colonists for religious freedom
     - Royal economic and legal policies
     - Extensive transatlantic trade networks
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ANOTHER specific historical event or development supports your choice in (a).
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development supports one of the other factors as less significant to British colonization of North America prior to 1700.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent of change in societies that resulted from transatlantic contacts from 1450 to 1600.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: Portuguese chronicler Duarte Lopez, *A Report on the Kingdom of Kongo*, 1491.

"The King of Portugal, Don Giovanni the Second, being desirous to discover the East Indies, sent forth diverse ships by the coast of Africa to search out this Navigation . . . and running all along that coast did light upon the River Zaire . . . [T]o entertain this traffic with Congo . . . finding the trade there to be so free and profitable, and the people so friendly, left certain Portuguese behind them, to learn the language and to [trade] with them, among whom one was a Mass-Priest. These Portuguese were very well entertained and esteemed by the Prince [of Congo], and reverenced as though they had become earthly Gods, and [had] descended down from heaven into those Countries. But the Portuguese told them that they were men as they themselves were, and professors of Christianity. And when they perceived in how great estimation the people held them, the foresaid Priest and others began to reason with the Prince, touching the Christian religion, and to show unto them the errors of the Pagan superstition, and by little and little teach them the faith which we profess . . . [and] that which the Portuguese spoke unto them, greatly pleased the Prince, and so he became converted. . . .

And now the Portuguese ships departed from Congo, and returned to Portugal; and by them did the King of Congo write to the King of Portugal . . . with earnest request, that he would send some Priests, with all other orders and ceremonies to make him a Christian . . . and so the King [of Portugal] took order for sundry religious persons, to be sent to him accordingly, with all ornaments for the Church and other services, as Crosses and Images, so that he was fully furnished with all things that were necessary and needful for such an action. . . ."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: *Aztec Account of the Siege of Tenochtitlan*, 1520.

"While the Spaniards were in Tlaxcala, a great plague broke out here in Tenochtitlan. It . . . lasted for seventy days, striking everywhere in the city and killing a vast number of our people. Sores erupted on our faces, our breasts, our bellies; we were covered with agonizing sores from head to foot.

The illness was so dreadful that no one could walk or move. The sick were so utterly helpless that they could only lie on their beds like corpses, unable to move their limbs or even their heads. They could not lie face down or roll from one side to the other. If they did move their bodies, they screamed with pain.

A great many died from this plague, and many others died of hunger. They could not get up to search for food, and everyone else was too sick to care for them, so they starved to death in their beds.

Some people came down with a milder form of the disease; they suffered less than the others and made a good recovery. But they could not escape entirely. Their looks were ravaged, for wherever a sore broke out, it gouged an ugly pockmark in the skin. And a few of the survivors were left completely blind."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: Letter from King Nzinga Mbemba of the Congo to King Joao III of Portugal, 1526.

"Sir, your highness should know how our Kingdom is being lost in so many ways. . . . We cannot reckon how great the damage is, since [your Portuguese] merchants are taking every day our natives, sons of the land and sons of our noblemen and vassals and our relatives. . . . So great, Sir, is the corruption and licentiousness that our country is being completely depopulated, and your highness should not agree with this or accept in your service. . . . That is why we beg of Your Highness to help and assist us in this matter, commanding your factors [representatives] that they should not send here either merchants or wares, because it is our will that in these Kingdoms there should not be any trade of slaves nor outlet for them. . . .

Moreover, Sir, in our Kingdoms there is another great inconvenience which is of little service to God, and this is that many of our people [are] keenly desirous . . . of the wares and things of your Kingdoms, which are brought here by your people. In order to satisfy their voracious appetite . . . very often it happens that they kidnap even noblemen and the sons of noblemen, and our relatives, and take them to be sold to the white men or are in our Kingdoms. . . ."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Spanish priest and historian Bartolomé de las Casas, *History of the Indies*, 1528.

"In that year of 1500 . . . the King determined to send a new governor to Hispaniola, which at that time was the only seat of government in the Indies. . . .

At first the Indians were forced to stay six months away at work; later the time was extended to eight months and this was called a shift, at the end of which they brought all the gold for minting . . . during the minting period, the Indians were allowed to go home, a few days' journey on foot. One can imagine their state when they arrived after eight months, and those who found their wives must have cried, lamenting their condition together. How could they even rest, since they had to provide for the needs of their family when their land had gone to weeds? Of those who had worked in the mines, a bare 10 percent had survived to start the journey home. . . .

The [Commander] arranged to have wages paid as follows, which I swear is the truth: in exchange for his life of services, an Indian received . . . 225 maravedis, paid to them once a year. . . . This sum bought a comb, a small mirror, and a string of green or blue glass beads . . . although in truth, they offered their labor up for nothing, caring only to fill their stomachs to appease their raging hunger and find ways to escape their desperate lives. . . .

I believe the above clearly demonstrates that the Indians were totally deprived of their freedom and put in the harshest, fiercest, most horrible servitude and captivity which no one who has not seen it can understand. Even beasts enjoy more freedom when they are allowed to graze in the fields."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Michel de Montaigne, French philosopher, reflecting upon the meaning of Barbarism in his essay *Des Cannibales*, 1580.

"I had with me for a long time a man who had lived ten or twelve years in that other [New] world which had been discovered in our century. . . .

. . . I think there is nothing barbarous and savage in that [American Indian] nation, from what I have been told, except each man calls barbarous whatever is not his own practice; for indeed it seems we have no other test of truth and reason than the example and pattern of opinions and customs of the country we live in. There is always the perfect religion, the perfect government, the perfect and accomplished manners in all things. . . .

These [American Indian] nations, then, seem barbarous in this sense, that they have been fashioned very little by the human mind, and are still close to their original naturalness. The laws of nature still rule them, very little corrupted by ours; and they are in such a state of purity that I am sometimes vexed that they were unknown earlier, in the days when there were men able to judge them better than we. . . . This is a nation, I should say to Plato, in which there is no sort of traffic [business], no knowledge of letters, no science or numbers . . . no custom of servitude, no riches or poverty, no care for any but common kinship, no clothes, no agriculture, no metal, no use of wine or wheat. . . .

. . . I am heartily sorry that, judging their faults rightly, we should be so blind to our own. I think there is more barbarity . . . in tearing by tortures and the rack a body still full of feeling, in roasting a man bit by bit, in having him bitten and mangled by dogs and swine (as we have not only read but seen within fresh memory . . . and what is worse, on the pretext of piety and religion). . . ."

DOCUMENT 6

Source: Englishman Richard Hakluyt, *Discourse Concerning the Western Planting*, 1584.

"It is well worth the observation to see and consider what the like voyages of discovery and planting in the East and West Indies have wrought in the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, both which realms, being of themselves poor and barren and hardly able to sustain their inhabitants, by their discoveries have found such occasion of employment, that these many years we have not heard scarcely of any pirate of those two nations; whereas we and the French are most infamous for our outrageous, common, and daily piracies. . . .

. . . [W]e are grown more populous than ever heretofore; so that now there are of every art and science so many . . . having no way to be set on work, [who] be either mutinous and seek alteration in the state, or at the very least burdensome to the commonwealth . . . whereby all the prisons of the land . . . are stuffed full of them. . . .

Whereas if this voyage were put into execution, these petty thieves might be condemned for certain years to the western parts . . . in sawing and felling of timber for masts of ships . . . in burning of the firs and pine trees to make pitch, tar, rosin and soap ashes . . . in planting of sugar cane . . . in gathering of cotton whereof there is plenty, in tilling of the soil for grain . . . trees for oranges, lemons, almonds, figs , and other fruits, all which are found to grow there already . . . in fishing, salting and drying of . . . cod, salmon, and herring; in making of honey, wax, and turpentine. . . ."

DOCUMENT 7

Source: Number of Cities in Europe (10,000 inhabitants or more), Selected Regions, 1400–1600.

	England (Wales)	Netherlands	France	Northern Italy	Spain	Portugal
1400	4	0	24	21	12	2
1500	5	14	31	31	28	3
1600	7	21	42	37	43	5

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following three questions to answer.

2. **Compare and contrast the influences of religion in the colonialism of the British to that of the Spanish in North America between 1492 and 1700.**

3. **Compare and contrast the political systems of American Indians to those of Europeans prior to 1492.**

4. **Compare and contrast the economic systems of American Indians to those of Europeans prior to 1492.**

PART 2

CHAPTER 3
The British Atlantic World, 1607–1750

CHAPTER 4
Growth, Diversity, and Conflict, 1720–1763

British North America and the Atlantic World

1607–1763

Between 1607 and 1763, English North America took root and flourished. From its unpromising beginnings in Jamestown, where colonists struggled simply to survive, England's colonies grew quickly in number and then, after 1680, became dramatically more populous and diverse. To begin Part 2, we reach back to 1607, the date when Jamestown was founded and permanent English colonization began. We end Part 2 a century and a half later, in 1763, with Britain's victory in the Great War for Empire. The choice to include the Great War in Part 2—thus ending in 1763 rather than 1754—allows us to understand how imperial rivalry and warfare underlay the colonial North American experience in the eighteenth century. By 1763, Britain became the dominant power in eastern North America, and its colonies contained nearly two million subjects.

The rise of British North America occurred amid great changes. Instead of a barrier to contact, the Atlantic Ocean became a watery highway carrying people, merchandise, and ideas. Trade caused more intensive interactions with Europe that knit together the increasingly diverse societies of British North America. After 1689, Europe plunged into a century of warfare that spilled over into North America. British, French, and Spanish colonies all turned to Indian allies for help, fundamentally changing the character of cross-cultural relations. The Great War for Empire transformed the map of North America, making Great Britain **ascendant** in eastern North America, while also creating new challenges for everyone living there.

We give particular attention in Part 2 to the following three main concepts: ▶

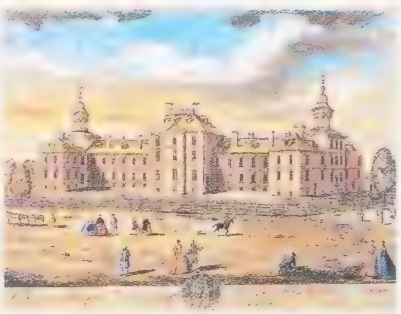
AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

The Diversification of British North America

The American colonies of the various European nations gradually diverged from each other in character. The core of Spanish America developed into complex multiracial societies, while Portuguese Brazil was dominated by plantations and mining. The Dutch kept only a few tropical plantation colonies; the French also had valuable plantation colonies but struggled to populate their vast North American holdings. Britain's mainland colonies, by contrast, gradually stabilized and then grew and diversified rapidly. Britain came to dominate the Atlantic slave trade and brought more than two million slaves across the Atlantic. Most went to Jamaica and Barbados, but half a million found their way to the mainland. Slavery was a growing and thriving institution in British North America.

Many non-English Europeans also came to British North America, including more than 200,000 Germans and Scots-Irish. Most immigrated to Pennsylvania, which soon had the most ethnically diverse population of Europeans on the continent. These groups struggled to maintain their identities in a rapidly changing landscape.

Rise of the British Atlantic World



These population movements were part of the larger growth and development of the British Atlantic world. Britain's transatlantic shipping networks laid the foundation for rising economic productivity and dramatic cultural transformations. The cultural impact of this change grew out of two further developments: the print revolution, which brought many ideas into circulation; and the consumer revolution, which flooded the Atlantic world with a variety of newly available merchandise.

Four new cultural developments emerged in the British Atlantic world. A transatlantic community interested in science and rationalism shared Enlightenment ideas; Pietists promoted the **revival** and expansion of Christianity; well-to-do colonists gained access to genteel values and the finery needed to put them into action; and colonial consumers went further into debt than they ever had before.

Contact and Conflict

In Europe, the period after 1689 has sometimes been called the Second Hundred Years' War, when Britain, France, and their European allies went to war against each other repeatedly. As these conflicts came to the North American theater, they decisively influenced Indian relations. The Columbian Exchange had devastated Native American populations. The rise of imperial warfare encouraged the process of tribalization, whereby Indians regrouped into political structures — called tribes by Europeans — to deal with their colonial neighbors and strike alliances in times of war. Europeans, in turn, used Indian allies as proxy warriors in their conflicts over North American territory.

This pattern culminated in the Great War for Empire, which began in North America and reshaped its map. The Treaty of Paris of 1763 gave Britain control of the entire continent east of the Mississippi. Events would soon show what a mixed blessing that outcome was, for Native Americans, colonists, and British administrators alike.

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

British North America and the Atlantic World 1607–1763

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard Art Museums, USA/Bridgeman Images

This timeline organizes some of the important developments of this period into themes.

How did the demographic changes outlined under the theme "Migration and Settlement" impact the developments that are listed under "Work, Exchange, and Technology"?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1607	• English colonies founded without an overarching imperial system • English civil war allows colonial "big men" to govern themselves	• New England, Chesapeake, and West Indies elites establish their authority • King Charles I beheaded by Parliament (1649)	• Indentured servitude provides labor for the Chesapeake tobacco economy • Yeoman society takes root in New England
1660	• Restoration makes England a monarchy again; royalist revival • The Glorious Revolution makes England a constitutional monarchy • Massachusetts loses its charter (1684) and gains a new one (1691)	• Dominion of New England (1686–1689) • Glorious Revolution (1688–1689) • War of the League of Augsburg (1689–1697) • Founding of the Restoration Colonies: the Carolinas (1663), New York (1664), New Jersey (1664), Pennsylvania (1681)	• South Atlantic System links plantation and neo-European colonies • Mercantilist legislation in England: Navigation Acts (1651, 1660, 1663) New York inherits Hudson River Valley manors from the Dutch; Carolina proprietors fail to institute a manorial system • Migrants to Pennsylvania seek freehold lands • Rapid expansion of African slave imports undergirds sugar, tobacco, and rice plantation systems
1690	• Colonists gain autonomy in the post–Glorious Revolution era • Tribalization develops among Native American peoples	• Parliament creates Board of Trade (1696) • War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713)	• New England shipbuilding industry and merchant community dominate the coastal trade • Agricultural labor and artisanal skills in high demand in the Middle colonies
1720	• African American community forms in the Chesapeake • Planter aristocracy emerges in the Chesapeake and South Carolina • Culture of gentility spreads among well-to-do	• Robert Walpole is prime minister (1720–1742) • Stono Rebellion (1739) • War of Jenkins's Ear (1739–1741) • War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748)	• The price of wheat rises (doubles in Philadelphia, 1720–1770) • British trade dominates the Atlantic • Opportunity and inequality in the Middle colonies Ohio Company of Virginia receives 200,000 acres (1749)
1750	• Victory in the Great War for Empire sparks pro-British pride in the colonies • Desire for political autonomy and economic independence grows	• French and Indian War/Seven Years' War (1754–1763) • The Albany Congress (1754) • The Treaty of Paris (1763) • Pontiac's Rebellion (1763)	• Freehold society in crisis in New England • Half of Middle colonies' white men landless • Conflicts over western lands and political power (1750–1775) • British industry being mechanized; colonial debt crisis

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• Puritan magistrates and tobacco planters govern the colonies	• Young male laborers dominate migration to the Chesapeake • Migration to New England brings intact households	• Tobacco takes root in the Chesapeake	• England intermittently ignores its American colonies	1607
• Collapse of the Puritan Commonwealth leads to toleration in England • Isaac Newton publishes *Principia Mathematica* (1687)	• The Middle Passage shapes Africans' experiences of arrival • Indian slave trade emerges in South Carolina • First Mennonites arrive in Pennsylvania (1683)	• Native American populations of the eastern woodlands decline catastrophically • African Americans are imported to tropical and semitropical colonies in large numbers	• England's proprietary colonies claim much of the Atlantic coast of North America	1660
• John Locke publishes *Two Treatises on Government* (1690) • Rise of toleration among colonial Protestants • Print revolution begins	• Quakers emigrate to Pennsylvania and New Jersey • Second wave of Germans arrives in Pennsylvania, Shenandoah Valley	• Rice cultivation begins in the Carolina and Georgia low country • New England fish feed southern Europe and Caribbean slaves	• European wars begin to spill onto American shores • Pennsylvania begins to draw large numbers of Scots-Irish and German migrants	1690
• George Whitefield's visit to America sparks the Great Awakening (1739) • Benjamin Franklin founds American Philosophical Society (1743)	• Scots-Irish begin migrating to Pennsylvania (c. 1720) • Parliament charters Georgia (1732) • Penns make Walking Purchase from the Delawares (1737)	• The pace of transatlantic shipping accelerates • A road network begins to knit together colonial towns	• The South Atlantic System connects America, Africa, and Europe • Mercantilism shapes England's policies toward its American colonies	1720
• New colleges, newspapers, magazines • At least twelve religious denominations in Philadelphia • Neolin promotes nativist revival among Ohio Indians (1763)	• 40,000 Germans and Swiss emigrate to Pennsylvania (1749–1756) • Anglo-Americans push onto backcountry lands	• The vast geographical scale of North America challenges European armies in the French and Indian War	• Britain wins the Great War for Empire and claims eastern North America	1750

CHAPTER 3

The British Atlantic World

1607–1750

Colonies to Empire, 1607–1713

Self-Governing Colonies and New Elites, 1607–1660

The Restoration Colonies and Imperial Expansion

From Mercantilism to Imperial Dominion

The Glorious Revolution in England and America

Imperial Wars and Native Peoples

Tribalization

Indian Goals

The Imperial Slave Economy

The South Atlantic System

Africa, Africans, and the Slave Trade

Slavery in the Chesapeake and South Carolina

An African American Community Emerges

The Rise of the Southern Gentry

The Northern Maritime Economy

The Urban Economy

Urban Society

The New Politics of Empire, 1713–1750

The Rise of Colonial Assemblies

Salutary Neglect

Protecting the Mercantile System

Mercantilism and the American Colonies

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How did the South Atlantic System create an interconnected Atlantic world, and how did this system impact development in the British colonies?

For two weeks in June 1744, the town of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, hosted more than 250 Iroquois men, women, and children for a diplomatic conference with representatives from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Crowds of curious observers thronged Lancaster's streets and courthouse. The conference grew out of a diplomatic system between the colonies and the Iroquois designed to air grievances and resolve conflict: the Covenant Chain. Participants welcomed each other, exchanged speeches, and negotiated agreements in public ceremonies whose minutes became part of the official record of the colonies.

At Lancaster, the colonies had much to ask of their Iroquois allies. For one thing, they wanted them to confirm a land agreement. The Iroquois often began such conferences by resisting land deals; as the Cayuga orator Gachradodon said, "You know very well, when the White people came first here they were poor; but now they have got our Lands, and are by them become rich, and we are now poor; what little we have had for the Land goes soon away, but the Land lasts forever." In the end, however, they had little choice but to accept merchandise in exchange for land, since colonial officials were unwilling to take no for an answer. The colonists also announced that Britain was once again going to war with France, and they requested military support from their Iroquois allies. Canassatego — a tall, commanding Onondaga orator, about sixty years old, renowned for his eloquence — replied, "We shall never forget that you and we have but one Heart, one Head, one Eye, one Ear, and one Hand. We shall have all your Country under our Eye, and take all the Care we can to prevent any Enemy from coming into it."

The Lancaster conference — and dozens of others like it — demonstrates that the British colonies, like those of France and Spain, relied ever more heavily on alliances with Native Americans as they sought to extend their power in North America. Indian nations remade themselves in these same years, creating political structures — called "tribes" by Europeans — that allowed them to regroup in the face of population decline and function more effectively alongside neighboring colonies. The colonies, meanwhile, were drawn together into an integrated economic sphere — the South Atlantic System — that brought prosperity to British North America, while they achieved a measure of political autonomy that became essential to their understanding of what it meant to be British subjects.

English Tobacco Label, c. 1700 This label, which was used to advertise Virginia tobacco to London consumers, illustrates the growth of plantation economies in North America. Three well-to-do planters, bewigged and dressed in fashionable, colorful coats, take their ease with pipes of tobacco and glasses of liquor while slaves labor for them in the fields. The product's name — London's Virginia — highlights the relationship between production on colonial plantations and consumption in the English metropolis. The Granger Collection, New York

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1642–1651	English civil war
1649	Charles I beheaded
1651	First Navigation Act
1660–1685	Reign of Charles II, king of England
1663	Charles II grants Carolina proprietorship
1664	English capture New Netherland, rename it New York
1669	Virginia law declares that the murder of a slave cannot be treated as a felony
1681	William Penn founds Pennsylvania
1685–1688	Reign of James II, king of England
1686–1689	Dominion of New England
1688–1689	Glorious Revolution in England
1689	William and Mary ascend throne in England Revolts in Massachusetts, Maryland, and New York
1689–1713	England, France, and Spain at war
1696	Parliament creates Board of Trade
1714–1750	British policy of salutary neglect American assemblies gain power
1720–1742	Robert Walpole leads Parliament
1720–1750	African American communities form Rice exports from South Carolina soar Planter aristocracy emerges Seaport cities expand
1732	Parliament charters Georgia, challenging Spain Hat Act limits colonial enterprise
1733	Molasses Act threatens distillers
1739	Stono Rebellion in South Carolina
1739–1748	War with Spain in the Caribbean and France in Canada and Europe
1750	Iron Act restricts colonial iron production
1751	Currency Act prohibits land banks and paper money

To see a longer excerpt of the Canassatego document mentioned in the chapter introduction, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Colonies to Empire, 1607–1713

Before 1660, England governed its New England and Chesapeake colonies haphazardly. Taking advantage of that laxness and the English civil war, local "big men" (Puritan magistrates and tobacco planters) ran their societies as they wished. Following the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, royal bureaucrats tried to impose order on the unruly settlements and, enlisting the aid of Indian allies, warred with rival European powers.

Self-Governing Colonies and New Elites, 1607–1660

In the years after its first American colonies were founded, England experienced a wrenching series of political crises. Disagreements between King Charles I and Parliament grew steadily worse until they culminated in the English civil war, which lasted from 1642 to 1651. A parliamentary army led by Oliver Cromwell fought against royalist forces for control of the country. Charles I was captured by Cromwell's army, tried for treason, and beheaded in 1649. Charles II, his son and successor, carried on the war for two more years but was defeated in 1651 and fled to France. England was no longer a monarchy. It was ruled by Parliament as a commonwealth, then fell under the personal rule of Oliver Cromwell, who was known as the Lord Protector. Cromwell's death in 1658 triggered a political crisis that led Parliament to invite Charles II to restore the monarchy and take up the throne.

During the long period of instability and crisis in England, its American colonies largely managed their own affairs. Neither crown nor Parliament devised a consistent system of imperial administration; in these years, England had colonies but no empire. Moreover, these were difficult years for all the colonies, when important decisions about the nature of the economy, the government, and the social system had to be worked out through trial and error (see Chapter 2). In this era of intense experimentation and struggle, emerging colonial elites often had to arrive at their own solutions to pressing problems. Leading men in Virginia, Maryland, the New England colonies, and the islands of the West Indies claimed authority and hammered out political systems

that allowed the colonies to be largely self-governing. Even in colonies with crown-appointed governors, such as Sir William Berkeley in Virginia, it soon became apparent that those appointees had to make alliances with local leaders in order to be effective.

The restoration of the crown in 1660 marked a decisive end to this period of near-independence in the colonies. Charles II (r. 1660–1685) and his brother and successor, James II (r. 1685–1688), were deeply interested in England's overseas possessions and dramatically reshaped colonial enterprise. From England's early, prolonged, halting efforts to sponsor overseas activity, an empire finally began to take shape.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the turmoil of the English civil war affect England's colonial enterprises?

The Restoration Colonies and Imperial Expansion

Charles II expanded English power in Asia and America. In 1662, he married the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza, whose dowry included the islands of Bombay (present-day Mumbai, India). Then, in 1663, Charles initiated new outposts in America by authorizing eight loyal noblemen to settle Carolina, an area that had long been claimed by Spain and was populated by thousands of Indians. The following year, he awarded the just-conquered Dutch colony of New Netherland to his brother James, the Duke of York, who renamed the colony New York and then re-granted a portion of it, called New Jersey, to another group of proprietors. Finally, in 1681, Charles granted a vast tract to William Penn — Pennsylvania, or "Penn's Woods." In a great land grab, England had ousted the Dutch from North America, intruded into Spain's northern empire, and claimed all the land in between.

The Carolinas In 1660, English settlement was concentrated in New England and the Chesapeake. Five corporate colonies coexisted in New England: Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island. (Connecticut absorbed New Haven in 1662, while Massachusetts Bay became a royal colony and absorbed Plymouth in 1692.) In the Chesapeake, Virginia was controlled by the crown while Maryland was in the hands of a Lord Proprietor. Like Lord Baltimore's Maryland, the new settlements in Carolina, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania — the Restoration Colonies, as historians call them — were **proprietorships**. The Carolina and Jersey grantees, the Duke of York, and William Penn owned all the land in their new colonies and could rule them as they wished, provided that their laws conformed broadly to those of England (Table 3.1). Indeed, in New York, James II refused to allow an elective assembly and ruled by decree. The Carolina proprietors envisioned a traditional European society; they hoped to implement a manorial system, with a mass of serfs governed by a handful of powerful nobles.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical** Terms in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the difficulties faced by the British in exercising imperial control in North America is critical for success on the AP® exam.

The manorial system proved a fantasy. The first North Carolina settlers were a mixture of poor families and runaway servants from Virginia and English Quakers, an equality-minded Protestant sect (also known as the Society of Friends). Quakers "think there is no difference between a Gentleman and a labourer," complained an Anglican clergyman. Refusing to work on large manors, the settlers raised corn, hogs, and tobacco on modest family farms. Inspired by Bacon's Rebellion, they rebelled in 1677 against taxes on tobacco and again in 1708 against taxes to support the Anglican Church. Through their stubborn independence, residents forced the proprietors to abandon their dreams of a manorial society.

In South Carolina, the colonists also went their own way. The leading white settlers there were migrants from overcrowded Barbados. Hoping to re-create that island's hierarchical slave society, they used enslaved workers — both Africans and Native Americans — to raise cattle and food crops for export to the West Indies. Carolina merchants opened a lucrative trade in deerskins and Indian slaves with neighboring peoples. Then, around 1700, South Carolina planters hit upon rice cultivation. The swampy estuaries of the coastal low country could be modified with sluices, floodgates, and check dams to create ideal rice-growing conditions, and slaves could do the backbreaking work. By 1708, white South Carolinians relied upon a few thousand slaves to work

TABLE 3.1

English Colonies Established in North America, 1660–1750

Colony	Date	Original Colony Type	Religion	Status in 1775	Chief Export/ Economic Activity
Carolina	1663	Proprietary	Church of England	Royal	
North	1691				Farming, naval stores
South	1691				Rice, indigo
New Jersey	1664	Proprietary	Church of England	Royal	Wheat
New York	1664	Proprietary	Church of England	Royal	Wheat
Pennsylvania	1681	Proprietary	Quaker	Proprietary	Wheat
Georgia	1732	Trustees	Church of England	Royal	Rice
New Hampshire (separated from Massachusetts)	1741	Royal	Congregationalist	Royal	Mixed farming, lumber, naval stores
Nova Scotia	1749	Royal	Church of England	Royal	Fishing, mixed farming, naval stores

AP® EXAM TIP

Expand upon the chart above as you read through the chapter to compare the development of Massachusetts Bay, Virginia, South Carolina, and Pennsylvania.

their coastal plantations; thereafter, the African population exploded. Blacks outnumbered whites by 1710 and constituted two-thirds of the population by 1740.

William Penn and Pennsylvania In contrast to the Carolinas, which languished for decades with proprietors and colonists at odds, William Penn's colony was marked by unity of purpose: all who came hoped to create a prosperous neo-European settlement similar to the societies they knew at home. Penn, though born to wealth — he owned substantial estates in Ireland and England and lived lavishly — joined the **Quakers**, who condemned extravagance. Penn designed his colony as a refuge for his fellow Quakers, who were persecuted in England because they refused to serve in the military or pay taxes to support the Church of England. Penn himself had spent more than two years in jail in England for preaching his beliefs.

Like the Puritans, the Quakers sought to restore Christianity to its early simple spirituality. But they rejected the Puritans' pessimistic Calvinist doctrines, which restricted salvation to a small elect. The Quakers followed the teachings of two English visionaries, George Fox and Margaret Fell, who argued that God had imbued all men — and women — with an "inner light" of grace or understanding. Reflecting the sect's emphasis on gender equality, 350 Quaker women would serve as ministers in the colonies.

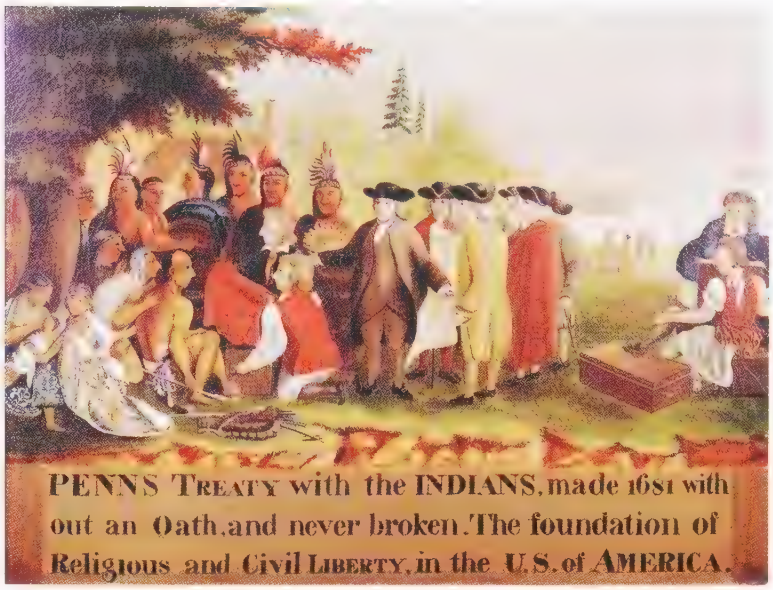
Mindful of the catastrophic history of Indian relations in the Chesapeake and New England, Penn exhorted colonists to "sit downe Lovingly" alongside the Native American inhabitants of the Delaware and Susquehanna valleys. He wrote a letter to the leaders of the Iroquois Confederacy alerting them to his intention to settle a colony, and in 1682 he arranged a public treaty with the Delaware Indians to purchase the lands that Philadelphia and the surrounding settlements would soon occupy.

Penn's Frame of Government (1681) applied the Quakers' radical beliefs to politics. It ensured religious freedom by prohibiting a legally established church, and it promoted political equality by allowing all property-owning men to vote and hold office. Cheered by these provisions, thousands of English Quakers flocked to Pennsylvania. To attract European Protestants, Penn published pamphlets in Germany promising cheap land and religious toleration. In 1683, migrants from Saxony founded Germantown (just outside Philadelphia), and thousands of other Germans soon

followed. Ethnic diversity, **pacifism**, and freedom of conscience made Pennsylvania the most open and democratic of the Restoration Colonies.

From Mercantilism to Imperial Dominion

As Charles II distributed American land, his ministers devised policies to keep colonial trade in English hands. Since the 1560s, the English crown had pursued mercantilist policies, using government subsidies and charters to stimulate English manufacturing and foreign trade. Now it extended these mercantilist strategies to the American settlements through the **Navigation Acts**.


PENNS TREATY with the INDIANS, made 1681 with
out an Oath, and never broken. The foundation of
Religious and Civil LIBERTY, in the U.S. of AMERICA.

Edward Hicks, *Penn's Treaty*, c. 1830–1835 Edward Hicks was a Pennsylvania-born painter and preacher whose art expressed a religiously infused understanding of early Pennsylvania history. In more than a hundred paintings, Hicks depicted the colony as a "peaceable kingdom," in which lions lay down with lambs and colonists met peacefully with Native Americans. This painting, which features Hicks's characteristic folk art style, depicts William Penn's first meeting with the Lenni-Lenape peoples in 1683. A Quaker pacifist, Penn refused to seize Indian lands by force and instead negotiated their purchase. This spirit of peaceful cooperation eroded in the later colonial era, but Hicks chose to portray Penn's meeting with the Indians as the foundation of religious and civil liberty in America. Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

The Navigation Acts Dutch and French shippers were often buying sugar and other colonial products from English colonies and carrying them directly into foreign markets. To counter this practice, the Navigation Act of 1651 required that goods be carried on ships owned by English or colonial merchants. New parliamentary acts in 1660 and 1663 strengthened the ban on foreign traders: colonists could export sugar and tobacco only to England and import European goods only through England; moreover, three-quarters of the crew on English vessels had to be English. To pay the customs officials who enforced these laws, the Revenue Act of 1673 imposed a "plantation duty" on American exports of sugar and tobacco.

The English government backed these policies with military force. In three wars between 1652 and 1674, the English navy drove the Dutch from New Netherland and contested Holland's control of the Atlantic slave trade by attacking Dutch forts and ships along the West African coast. Meanwhile, English merchants expanded their fleets, which increased in capacity from 150,000 tons in 1640 to 340,000 tons in 1690. This growth occurred on both sides of the Atlantic; by 1702, only London and Bristol had more ships registered in port than did the town of Boston.

Though colonial ports benefitted from the growth of English shipping, many colonists violated the Navigation Acts. Planters continued to trade with Dutch shippers, and New England merchants imported sugar and molasses from the French West Indies. The Massachusetts Bay assembly boldly declared: "The laws of England are bounded within the seas [surrounding it] and do not reach America." Outraged by this insolence, customs official Edward Randolph called for troops to "reduce Massachusetts to obedience." Instead, the Lords of Trade — the administrative body charged with colonial affairs — chose a less violent, but no less confrontational, strategy. In 1679, it denied the claim of Massachusetts Bay to New Hampshire and eventually established a separate royal colony there. Then, in 1684, the Lords of Trade persuaded an English court to annul the Massachusetts Bay charter by charging the Puritan government with violating the Navigation Acts and virtually outlawing the Church of England.

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the responses of colonists to British attempts to impose mercantilist economic policies.

The Dominion of New England The Puritans' troubles had only begun, thanks to the accession of King James II (r. 1685–1688), an aggressive and inflexible ruler. During the reign of Oliver Cromwell, James had grown up in exile in France, and he admired its authoritarian king, Louis XIV. James wanted stricter control over the

MAP 3.1 The Dominion of New England, 1686–1689
In the Dominion, James II created a vast royal colony that stretched nearly 500 miles along the Atlantic coast. During the Glorious Revolution in England, politicians and ministers in Boston and New York City led revolts that ousted Dominion officials and repudiated their authority. King William and Queen Mary replaced the Dominion with governments that balanced the power held by imperial authorities and local political institutions.

colonies and targeted New England for his reforms. In 1686, the Lords of Trade revoked the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island and merged them with Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth to form a new royal province, the **Dominion of New England**. James II appointed Sir Edmund Andros, a hard-edged former military officer, as governor of the Dominion. Two years later, James II added New York and New Jersey to the Dominion, creating a vast colony that stretched from Maine to Pennsylvania (Map 3.1).

The Dominion extended to America the authoritarian model of colonial rule that the English government had imposed on Catholic Ireland. James II ordered Governor Andros to abolish the existing legislative assemblies. In Massachusetts, Andros banned town meetings, angering villagers who prized local self-rule. Andros also advocated public worship in the Church of England, offending Puritan Congregationalists. Even worse, from the colonists' perspective, the governor invalidated all land titles granted under the original Massachusetts Bay charter. Andros offered to provide new deeds, but only if the colonists would pay an annual fee. James's plan for the Dominion of New England made it clear that he intended to rule his overseas possessions as an absolute monarch, rejecting the institutions and rights that colonists had come to expect.

The Glorious Revolution in England and America

Fortunately for the colonists, James II angered English political leaders as much as Andros alienated colonists. The king revoked the charters of English towns, rejected the advice of Parliament, and aroused popular opposition by openly practicing Roman Catholicism. Then, in 1688, James's Spanish Catholic wife gave birth to a son. Faced with a Catholic heir to the English throne, Protestant bishops and parliamentary leaders in the Whig Party invited William of Orange, a staunchly Protestant Dutch prince who was married to James's Protestant daughter, Mary Stuart, to come to England at the head of an invading army. With their support, William led a quick and nearly bloodless coup, and King James II was overthrown in an event dubbed the **Glorious Revolution** by its supporters. Whig politicians forced King William and Queen Mary to accept the Declaration of Rights, creating a constitutional monarchy that enhanced the powers of the House of Commons at the expense of the crown. The Whigs wanted political power, especially the power to levy taxes, to reside in the hands of the gentry, merchants, and other substantial property owners.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CONTEXTUALIZATION
How did the ambitions of Charles II and James II remake English North America?

To justify their coup, the members of Parliament relied on political philosopher John Locke. In his *Two Treatises on Government* (1690), Locke rejected the divine-right monarchy celebrated by James II, arguing that the legitimacy of government rests on the consent of the governed and that individuals have **inalienable** natural rights to life, liberty, and property. Locke's celebration of individual rights and representative government had a lasting influence in America, where many political leaders wanted to expand the powers of the colonial assemblies.

AP® EXAM TIP
Comparing the ideas of John Locke to existing ideas of self-government in the colonies is a good way to contextualize the Enlightenment.

Rebellions in America The Glorious Revolution sparked rebellions by Protestant colonists in Massachusetts, Maryland, and New York. When news of the coup reached Boston in April 1689, Puritan leaders and 2,000 militiamen seized Governor Andros and shipped him back to England. Heeding American complaints of authoritarian rule, the new monarchs broke up the Dominion of New England. However, they refused to restore the old Puritan-dominated government of Massachusetts Bay, instead creating in 1692 a new royal colony (which absorbed Plymouth and Maine). The new charter empowered the king to appoint the governor and customs

officials, gave the vote to all male property owners (not just Puritan church members), and eliminated Puritan restrictions on the Church of England.

In Maryland, the uprising had economic as well as religious causes. Since 1660, falling tobacco prices had hurt poorer farmers, who were overwhelmingly Protestant, while taxes and fees paid to mostly Catholic proprietary officials continued to rise. When Parliament ousted James II, a Protestant association mustered 700 men and forcibly removed the Catholic governor. The Lords of Trade supported this Protestant initiative: they suspended Lord Baltimore's proprietorship, imposed royal government, and made the Church of England the legal religion in the colony. This arrangement lasted until 1715, when Benedict Calvert, the fourth Lord Baltimore, converted to the Anglican faith and the king restored the proprietorship to the Calvert family.

In New York, a Dutchman named Jacob Leisler led the rebellion against the Dominion of New England. Initially he enjoyed broad support, but he soon alienated many English-speaking New Yorkers and well-to-do Dutch residents. Leisler's heavy-handed tactics made him vulnerable; when William and Mary appointed Henry Sloughter as governor in 1691, Leisler was indicted for treason, hanged, and decapitated.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 began a new era in the politics of both England and its American colonies. In England, William and Mary ruled as **constitutional monarchs**; overseas, they promoted an empire based on commerce. They accepted the overthrow of James's disastrous Dominion of New England and allowed Massachusetts (under its new charter) and New York to resume self-government. In 1696, Parliament created a new body, the Board of Trade, to oversee colonial affairs. While the Board of Trade continued to pursue the mercantilist policies that made the colonies economically beneficial, it permitted local elites to maintain a strong hand in colonial affairs. As England plunged into a new era of European warfare, its leaders had little choice but to allow its colonies substantial autonomy.

King William III and Mary II Rejecting James II's attempts to impose absolutism, a group of England's most powerful politicians invited William of Orange — a prince of the Dutch Republic — to invade England, depose James II, and occupy the throne jointly with his wife Mary. William's army quickly overthrew James in the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688, an event that reverberated across the Atlantic in rebellions in Massachusetts, Maryland, and New York. This portrait, from the Guild Book of the Barber Surgeons of York, was probably painted to celebrate the coronation of William and Mary in 1689. © British Library/HIP/Art Resource

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the Glorious Revolution affect relations between England and its colonies?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **Identify three new developments between 1660 and 1690 that helped shape England's American Empire.**

Imperial Wars and Native Peoples

The price that England paid for bringing William of Orange to the throne was a new commitment to warfare on the continent. England wanted William because of his unambiguous Protestant commitments; William wanted England because of the

resources it could bring to bear in European wars. Beginning with the War of the League of Augsburg in 1689, England embarked on an era sometimes called the **Second Hundred Years' War**, which lasted until the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. In that time, England (Britain after 1707) fought in seven major wars; the longest era of peace lasted only twenty-six years.

Imperial wars transformed North America. Prior to 1689, American affairs were distant from those of Europe, but the recurrent wars of the eighteenth century spilled over repeatedly into the colonies. Governments were forced to arm themselves and create new alliances with neighboring Native Americans, who tried to turn the fighting to their own advantage. Although war brought money to the American colonies in the form of war contracts, it also placed new demands on colonial governments to support the increasingly militant British Empire. To win wars in Western Europe, the Caribbean, and far-flung oceans, British leaders created a powerful central state that spent three-quarters of its revenue on military and naval expenses.

The "Four Indian Kings" in London, 1710 After a failed invasion of Canada in 1709, a colonial delegation went to London to ask the queen to try again. They brought four Indians with them — three Mohawks and a Mahican — and presented them in London as the "Four Indian Kings" of the Iroquois. The four kings met Queen Anne, dined with nobility, attended the theater, and toured the sites. They sat for several portraits, which were engraved for prints like this one. The queen agreed to make another try for Canada, but the 1711 invasion failed again. Bernard Lens the younger (1740), Bernard Lens the elder (d. 1725), 1710, mezzotint on paper, Albany Institute of History & Art

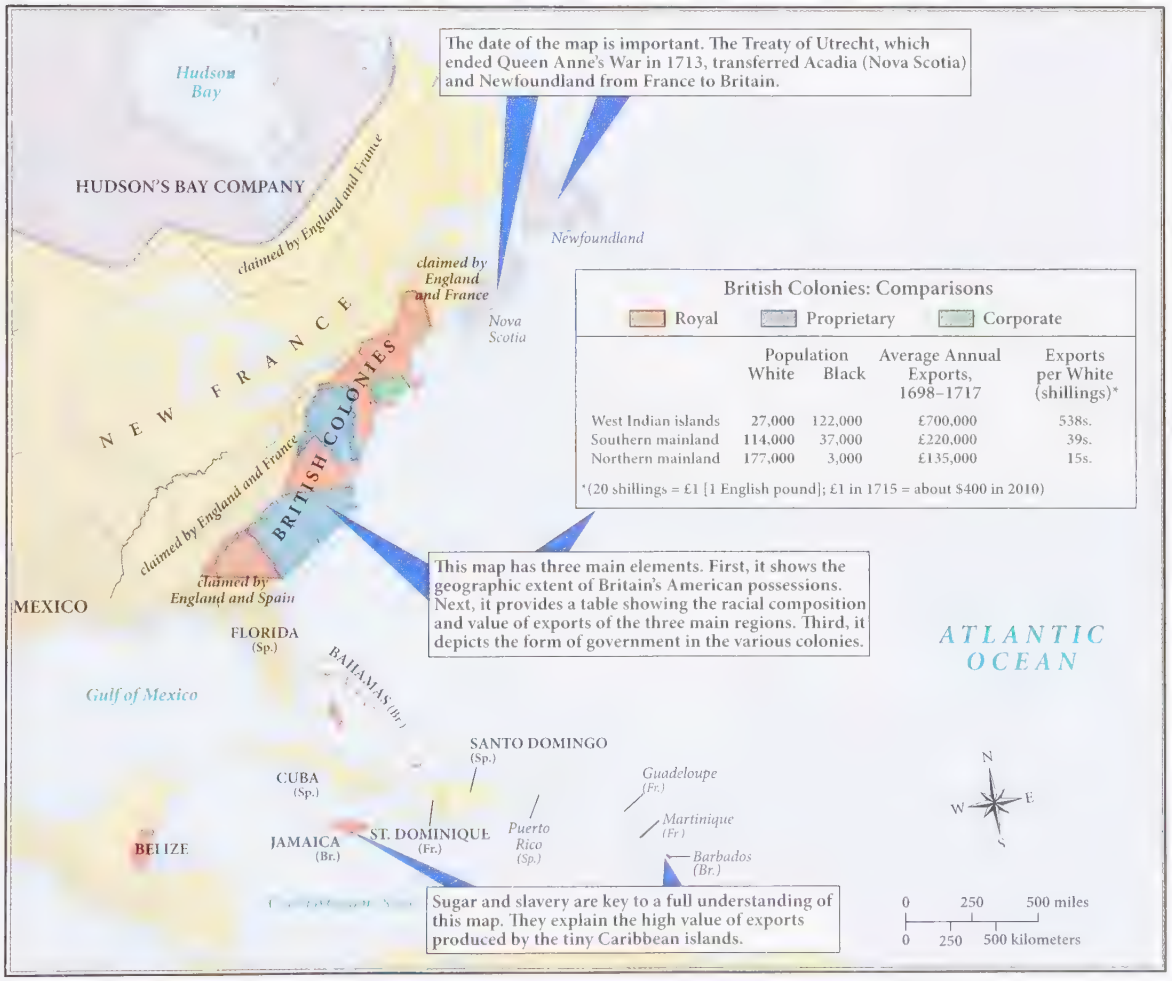
Tribalization

For Native Americans, the rise of war intersected with a process scholars have called **tribalization**: the adaptation of stateless peoples to the demands imposed on them by neighboring states. In North America, tribalization occurred in catastrophic circumstances. Eurasian diseases rapidly killed off broad swaths of Native communities, disproportionately victimizing the old and the very young. In oral cultures, old people were irreplaceable **repositories** of knowledge, while the young were literally the future. With populations in free fall, many polities disappeared altogether. By the eighteenth century, the groups that survived had all been transformed. Some new tribes, like the Catawbas, had not existed before and were pieced together from remnants of formerly large groups. Other nations, like the Iroquois, declined in numbers but sustained themselves by adopting many war captives. In the Carolina borderlands, a large number of Muskogean-speaking communities came together as a nation known to the British as the "Creek" Indians, so named because some of them lived on Ochese Creek. Similarly, the Cherokees, the Delawares, and other groups that were culturally linked but politically fragmented became coherent "tribes" to deal more effectively with their European neighbors.

The rise of imperial warfare exposed Native American communities to danger, but it also gave them newfound leverage. The Iroquois were radically endangered by imperial conflict. A promised English alliance failed them, and in 1693 a combined force of French soldiers, militiamen, and their Indian allies burned all three Mohawk villages to the ground. Thereafter, the Iroquois devised a strategy for playing French and English

interests off against each other. In 1701, they made alliances with both empires, declaring their intention to remain neutral in future conflicts between them. This did not mean that the Iroquois stayed on the sideline. Iroquois warriors often participated in raids during wartime, and Iroquois spokesmen met regularly with representatives of New York and New France to affirm their alliances and receive diplomatic gifts that included guns, powder, lead, clothing, and rum (from the British) or brandy (from the French). Their neutrality, **paradoxically**, made them more sought after as allies. For example, their alliance with New York, known as the **Covenant Chain**, soon became a model for relations between the British Empire and other Native American peoples.

Imperial warfare also reshaped Indian relations in the Southeast. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), which pitted Britain against France and Spain, English settlers in the Carolinas armed the Creeks, whose 15,000 members farmed the fertile lands along the present-day border of Georgia and Alabama. A joint English-Creek expedition attacked Spanish Florida, burning the town of St. Augustine but failing to capture the fort. To protect Havana in nearby Cuba, the Spanish reinforced St. Augustine and unsuccessfully attacked Charleston, South Carolina.


The date of the map is important. The Treaty of Utrecht, which ended Queen Anne's War in 1713, transferred Acadia (Nova Scotia) and Newfoundland from France to Britain.
Hudson Bay
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
claimed by England and France
Newfoundland
claimed by England and France
Nova Scotia
NEW FRANCE
BRITISH COLONIES
claimed by England and France
claimed by England and Spain
MEXICO
FLORIDA (Sp.)
BAHAMAS (Br.)
Gulf of Mexico
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SANTO DOMINGO (Sp.)
CUBA (Sp.)
Guadeloupe (Fr.)
Martinique (Fr.)
Puerto Rico (Sp.)
Barbados (Br.)
BELIZE
JAMAICA (Br.)
ST. DOMINIQUE (Fr.)
British Colonies: Comparisons
Royal
Proprietary
Corporate
Population White
Population Black
Average Annual Exports, 1698–1717
Exports per White (shillings)*
West Indian islands 27,000 122,000 £700,000 538s.
Southern mainland 114,000 37,000 £220,000 39s.
Northern mainland 177,000 3,000 £135,000 15s.
*(20 shillings = £1 [1 English pound]; £1 in 1715 = about $400 in 2010)
This map has three main elements. First, it shows the geographic extent of Britain's American possessions. Next, it provides a table showing the racial composition and value of exports of the three main regions. Third, it depicts the form of government in the various colonies.
Sugar and slavery are key to a full understanding of this map. They explain the high value of exports produced by the tiny Caribbean islands.
N
W
E
S
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers

MAP 3.2 Britain's American Empire, 1713
Many of Britain's possessions in the West Indies were tiny islands, mere dots on the Caribbean Sea. However, in 1713, these small pieces of land were by far the most valuable parts of the empire. Their sugar crops brought wealth to English merchants, commerce to the northern colonies, and a brutal life and early death to the hundreds of thousands of African slaves working on the plantations.

Native Americans and European Empires

Analyzing primary sources in which Europeans recorded Native American speech or actions can be especially challenging. In many cases, historians believe that recorded accounts of Native American speeches from the colonial era are essentially accurate. But often scholars consider it necessary to read *against the grain* of such sources—the document should be read closely and skeptically. Were the Native Americans speaking for themselves, or were others speaking for them? Who recorded their speech, and did they have any reason to alter the words they heard? What silences or contradictions can you see? These are good questions to apply to any primary source, but it's especially important when reading accounts of early Native Americans, who did not have written languages of their own to counterbalance the texts that were produced and archived by colonial powers. Try reading the two documents below "against the grain," and then answer the Questions for Analysis.

In 1710, four "Indian kings" traveled to London to strengthen the imperial alliance between Great Britain and the Iroquois. A London periodical printed the following account of their visit, including the speech they made to Queen Anne.

SOURCE: [Abel Boyer], *The History of the Reign of Queen Anne. Digested into Annals. Year the Ninth* (London, 1711), 189–192.

"On the 19th of *April*, . . . Four *Kings*, or *Chiefs* of the Six Nations in the *West-Indies*, which lye between *New-England*, and *New-France*, or *Canada*: Who lately came over with the *West-India* Fleet, and were Cloath'd and Entertain'd at the Queen's Expence, had a Publick Audience of Her Majesty at the Palace of St. *James*'s. . . . They made a Speech by their Interpreter, which Major *Pidgeon*, who was one of the Officers that came with them, read in *English* to Her Majesty, being as follows:

Great Queen!

We have undertaken a long and tedious Voyage, which none of our Predecessors could ever be prevail'd upon to undertake. The Motive that induc'd us was that we might see our *Great Queen*, and relate to Her those Things we thought absolutely necessary, for the Good of Her, and us, Her Allies, on the other side of the Great Water.

We doubt not but our *Great Queen* has been acquainted with our long and tedious War, in Conjunction with Her Children, (meaning Subjects) against Her Enemies the French; and that we have been as a strong Wall for their Security, even to the Loss of our best Men. The Truth of which . . . Colonel *Schuyler*, and . . . Colonel *Nicholson*, can testify, they having all our Proposals in Writing.

We were mightily rejoiced when we heard . . . that our Great Queen had resolved to send an Army to reduce *Canada*; . . . and in Token of our Friendship, we hung up the *Kettle*, and took up the *Hatchet*; and with one Consent, joined . . . Colonel *Schuyler*, and . . . Colonel *Nicholson*, in making Preparations . . . by building Forts, Store-Houses, Canows [canoes], and Battows [flat-bottomed boats]; whilst . . . Colonel *Vetch*, at the same time raised an Army at *Boston*, of which we were informed by our Ambassadors, who we sent thither for that Purpose. We waited long in Expectation of the Fleet from *England*, to join . . . Colonel *Vetch*, to go against *Quebec* by Sea, whilst [Nicholson, Schuyler], and we, went to *Port-Royal* by Land; but at last we were told, that our *Great Queen*, by some important Affair, was prevented in Her Design for that Season. This made us extream sorrowful, lest the *French*, who hitherto had dreaded us, should now think us unable to make War against them. The Reduction of *Canada* is of such Weight, that after the effecting thereof, we should have *Free Hunting*,

AP EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of European imperial rivalries on conflict and cooperation with American Indian populations.

Indian Goals

The Creeks had their own agenda: to become the dominant tribe in the region, they needed to vanquish their longtime enemies, the pro-French Choctaws to the west and the Spanish-allied Apalachees to the south. Beginning in 1704, a force of Creek and Yamasee warriors destroyed the remaining Franciscan missions in northern Florida, attacked the Spanish settlement at Pensacola, and captured a thousand Apalachees, whom they sold to South Carolinian slave traders for sale in the West Indies. Simultaneously, a Carolina-supported Creek expedition attacked the Iroquois-speaking Tuscarora people of North Carolina, killing hundreds, executing 160 male captives, and sending 400 women and children into slavery. The surviving Tuscaroras joined the Iroquois in New York (who now became the Six Nations of the Iroquois). The Carolinians, having used the Creeks to kill Spaniards, now died at the hands of their former allies: when English traders demanded payment for trade debts in 1715,

and a great Trade with our *Great Queen*'s Children; and as a Token of the Sincerity of the Six Nations, we do here, in the Name of all, present Our *Great Queen* with the *Belts* of *Wampum*.

Since we have been in Alliance with our *Great Queen*'s Children, we have had some Knowledge of the *Saviour* of the World; and have often been importuned by the *French*, both by the insinuations of their Priests, and by Presents, to come over to their Interest, but have always esteem'd them *Men of Falshood*: But if our *Great Queen* will be pleas'd to send over some Persons to instruct us, they shall find a most hearty Welcome. . . .

On *Friday*, the 21st of *April*, the Four *Indian* Princes went to see Dr. *Flamstead*'s House, and Mathematical Instruments in *Greenwich* Park; after which they were nobly treated by some of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in One of Her Majesty's Yachts. They staid about a Fortnight longer in *London*, where they were entertain'd by several Persons of Distinction, particularly by the Duke of *Ormond*, who regaled them likewise with a Review of the Four Troops of Life-Guards; And having seen all the Curiosities in and about this Metropolis, they went down to Portsmouth, through *Hampton-Court*, and *Windsor*, and embark'd on Board the *Dragon*, . . . and on the 15th of *July* arrived at *Boston* in *New England*. ❞

In 1725, French officials in Louisiana organized a similar trip to Paris for five Native leaders representing the Missouris, Osages, Otos, and the Illinois confederacy. Jesuit missionaries had been active among the Illinois Indians for decades and had made many converts. Among them was Chikagou, a Michigamea headman (the Michigameas were one member nation of the Illinois confederacy) who was a staunch ally of the French. After a group of Natchez warriors attacked a French outpost in 1729, Chikagou and Mamantouensa, a headman of the Kaskaskias (another Illinois nation), appeared before the governor of Louisiana to offer their support in a counterattack. This account was recorded by a Jesuit missionary in attendance and included in a letter to his superior in Paris.

SOURCE: Father le Petit to Father d'Avaugour, July 12, 1730, in *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites, 73 vols. (Cleveland, 1896–1901), 68:201–203.

❝ [The Illinois spokesman assured the governor,] 'We always place ourselves . . . before the enemies of the French; it is necessary to pass over our bodies to go to them, and to strike us to the heart before a single blow can reach them.' Their conduct is in accordance with this declaration, and has not in the least contradicted their words. . . . Chikagou, whom you saw in Paris, was at the head of the *Mitchigamias*, and *Mamantouensa* at the head of the *Kaskaskias*.

Chikagou spoke first. He spread out in the hall a carpet of deerskin, bordered with porcupine quills, on which he placed two calumets, with different savage ornaments, accompanying them with a present according to the usual custom. 'There,' said he, in showing these two calumets, 'are two messages which we bring you, the one of Religion, and the other of peace or war, as you shall determine. We have listened with respect to the Governors, because they bring us the word of the King our Father, and much more to the black Robes [Jesuit missionaries], because they bring us the word of God himself, who is the King of Kings. We have come from a great distance to weep with you for the death of the French, and to offer our Warriors to strike those hostile Nations whom you may wish to designate. You have but to speak. When I went over to France, the King promised me his protection for the Prayer, and recommended me never to abandon it. I will always remember it. Grant then your protection to us and to our black Robes.' He then gave utterance to the edifying sentiments with which he was impressed with regard to the Faith, as the Interpreter Baillarjon enabled us to half understand them in his miserable French. ❞

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What language was the speech of the "four kings" delivered in? How large a role do you think the four men played in shaping its content?
2. What requests did the "four kings" make of Queen Anne?
3. What language was Chikagou's speech delivered in? What points did he seek to make?
4. Which of these texts do you consider most reliable? Which gives you the clearest sense of a Native voice? What themes or concerns do they have in common?

the Creeks and Yamasees revolted, killing 400 colonists before being overwhelmed by the Carolinians and their new Indian allies, the Cherokees.

Native Americans also joined in the warfare between French Catholics in Canada and English Protestants in New England. With French aid, Catholic Mohawk and Abenaki warriors attacked their Puritan neighbors. They destroyed English settlements in Maine and, in 1704, attacked the western Massachusetts town of Deerfield, where they killed 48 residents and carried 112 into captivity. In response, New England militia attacked French settlements and, in 1710, joined with British naval forces to seize Port Royal in French Acadia (Nova Scotia). However, a major British–New England expedition against the French stronghold at Quebec, inspired in part by the visit of four Indian "kings" to London, failed miserably (AP® Analyzing Voices).

Stalemated militarily in America, Britain won major territorial and commercial concessions through its victories in Europe. In the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), Britain obtained Newfoundland, Acadia, and the Hudson Bay region of northern Canada from

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What did Native Americans have to gain by participating in imperial wars?

France, as well as access through Albany to the western Indian trade. From Spain, Britain acquired the strategic fortress of Gibraltar at the entrance to the Mediterranean and a thirty-year contract to supply slaves to Spanish America. These gains advanced Britain's quest for commercial supremacy and brought peace to eastern North America for a generation (Map 3.2).

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What was tribalization, and how did it help Native Americans cope with their European neighbors?

The Imperial Slave Economy

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the causes of African slave trade is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

Britain's focus on America reflected the growth of a new agricultural and commercial order — the **South Atlantic System** — that produced sugar, tobacco, rice, and other tropical and subtropical products for an international market. Its plantation societies were ruled by European planter-merchants and worked by hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans (Figure 3.1).

The South Atlantic System

The South Atlantic System had its center in Brazil and the West Indies, and sugar was its primary product. Before 1500, there were few sweet foods in Europe — mostly honey and fruits — so when European planters developed vast sugarcane plantations in America, they found a ready market for their crop. (The craving for the potent new sweet food was so intense that, by 1900, sugar accounted for an astonishing 20 percent of the calories consumed by the world's people.)

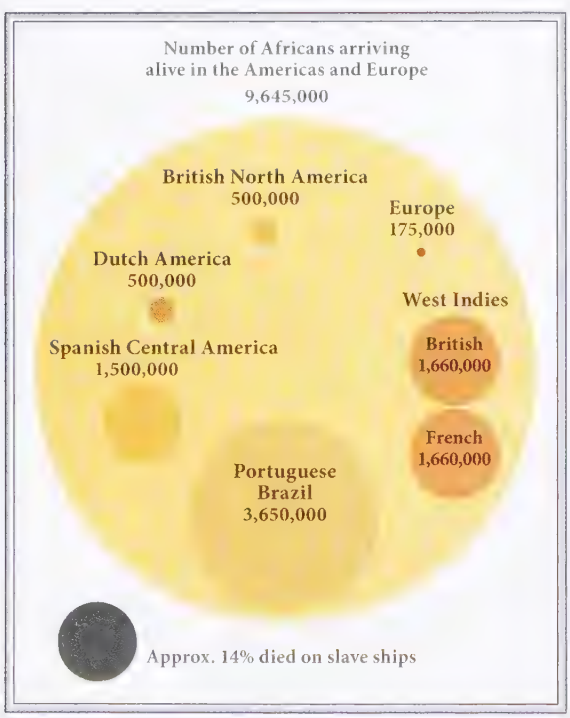


FIGURE 3.1 The Transit of Africans to the Americas
Though approximately 11 million enslaved Africans boarded ships to the Americas, about 1.5 million (14 percent) of them died en route. Two-thirds of the survivors ended up in Brazil (3.65 million) and the West Indies (3.32 million), where they worked primarily on sugar plantations. Half a million arrived directly from Africa in the present-day United States, while many thousands more were traded to the mainland from the West Indies.

European merchants, investors, and planters garnered the profits of the South Atlantic System. Following mercantilist principles, they provided the plantations with tools and equipment to grow and process the sugarcane and ships to carry it to Europe. But it was the Atlantic slave trade that made the system run. Between 1520 and 1650, Portuguese traders carried about 820,000 Africans across the Atlantic — about 4,000 slaves a year before 1600 and 10,000 annually thereafter. Over the next half century, the Dutch dominated the Atlantic slave trade; then, between 1700 and 1800, the British transported about 2.5 million of the total of 6.1 million Africans carried to the Americas.

England and the West Indies England was a latecomer to the plantation economy, but from the beginning the prospect of a lucrative cash crop drew large numbers of migrants. On St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, and Barbados, most early settlers were small-scale English farmers (and their indentured servants) who exported tobacco and livestock hides; on this basis, they created small but thriving colonies. In 1650, there were more English residents in the West Indies (some 44,000) than in the Chesapeake (20,000) and New England (23,000) colonies combined.

After 1650, sugar transformed Barbados and the other islands into slave-based plantation societies, a change facilitated by English capital combined with the knowledge and experience of Dutch merchants. By 1680, an elite group of 175 planters, described by one anti-slavery writer of the time as "inhumane and barbarous," dominated Barbados's economy; they owned more than half of the island,

thousands of indentured servants, and half of its more than 50,000 slaves. In 1692, exploited Irish servants and island-born African slaves staged a major uprising, which was brutally suppressed. The "leading principle" in a slave society, declared one West Indian planter, was to instill "fear" among workers and a commitment to "absolute coercive" force among masters. As social inequality and racial conflict increased, hundreds of English farmers fled to South Carolina and the large island of Jamaica. But the days of Caribbean smallholders were numbered. English sugar merchants soon invested heavily in Jamaica; by 1750, it had seven hundred large sugar plantations, worked by more than 105,000 slaves, and had become the wealthiest British colony.

Sugar was a rich man's crop because it could be produced most efficiently on large plantations. Scores of slaves planted and cut the sugarcane, which was then processed by expensive equipment—crushing mills, boiling houses, distilling apparatus—into raw sugar, molasses, and rum. The affluent planter-merchants who controlled the sugar industry drew annual profits of more than 10 percent on their investment. As Scottish economist Adam Smith noted in his famous treatise *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), sugar was the most profitable crop grown in America or Europe.

The Impact on Britain The South Atlantic System generated enormous wealth and helped Europeans achieve world economic leadership. Most British West Indian plantations belonged to absentee owners who lived in England, where they spent their profits and formed a powerful sugar lobby. The Navigation Acts kept the British sugar trade in the hands of British merchants, who exported sugar to foreign markets, and by 1750 reshipments of American sugar and tobacco to Europe accounted for half of British exports. Enormous profits also flowed into Britain from the slave trade. The value of the guns, iron, rum, and cloth that were used to buy slaves was only about one-tenth (in the 1680s) to one-third (by the 1780s) of the value of the crops those slaves produced in America, allowing English traders to sell slaves in the West Indies for three to five times what they paid for them in Africa.

These massive profits drove the slave trade. At its height in the 1790s, Britain annually exported three hundred thousand guns to Africa, and a British ship carrying 300 to 350 slaves left an African port every other day. This commerce stimulated the entire British economy. English, Scottish, and American shipyards built hundreds of vessels, and thousands of people worked in trade-related industries: building port facilities and warehouses, refining sugar and tobacco, distilling rum from molasses, and manufacturing textiles and iron products for the growing markets in Africa and America. More than one thousand British merchant ships were plying the Atlantic by 1750, providing a supply of experienced sailors and laying the foundation for the supremacy of the Royal Navy.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

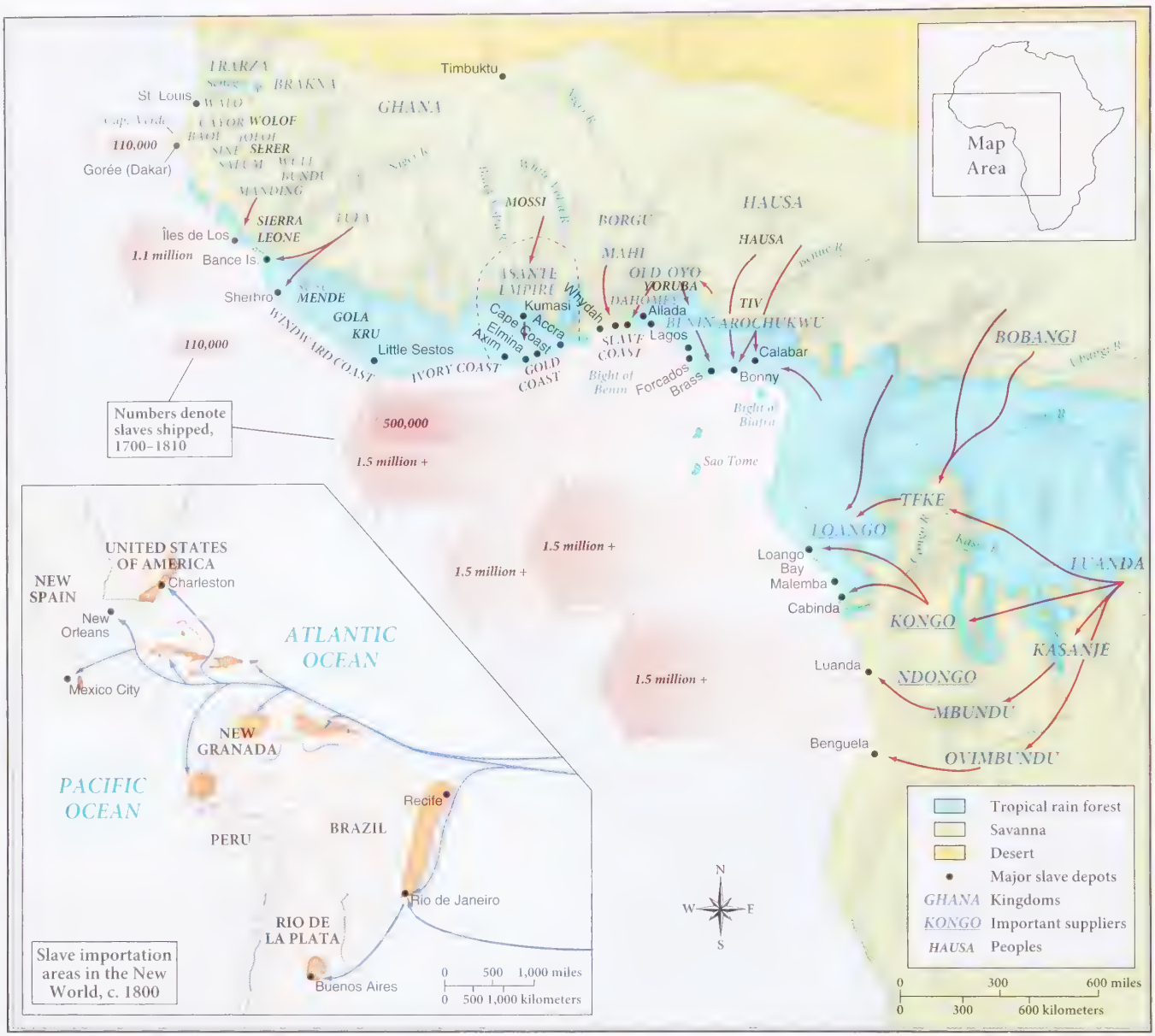
CAUSATION

How did the South Atlantic System affect the British economy?

Africa, Africans, and the Slave Trade

As the South Atlantic System enhanced European prosperity, it imposed enormous costs on West and Central Africa. Between 1550 and 1870, the Atlantic slave trade uprooted 11 million Africans, draining lands south of the Sahara of people and wealth and changing African society (Map 3.3). By directing commerce away from the savannas and the Islamic world on the other side of the Sahara, the Atlantic slave trade changed the economic and religious dynamics of the African interior. It also fostered militaristic, centralized states in the coastal areas.

Africans and the Slave Trade Warfare and slaving had been part of African life for centuries, but the South Atlantic System made slaving a favorite tactic of ambitious kings and plundering warlords. "Whenever the King of Barsally wants Goods or Brandy," an observer noted, "the King goes and ransacks some of his enemies' towns, seizing the people and selling them." Supplying slaves became a way of life in the West African state of Dahomey, where the royal house **monopolized** the sale of slaves and used European guns to create a military **despotism**. Dahomey's army, which included a contingent of 5,000 women, raided the interior for captives; between 1680 and 1730, Dahomey



MAP 3.3 Africa and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1700–1810

The tropical rain forest of West Africa was home to scores of peoples and dozens of kingdoms. With the rise of the slave trade, some of these kingdoms became aggressive slavers. Dahomey's army, for example, seized tens of thousands of captives in wars with neighboring peoples and sold them to European traders. About 14 percent of the captives died during the grueling Middle Passage, the transatlantic voyage between Africa and the Americas. Most of the survivors labored on sugar plantations in Brazil and the British and French West Indies.

annually exported 20,000 slaves from the ports of Allada and Whydah. The Asante kings likewise used slaving to conquer states along the Gold Coast as well as Muslim kingdoms in the savanna. By the 1720s, they had created a prosperous empire of 3 to 5 million people. Yet participation in the transatlantic slave trade remained a choice for Africans, not a necessity. The powerful kingdom of Benin, famous for its cast bronzes and carved ivory, prohibited for decades the export of all slaves, male and female.

The trade in humans produced untold misery. Hundreds of thousands of young Africans died, and millions more endured a brutal life in the Americas. In Africa itself, class divisions hardened as people of noble birth enslaved and sold those of lesser status. Gender relations shifted as well. Two-thirds of the slaves sent across the Atlantic were men, partly because European planters paid more for men and "stout men boys"

and partly because Africans were more likely to sell enslaved women locally. The resulting sexual imbalance prompted more African men to take several wives. Finally, the expansion of the Atlantic slave trade increased the extent of slavery in Africa. Sultan Mawlay Ismail of Morocco (r. 1672–1727) owned 150,000 black slaves, obtained by trade in Timbuktu and in wars he waged in Senegal. In Africa, as in the Americas, slavery eroded the dignity of human life.

The Middle Passage and Beyond Africans sold into the South Atlantic System suffered the bleakest fate. Torn from their villages, they were marched in chains to coastal ports, their first passage in slavery. Then they endured the perilous **Middle Passage** to the New World in hideously overcrowded ships. The captives had little to eat or drink, and some died from dehydration. The feces, urine, and vomit below decks prompted outbreaks of dysentery, which took more lives. "I was so overcome by the heat, stench, and foul air that I nearly fainted," reported a European doctor. Some slaves jumped overboard to drown rather than endure more suffering. Others staged violent shipboard revolts. Slave uprisings occurred on two thousand voyages, roughly one of every ten Atlantic passages. Nearly 100,000 slaves died in these **insurrections**, and nearly 1.5 million others — about 14 percent of those who were transported — died of disease or illness on the month-long journey (AP® America in the World).

Two Views of the Middle Passage An 1846 watercolor (on the right) shows the cargo hold of a slave ship en route to Brazil, which imported large numbers of African slaves until the 1860s. Painted by a ship's officer, the work minimizes the brutality of the Middle Passage — none of the slaves are in chains — and captures the Africans' humanity and dignity. The illustration on the left, which was printed by England's Abolitionist Society, shows the plan of a Liverpool slave ship designed to hold 482 Africans, packed in with no more respect than that given to hogsheads of sugar and tobacco. Records indicate that the ship actually carried as many as 609 Africans at once. Left, Privat[illegible]art/Bridgeman Images. Right, © National Maritime Museum, London/The Image Work

Olaudah Equiano: The Brutal "Middle Passage"

Olaudah Equiano claimed to have been born in Igboland (present-day southern Nigeria). But Vincent Carretta of the University of Maryland has discovered strong evidence that Equiano was born in South Carolina. He suggests that Equiano drew on conversations with African-born slaves to create a fictitious account of his kidnapping at the age of eleven and a traumatic passage across the Atlantic. After being purchased by an English sea captain, Equiano bought his freedom in 1766. In London, he became an antislavery activist, and in 1789 he published the memoir from which the following selections are drawn.

My father, besides many slaves, had a numerous family. . . . I was trained up from my earliest years in the art of war, . . . and my mother adorned me with emblems after the manner of our greatest warriors. One day, when all our people were gone out to their works as usual and only I and my dear sister were left to mind the house, two men and a woman got over our walls, and in a moment seized us both. . . .

I was . . . sold and carried through a number of places till . . . at the end of six or seven months after I had been kidnapped I arrived at the sea coast.

. . . I now saw myself deprived of all chance of returning to my native country. . . . I was soon put down under the decks, and there I received such a salutation in my nostrils as I had never experienced in my life; so that with the loathsomeness of the stench and crying together, I became so sick and low that I was not able to eat, nor had I the least desire to taste anything. I now wished for the last friend, death, to relieve me; but soon, to my grief, two of the white men offered me eatables, and on my refusing to eat, one of them held me fast by the hands and . . . tied my feet while the other flogged me severely. I had never experienced anything of this kind before, and . . . could I have got over the nettings, I would have jumped over the side. . . . One day, when we had a smooth sea and moderate wind, two of my wearied countrymen who were chained together . . . , preferring death to such a life of misery, somehow made it through the nettings and jumped into the sea. . . .

At last we came in sight of the island of Barbados; the white people got some old slaves from the land to pacify us. They told us we were not to be eaten but to work, and were soon to go on land where we should see many of our country people. This report eased us much; and sure enough soon after we were landed there came to us Africans of all languages.

SOURCE: *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African, Written by Himself* (London, 1789), 15, 22-23, 28 29.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What elements of Equiano's account might explain the average slave mortality rate of about 14 percent during the Atlantic crossing?
2. Assuming that Carretta is correct, and Equiano was not born in Africa, why do you think he composed this fictitious narrative of his childhood instead of describing his own childhood in slavery?

For those who survived the Atlantic crossing, things only got worse as they passed into endless slavery. Life on the sugar plantations of northwestern Brazil and the West Indies was one of relentless exploitation. Slaves worked ten hours a day under the hot tropical sun; slept in flimsy huts; and lived on a starchy diet of corn, yams, and dried fish. They were subjected to brutal discipline: "The fear of punishment is the principle [we use] . . . to keep them in awe and order," one planter declared. When punishments came, they were brutal. Flogging was commonplace; some planters rubbed salt, lemon juice, or urine into the resulting wounds.

Planters often took advantage of their power by raping enslaved women. Sexual exploitation was a largely unacknowledged but ubiquitous feature of master-slave relations, something that many slave masters considered to be an unquestioned privilege of their position. "It was almost a constant practice with our clerks, and other whites," Olaudah Equiano wrote, "to commit violent depredations on the chastity of the female slaves." Thomas Thistlewood was a Jamaica planter who kept an unusually detailed journal in which he noted every act of sexual exploitation he committed. In thirty-seven years as a Jamaica planter, Thistlewood recorded 3,852 sex acts with 138 enslaved women.

With sugar prices high and the cost of slaves low, many planters worked their slaves to death and then bought more. Between 1708 and 1735, British planters on Barbados imported about 85,000 Africans; however, in that same time the island's black population increased by only 4,000 (from 42,000 to 46,000). The constant influx of new slaves kept the population thoroughly "African" in its languages, religions, and culture. "Here," wrote a Jamaican observer, "each different nation of Africa meet and dance after the manner of their own country . . . [and] retain most of their native customs."

Slavery in the Chesapeake and South Carolina

West Indian–style slavery came to Virginia and Maryland following Bacon's Rebellion. Taking advantage of the expansion of the British slave trade (following the end of the Royal African Company's monopoly in 1698), elite planter-politicians led a "tobacco revolution" and bought more Africans, putting these slaves to work on ever-larger plantations. Scholars continue to debate the relationship between economic considerations and cultural values in their efforts to explain the rise of African slavery (AP® Interpreting the Past). By 1720, Africans made up 20 percent of the Chesapeake population; by 1740, nearly 40 percent. Slavery had become a core institution, no longer just one of several forms of unfree labor. Moreover, slavery was now defined in racial terms. Virginia legislators prohibited sexual intercourse between English and Africans and defined virtually all resident Africans as slaves: "All servants imported or brought into this country by sea or land who were not Christians in their native country shall be accounted and be slaves."

On the mainland as in the islands, slavery was a system of brutal exploitation. Violence was common, and the threat of violence always hung over master-slave relationships. In 1669, Virginia's House of Burgesses decreed that a master who killed a slave in the process of "correcting" him could not be charged with a felony, since it would be irrational to destroy his own property. From that point forward, even the most extreme punishments were permitted by law. Slaves could not carry weapons or gather in large numbers. Slaveholders were especially concerned to discourage slaves from running away. Punishments for runaways commonly included not only brutal whipping but also branding or scarring to make recalcitrant slaves easier to identify. Virginia laws spelled out the procedures for capturing and returning runaway slaves in detail. If a runaway slave was killed in the process of recapturing him, the county would reimburse the slave's owner for his full value. In some cases, slave owners could put runaway slaves up for trial; if they were found guilty and executed, the owner would be compensated for his loss (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the distinctions between the slave systems that developed in different British colonies.

Despite the inherent brutality of the institution, slaves in Virginia and Maryland worked under better conditions than those in the West Indies. Many lived relatively long lives. Unlike sugar and rice, which were "killer crops" that demanded strenuous labor in a tropical climate, tobacco cultivation required steadier and less demanding labor in a more temperate environment. Workers planted young tobacco seedlings in spring, hoed and weeded the crop in summer, and in fall picked and hung the leaves to cure over the winter. Nor did diseases spread as easily in the Chesapeake, because plantation quarters were less crowded and more dispersed than those in the West Indies. Finally, because tobacco profits were lower than those from sugar, planters treated their slaves less harshly than West Indian planters did.

Many tobacco planters increased their workforce by buying female slaves and encouraging them to have children. In 1720, women made up more than one-third of the Africans in Maryland, and the black population had begun to increase naturally. "Be kind and indulgent to the breeding wenches," one slave owner told his overseer, "[and do not] force them when with child upon any service or hardship that will be injurious to them." By midcentury, more than three-quarters of the enslaved workers in the Chesapeake were American-born.

Why Did Americans Adopt Slavery?

Though most enslaved people who were imported to the Americas during the seventeenth century were shipped to the Caribbean and South America, a small portion ended up in Britain's North American colonies. The number of slaves in Britain's mainland colonies was still small in 1700, but it soared in the eighteenth century. On the eve of the American Revolution, there were nearly a quarter million Africans enslaved in the mainland colonies. The majority of these were concentrated on southern plantations, where they replaced white indentured servants as the primary laborers.

One question has puzzled historians more than most: why did American colonists turn to the enslavement of Africans to solve their labor problems? The answer is not straightforward, and historians have spent decades debating this question. While scholars have not agreed on a single answer, their debate has pointed to two major factors: white racism toward blacks and the economics of the plantation labor system. In the excerpts below, David Eltis and Robin Blackburn weigh in by offering competing answers to America's most difficult question.

DAVID ELTIS

The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas

SOURCE: David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 58, 66, 70, 84.

That Europeans used only non-Europeans as slaves . . . for primarily economic reasons has wide support [among scholars]. . . . [E]lites would surely use the cheapest option possible within the limits of mercantilist policies. . . . Yet such motives operated under the aegis of fundamental non-economic values. . . . One central issue here is perception of race, ethnicity, or, less controversially, who is to be considered an outsider and is therefore enslavable and who is an insider and thus unenslavable. . . . [F]rom the strictly economic standpoint there were strong arguments in support of using European rather than African slave labor. The crux of the matter was shipping costs. . . . [But] the barrier to European slaves in the Americas lay not only beyond shipping and enslavement costs but also beyond any strictly economic sphere. . . . For elite and non-elite [Europeans] alike enslavement remained a fate for which only non-Europeans were qualified.

ROBIN BLACKBURN

The Making of New World Slavery

SOURCE: Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 2010), 353.

The decision for slavery was implicit in the competitive commercial structure of planters and merchants. . . . Once planters and merchants competed to bring plantation produce to the market by the swiftest means possible, with a free hand to import slaves and exploit them, the transition to the slave-worked plantations was inevitable. The Atlantic slave trade option was supported by governments, deferring to the wishes of the main actors in the matter. For the planter who was seriously interested in maximizing output, and in the fortune this promised to make him, the decision to buy African slaves became a natural one.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify one way Eltis and Blackburn differ in their explanation of the origins of slavery in the Americas.
2. According to these historians, what role did economic considerations play in establishing the Atlantic slave system?
3. Based on your reading of this chapter's discussion of slavery, which argument about slavery's origins and justification is more persuasive and why?

Slaves in South Carolina labored under much more oppressive conditions. The colony grew slowly until 1700, when planters began to plant and export rice to southern Europe, where it was in great demand. Between 1720 and 1750, rice production increased fivefold. To expand production, planters imported thousands of Africans, some of them from rice-growing societies. By 1710, Africans formed a majority of the total population, eventually rising to 80 percent in rice-growing areas.

Most rice plantations lay in inland swamps, and the work was dangerous and exhausting. Slaves planted, weeded, and harvested the rice in ankle-deep mud. Pools

of stagnant water bred mosquitoes, which transmitted diseases that claimed hundreds of African lives. Other slaves, forced to move tons of dirt to build irrigation works, died from exhaustion. "The labour required [for growing rice] is only fit for slaves," a Scottish traveler remarked, "and I think the hardest work I have seen them engaged in." In South Carolina, as in the West Indies and Brazil, there were many slave deaths and few births, and the arrival of new slaves continually "re-Africanized" the black population.

An African American Community Emerges

Slaves came from many peoples in West Africa and the Central African regions of Kongo and Angola. White planters welcomed ethnic diversity to deter slave revolts. "The safety of the Plantations," declared a widely read English pamphlet, "depends upon having Negroes from all parts of Guiny, who do not understand each other's languages and Customs and cannot agree to Rebel." By accident or design, most plantations drew laborers of many languages, including Kwa, Mande, and Kikongo. Among Africans imported after 1730 into the upper James River region of Virginia, 41 percent came from ethnic groups in present-day Nigeria, and another 25 percent from West-Central Africa. The rest hailed from the Windward and Gold coasts, Senegambia, and Sierra Leone. In South Carolina, plantation owners preferred laborers from the Gold Coast and Gambia, who had a reputation as hardworking farmers. But as African sources of slaves shifted southward after 1730, more than 30 percent of the colony's workers later came from Kongo and Angola.

Initially, the slaves did not think of themselves as Africans or blacks but as members of a specific family, clan, or people — Wolof, Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, Teke, Ngola — and they sought out those who shared their language and customs. In the upper James River region, Ibo men and women arrived in equal numbers, married each other, and maintained their Ibo culture. In most places, though, this was impossible. Slaves from varying backgrounds were thrown together and only gradually discovered common ground.

Building Community Through painful trial and error, slaves eventually discovered what limited freedoms their owners would allow them. Those who were not too rebellious or too recalcitrant were able to carve out precarious family lives — though they were always in danger of being disrupted by sale or life-threatening punishment — and build the rudiments of a slave community.

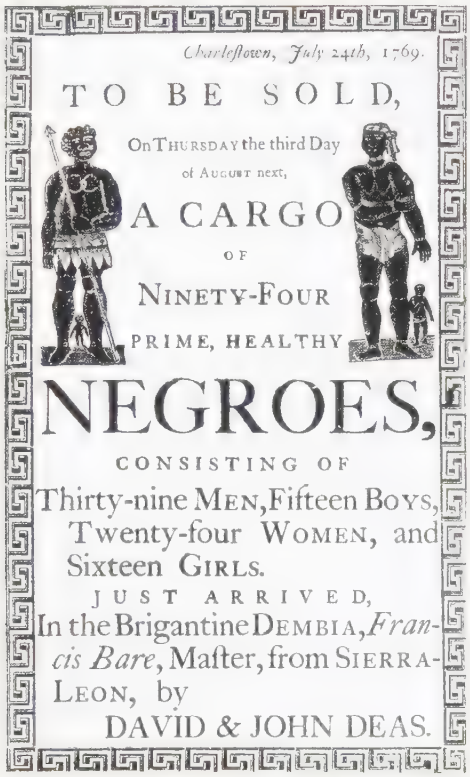
One key to the development of families and communities was a more or less balanced sex ratio that encouraged marriage and family formation. In South Carolina, the high death rate among slaves undermined ties of family and kinship; but in the Chesapeake, after 1725 some slaves, especially on larger plantations, were able to create strong nuclear families and extended kin relations. On one of Charles Carroll's estates in Maryland, 98 of the 128 slaves were members of two extended families. These African American kin groups passed on family names, traditions, and knowledge to the next generation, and thus a distinct culture gradually developed. As one observer suggested, blacks had created a separate world, "a Nation within a Nation."

As slaves forged a new identity, they carried on certain African practices but let others go. Many Africans arrived in America with ritual scars that white planters called "country markings"; these signs of ethnic identity fell into disuse on culturally diverse plantations. (Ironically, on some plantations these African markings were replaced by brands or scars that identified them with their owners.) But other tangible markers of African heritage persisted, including hairstyles, motifs used in wood carvings and pottery, the large wooden mortars and pestles used to hull rice, and the design of houses, in which rooms were arranged from front to back in a distinctive "I" pattern, not side by side as was common in English dwellings. Musical instruments — especially drums, gourd rattles, and a stringed instrument called a "molo," forerunner

Servitude and Slavery

Britain's American colonies relied heavily on bound labor. Two forms predominated: indentured servitude and African slavery. The idea of being bound to a master is alien to most of us today; the following texts allow us to glimpse some aspects of the experience. In what ways were these two institutions similar, and how did they differ?

1. Slave advertisement from Charlestown, Virginia, July 24, 1769.



Charlestown, July 24th, 1769.

TO BE SOLD,

On THURSDAY the third Day of AUGUST next,

A CARGO OF NINETY-FOUR PRIME, HEALTHY

NEGROES,

CONSISTING OF

Thirty-nine MEN, Fifteen BOYS, Twenty-four WOMEN, and Sixteen GIRLS.

JUST ARRIVED,

In the Brigantine DEMBIA, *Francis Bare*, Master, from SIERRA-LEON, by

DAVID & JOHN DEAS.

2. Indentured servant advertisement from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1770. *This advertisement offers to sell the remainder of a servant girl's indenture.*

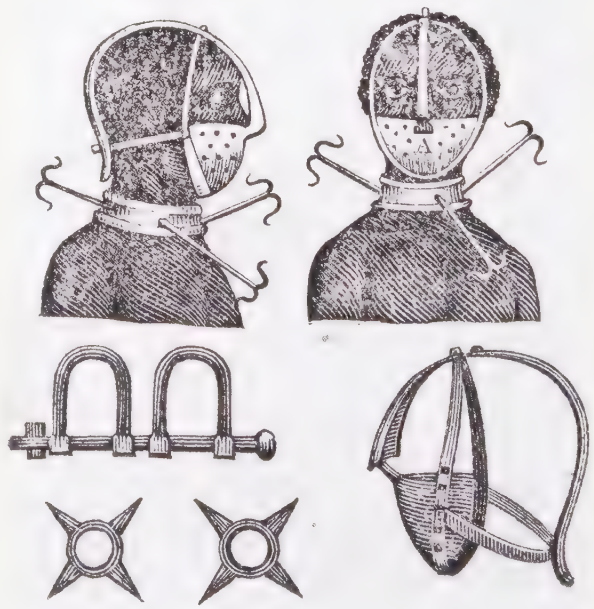
TO BE SOLD, A HEALTHY servant GIRL'S Time, about 17 Years old, who has between 3 and 4 years to serve. She is sold for no other Reason, only there being more Servants than are needful in the family where she is.

N. B. She has had the Small pox, can wash, and do all Sorts of Housework. Enquire of the Printers.

3. Poem by James Revel, c. 1680. *James Revel was an Englishman convicted of theft and transported to Virginia, where he served fourteen years as an indentured servant. Upon returning he published* A Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years' Transportation at Virginia, in America *(1680).*

At last to my new master's house I came,
At the town of Wicocc[o]moco call'd by name,
Where my Europian clothes were took from me,
Which never after I again could see.
A canvas shirt and trowsers then they gave,
With a hop-sack frock in which I was to slave:
No shoes nor stockings had I for to wear,
Nor hat, nor cap, both head and feet were bare.
Thus dress'd into the Field I nex[t] must go,
Amongst tobacco plants all day to hoe,
At day break in the morn our work began,
And so held to the setting of the Sun.
My fellow slaves were just five Transports more,
With eighteen Negroes, which is twenty four . . .
We and the Negroes both alike did fare,
Of work and food we had an equal share.

4. Mechanisms used to control slaves, from Thomas Branagan, *The Penitential Tyrant; or, slave trader reformed*, 1807. *The shackles and spurs (lower left) were intended to prevent escape; the faceguard with spiked collar (top and lower right) kept its wearer from either eating or lying down.*



Source: Library of Congress

5. **Court deposition of Joseph Mulders, July 31, 1649.** *In a court case in Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, indentured servant Joseph Mulders testified that his mistress, Deborah Fernehaugh, brutally beat her maidservant, Charity Dallen.*

[Mulders testified] That Deborah Fernehaugh, the Mistress of this deponent, did beate her mayd Sarvant in the quartering house before the dresser more Liken a dogge then a Christian, and that at a Certaine time, I felt her head, which was beaten as soft as a sponge, in one place, and that as there shee was a weeding, shee complained and sayd, her backe bone as shee thought was broken with beating, and that I did see the mayds arme naked which was full of blacke and blew bruises and pinches, and her necke Likewise and that after wards, I tould my Mistress of it and said, that two or three blowes, could not make her in such a Case, and after this my speeches shee Chidge [i.e., chided] the said mayd, for shewing her body to the men, and very often afterwards she [the maid] would have shoen mee, how shee had been beaten, but I refused to have seene it, saying it concernes me not, I will doe my worke and if my Mistress abuse you; you may complaine, and about 8 dayes since, being about the time shee last went to Complaine, I knew of her goeing, but would not tell my mistress of it, although shee asked mee, and sayd I could not chuse but know of it.

6. **Runaway slave advertisement, Chestertown, Maryland, March 12, 1755.** *Absconding from their masters was a common method of resistance for both slaves and servants, and masters frequently posted runaway advertisements in local newspapers.*

Chestertown, Maryland, March 12, 1755. TEN PISTOLES Reward. RAN away last night, from James Ringgold, of Eastern Neck, in Kent county, in the province of Maryland, the two following servant men; one named James Francis, an indented servant for five years, a middle siz'd young fellow, about 26 years of age, of a smooth fair complexion, his hair cut off, is an Englishman, and speaks a little in the west country dialect; was brought up to farming and husbandry: Had on, a country kersey jacket and breeches, blue fearnought jacket, and an old dark colour'd coat. The other a lusty young Mulatto fellow, named Toby, a slave about the same age, he is a well set, clean limb'd, stout fellow neither a very bright or very dark Mulatto, has large nostrils, is a likely fellow, and when he talks drawls his words out in a very slow manner, is no other way remarkable; he had on the same sort of clothes with the other servant, and one of them has a check or striped green and red everlasting jacket on or with them; and perhaps the Mulatto may set up for a cooper or carpenter, having work at both those business, and also understands plantation affairs. Whoever takes up and secures the above persons, and gives notice, so as their master gets them again, shall have Four Pistoles reward for the white servant, and Six Pistoles for the Mulatto. . . . That this slave should runaway, and attempt getting his liberty, is very alarming, as he has always been too kindly used, if any thing by his master, and one in whom his master has put great confidence, and depended on him to overlook the rest of his slaves, and he had no kind of provocation to go off. It seems to be the interest at least of every gentleman that has slaves, to be active in the beginning of these attempts . . . THOMAS RINGGOLD.

SOURCES: (2) *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 3, 1770; (3) John Melville Jennings, ed., *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 56 (April 1948), 187–194; (5) *Second to None: A Documentary History of American Women*, Vol. 1 (University of Nebraska Press, 1993), 67–68; (6) *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 12, 1755.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What information do the traders in sources 1 and 2 want to convey to prospective buyers, and why? What similarities and differences do you see in the way sellers might choose to market servants and slaves?
2. What aspects of servitude did James Revel object to (source 3)? How did he compare the experiences of servants and slaves?
3. Source 4 appeared in an abolitionist work published in New York in 1807. How does that fact influence your interpretation of the images?
4. How does Mulders grapple with his position as a fellow servant as he testifies against his mistress (source 5)? Based on Mulders's testimony, the court removed Dallen from Fernehaugh's household. How might things have worked differently if either Mulders or Dallen had been a slave?
5. In source 6, what characteristics of each man does the ad emphasize? How does Ringgold view himself as a master, and what does his special plea to other slaveholders tell us about slaveholding culture?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using the sources above, along with what you learned in class and in Chapter 3, write a short essay that compares servitude and slavery. In what ways did African slavery in the British colonies grow out of servitude and bear close similarities to it, and in what ways were slaves set apart and treated fundamentally differently than their servant counterparts?

Hulling Rice in West Africa and Georgia Cultural practices often extend over time and space. The eighteenth-century engraving on the left shows West African women using huge wooden mortars and pestles to strip the tough outer hull from rice kernels. In the photo on the right, taken a century and a half later, African American women in Georgia use similar tools to prepare rice for their families. Left: Library of Congress. Right: Courtesy Georgia Archives, Vanishing Georgia Archives Collection, sapo33

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did the experiences of slaves in the Chesapeake differ from their experiences in South Carolina?

of the banjo—helped Africans preserve cultural traditions and, eventually, shape American musical styles.

African values also persisted. Some slaves passed down Muslim beliefs, and many more told their children of the spiritual powers of conjurers, called *obeah* or *ifa*, who knew the ways of the African gods. Enslaved Yorubas consulted Orunmila, the god of fate, and other Africans (a Jamaican planter noted) relied on *obeah* "to revenge injuries and insults, discover and punish thieves and adulterers; [and] to predict the future."

Resistance and Accommodation Slaves' freedom of action was always dramatically circumscribed. It became illegal to teach slaves to read and write, and most slaves owned no property of their own. Because the institution of slavery rested on fear, planters had to learn a ferocious form of cruelty. Slaves might be whipped, restrained, or maimed for any infraction, large or small. A female cook in a Virginia household "was cruelly loaded with various kinds of iron machines; she had one particularly on her head, which locked her mouth so fast that she could scarcely speak; and could not eat nor drink." Thomas Jefferson, who witnessed such punishments on his father's Virginia plantation, noted that each generation of whites was "nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny," and he concluded that the relationship "between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other." A fellow Virginian, planter George Mason, agreed: "Every Master is born a petty tyrant."

The extent of white violence often depended on the size and density of the slave population. As Virginia planter William Byrd II complained of his slaves in 1736, "Numbers make them insolent." In the northern colonies, where slaves were few, white violence was sporadic. But plantation owners and overseers in the sugar- and rice-growing areas, where Africans outnumbered Europeans 8 or more to 1, routinely

whipped assertive slaves. They also prohibited their workers from leaving the plantation without special passes and called on their poor white neighbors to patrol the countryside at night.

Despite the constant threat of violence, some slaves ran away, a very small number of them successfully. In some parts of the Americas—for example, in Jamaica—runaway slaves were able to form large, independent Maroon communities. But on the mainland, planters had the resources necessary to reclaim runaways, and such communities were unusual and precarious. More often, slaves who spoke English and possessed artisanal skills fled to colonial towns, where they tried to pass as free; occasionally they succeeded. Slaves who did not run away were engaged in a constant tug-of-war with their owners over the terms of their enslavement. Some blacks bartered extra work for better food and clothes; others seized a small privilege and dared the master to revoke it. In this way, Sundays gradually became a day of rest—asserted as a right, rather than granted as a privilege. When bargaining failed, slaves protested silently by working slowly or stealing.

Slave owners' greatest fear was that their regime of terror would fail and slaves would rise up to murder them in their beds. Occasionally that fear was realized. In the 1760s, in Amherst County, Virginia, a slave killed four whites; in Elizabeth City County, eight slaves strangled their master in bed. But the circumstances of slavery made any larger-scale uprising all but impossible. To rebel against their masters, slaves would have to be able to **communicate** secretly but effectively across long distances; choose leaders they could trust; formulate and **disseminate** strategy; accumulate large numbers of weapons; and ensure that no one betrayed their plans. This was all but impossible: in plantation slavery, the preponderance of force was on the side of the slave owners, and blacks who chose to rise up did so at their peril.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the ways that enslaved Africans overtly and covertly resisted slavery's dehumanizing effects.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How much autonomy could slaves attain, and what did slave owners do to control them?

The Stono Rebellion The largest slave uprising in the mainland colonies, South Carolina's **Stono Rebellion** of 1739, illustrates the impossibility of success. The Catholic governor of Spanish Florida instigated the revolt by promising freedom to fugitive slaves. By February 1739, at least 69 slaves had escaped to St. Augustine, and rumors circulated "that a Conspiracy was formed by Negroes in Carolina to rise and make their way out of the province." When war between England and Spain broke out in September, 75 Africans rose in revolt and killed a number of whites near the Stono River. According to one account, some of the rebels were Portuguese-speaking Catholics from the Kingdom of Kongo who hoped to escape to Florida. Displaying their skills as soldiers—decades of brutal slave raiding in Kongo had militarized the society there—the rebels marched toward Florida "with Colours displayed and two Drums beating."

Though their numbers and organization were impressive, the Stono rebels were soon met by a well-armed, mounted force of South Carolina militia. In the ensuing battle, 44 slaves were killed and the rebellion was suppressed, preventing any general uprising. In response, frightened South Carolinians cut slave imports and tightened plantation discipline.

The Rise of the Southern Gentry

As the southern colonies became full-fledged slave societies, life changed for whites as well as for blacks. Consider the career of William Byrd II (1674–1744). Byrd's father, a successful planter-merchant in Virginia, hoped to marry his children into the English gentry. To smooth his son's entry into landed society, Byrd sent him to England for his education. But his status-conscious classmates shunned young Byrd, calling him a "colonial," a first bitter taste of the gradations of rank in English society.

Other English rejections followed. Lacking aristocratic connections, Byrd was denied a post with the Board of Trade, passed over three times for the royal governorship of Virginia, and rejected as a suitor by a rich Englishwoman. In 1726, at age

fifty-two, Byrd finally gave up and moved back to Virginia, where he sometimes felt he was "being buried alive." Accepting his lesser destiny as a member of the colony's elite, Byrd built an elegant brick mansion on the family's estate at Westover, sat in "the best pew in the church," and won an appointment to the governor's council.

William Byrd II's experience mirrored that of many planter-merchants, trapped in Virginia and South Carolina by their inferior colonial status. They used their wealth to rule over white yeomen families and tenant farmers and relied on violence to exploit enslaved blacks. Planters used Africans to grow food, as well as tobacco; to build houses, wagons, and tobacco casks; and to make shoes and clothes. By making their plantations self-sufficient, the Chesapeake elite survived the depressed tobacco market between 1670 and 1720.

White Identity and Equality To prevent uprisings like Bacon's Rebellion, the Chesapeake gentry found ways to assist middling and poor whites. They gradually lowered taxes; in Virginia, for example, the annual head tax (on each adult man) fell from 45 pounds of tobacco in 1675 to just 5 pounds in 1750. They also encouraged smallholders to improve their economic lot by using slave labor, and many did so. By 1770, 60 percent of English families in the Chesapeake owned at least one slave. On the political front, planters now allowed poor yeomen and some tenants to vote. The strategy of the leading families — the Carters, Lees, Randolphs, and Robinsons — was to bribe these voters with rum, money, and the promise of minor offices in county governments. In return, they expected the yeomen and tenants to elect them to office and defer to their rule. This horse-trading solidified the authority of the planter elite, which used its control of the House of Burgesses to limit the power of the royal governor. Hundreds of yeomen farmers benefitted as well, tasting political power and garnering substantial fees and salaries as deputy sheriffs, road surveyors, estate appraisers, and grand jurymen.

Even as wealthy Chesapeake gentlemen formed political ties with smallholders, they took measures to set themselves apart culturally. As late as the 1720s, leading planters were boisterous, aggressive men who lived much like the common folk — hunting, drinking, gambling on horse races, and demonstrating their manly prowess by forcing themselves on female servants and slaves. As time passed, however, planters like William Byrd II began to model themselves on the English aristocracy, remaining sexual predators but learning from advice books how to act like gentlemen in other regards: "I must not sit in others' places; Nor sneeze, nor cough in people's faces. Nor with my fingers pick my nose, Nor wipe my hands upon my clothes." Cultivating **gentility** — a lifestyle that stressed refinement and self-control — they replaced their modest wooden houses with mansions of brick and mortar. Planters educated their sons in London as lawyers and gentlemen. But unlike Byrd's father, they expected them to return to America, marry local heiresses, and assume their fathers' roles: managing plantations, socializing with fellow gentry, and running the political system.

Wealthy Chesapeake and South Carolina women likewise emulated the English elite. They read English newspapers and fashionable magazines, wore the finest English clothes, and dined in the English fashion, including an elaborate afternoon tea. To enhance their daughters' gentility (and improve their marriage prospects), parents hired English tutors. Once married, planter women deferred to their husbands, reared pious children, and maintained complex social networks, in time creating a new ideal: the southern gentlewoman. Using the profits generated by enslaved Africans in the South Atlantic System of commerce, wealthy planters formed an increasingly well-educated, refined, and stable ruling class.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the planter elite maintain alliances with their smallholder neighbors?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did their ties to Great Britain and Africa change the lives of American planters?

The Northern Maritime Economy

The South Atlantic System had a broad geographical reach. As early as the 1640s, New England farmers supplied the sugar islands with bread, lumber, fish, and meat. As a West Indian explained, planters "had rather buy foode at very deare rates than produce it by labour, soe infinite is the profitt of sugar works." By 1700, the economies of the West Indies and New England were closely interwoven. Soon farmers and merchants in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were also shipping wheat, corn, and bread to the Caribbean. By the 1750s, about two-thirds of New England's exports and half of those from the Middle Atlantic colonies went to the British and French sugar islands.

The sugar economy linked Britain's entire Atlantic empire. In return for the sugar they sent to England, West Indian planters received **credit**, in the form of bills of exchange, from London merchants. The planters used these bills to buy slaves from Africa and to pay North American farmers and merchants for their provisions and shipping services. The mainland colonists then exchanged the bills for British manufactures, primarily textiles and iron goods.

The Urban Economy

The West Indian trade created the first American merchant fortunes and the first urban industries. Merchants in Boston, Newport, Providence, Philadelphia, and New York invested their profits in new ships; some set up manufacturing enterprises, including twenty-six refineries that processed raw sugar into finished loaves. Mainland distilleries turned West Indian molasses into rum, producing more than 2.5 million gallons in Massachusetts alone by the 1770s. Merchants in Salem, Marblehead, and smaller New England ports built a major fishing industry by selling salted mackerel and cod to the sugar islands and to southern Europe. Baltimore merchants transformed their town into a major port by developing a bustling export business in wheat, while traders in Charleston shipped deerskins, indigo, and rice to European markets (Map 3.4).

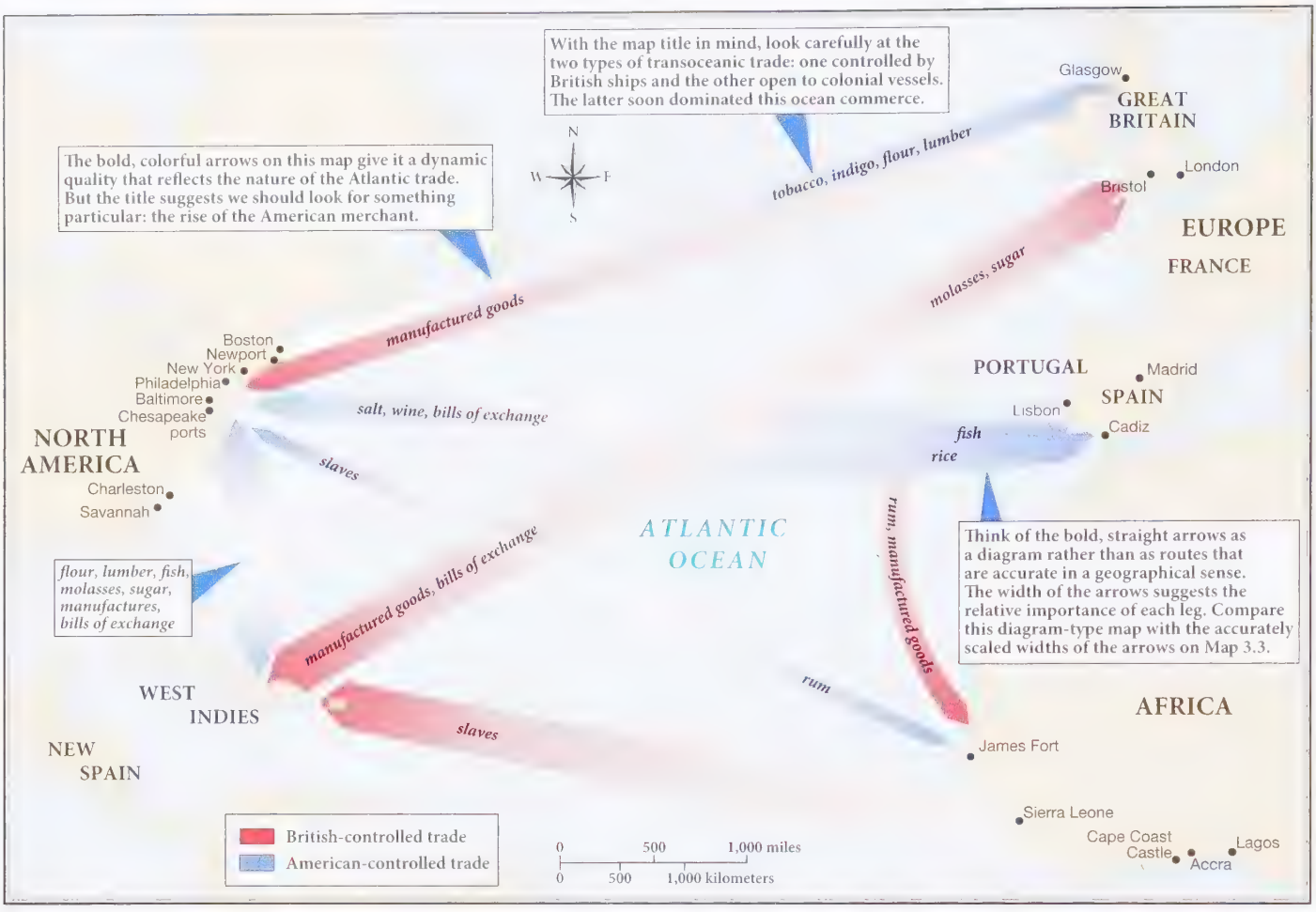
As transatlantic commerce expanded — from five hundred voyages a year in the 1680s to fifteen hundred annually in the 1730s — American port cities grew in size and complexity. By 1750, the populations of Newport and Charleston were nearly 10,000; Boston had 15,000 residents; and New York had almost 18,000. The largest port was Philadelphia, whose population by 1776 had reached 30,000, the size of a large European provincial city. Smaller coastal towns emerged as centers of the lumber and shipbuilding industries. Seventy sawmills lined the Piscataqua River in New Hampshire, providing low-cost wood for homes, warehouses, and especially shipbuilding. Hundreds of shipwrights turned out oceangoing vessels, while other artisans made ropes, sails, and metal fittings for the new fleet. By the 1770s, colonial-built ships made up one-third of the British merchant fleet.

The South Atlantic System extended far into the interior. A fleet of small vessels sailed back and forth on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, delivering cargoes of European manufactures and picking up barrels of flour and wheat to carry to New York and Philadelphia for export to the West Indies and Europe. By the 1750s, hundreds of professional teamsters in Maryland were transporting 370,000 bushels of wheat and corn and 16,000 barrels of flour to urban markets each year — more than 10,000 wagon trips. To service this traffic, entrepreneurs and artisans set up taverns, horse stables, and barrel-making shops in towns along the wagon roads. Lancaster (the town that hosted the Iroquois conference described in the chapter opening), in a prosperous wheat-growing area of Pennsylvania, boasted more than 200 German and English artisans and a dozen merchants.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the rise of the South Atlantic System impact economic development in the northern colonies?


With the map title in mind, look carefully at the two types of transoceanic trade: one controlled by British ships and the other open to colonial vessels. The latter soon dominated this ocean commerce.
The bold, colorful arrows on this map give it a dynamic quality that reflects the nature of the Atlantic trade. But the title suggests we should look for something particular: the rise of the American merchant.
N
W
E
S
Glasgow
GREAT BRITAIN
tobacco, indigo, flour, lumber
Bristol
London
EUROPE
FRANCE
molasses, sugar
manufactured goods
Boston
Newport
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Chesapeake ports
NORTH AMERICA
salt, wine, bills of exchange
slaves
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Lisbon
Cadiz
fish
rice
Charleston
Savannah
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Think of the bold, straight arrows as a diagram rather than as routes that are accurate in a geographical sense. The width of the arrows suggests the relative importance of each leg. Compare this diagram-type map with the accurately scaled widths of the arrows on Map 3.3.
flour, lumber, fish, molasses, sugar, manufactures, bills of exchange
manufactured goods, bills of exchange
rum, manufactured goods
rum
WEST INDIES
slaves
AFRICA
NEW SPAIN
James Fort
Sierra Leone
Cape Coast Castle
Accra
Lagos
British-controlled trade
American-controlled trade
0 500 1,000 miles
0 500 1,000 kilometers

MAP 3.4 The Growing Power of American Merchants, 1750
Throughout the colonial era, British merchant houses dominated the transatlantic trade in manufactures, sugar, tobacco, and slaves. However, by 1750, American-born merchants in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia had seized control of the commerce between the mainland and the West Indies. In addition, Newport traders played a small role in the slave trade from Africa, and Boston and Charleston merchants grew rich carrying fish and rice to southern Europe.

Urban Society

AP® EXAM TIP
It's important to make connections between the economy that developed in various colonies and the social hierarchy that came to dominate British North America.

Wealthy merchants dominated the social life of seaport cities. In 1750, about forty merchants controlled more than 50 percent of Philadelphia's trade. Like the Chesapeake gentry, urban merchants imitated the British upper classes, importing architectural design books from England and building Georgian-style mansions to display their wealth. Their wives strove to create a genteel culture by buying fine furniture and entertaining guests at elegant dinners.

Artisan and shopkeeper families, the middle ranks of seaport society, made up nearly half the population. Innkeepers, butchers, seamstresses, shoemakers, weavers, bakers, carpenters, masons, and dozens of other skilled workers toiled to gain an income sufficient to maintain their families in modest comfort. Wives and husbands often worked as a team and taught the "mysteries of the craft" to their children. Some artisans aspired to wealth and status, an entrepreneurial ethic that prompted them to hire apprentices and expand production. However, most artisans were not well-to-do. During his working life, a tailor was lucky to accumulate £30 worth of property, far less than the £2,000 owned at death by an ordinary merchant or the £300 listed in the probate inventory of a successful blacksmith.

Laboring men and women formed the lowest ranks of urban society. Merchants needed hundreds of dockworkers to unload manufactured goods and molasses from inbound ships and reload them with barrels of wheat, fish, and rice. For these demanding jobs, merchants used enslaved blacks and indentured servants, who together made up 30 percent of the workforce in Philadelphia and New York City until the 1750s; otherwise, they hired unskilled wageworkers. Poor white and black women eked out a living by washing clothes, spinning wool, or working as servants or prostitutes. To make ends meet, laboring families sent their children out to work.

Periods of stagnant commerce threatened the financial security of merchants and artisans alike. For laborers, seamen, and seamstresses — whose household budgets left no margin for sickness or unemployment — depressed trade meant hunger, dependence on public charity, and (for the most desperate) petty thievery or prostitution. The sugar- and slave-based South Atlantic System, and cycles of imperial warfare, brought economic uncertainty as well as opportunity to the people of the northern colonies.

The Greenwood-Lee Family, 1747 Born in Massachusetts and apprenticed as an engraver, John Greenwood (1727–1792) painted dozens of commissioned works there before moving to Surinam in 1752. He painted this scene of his own family at the age of twenty. Group portraits with so many people were rare in the colonies, and it is a technically impressive composition. Greenwood himself is at the right rear, wigless (he wears a velvet cap to keep his head warm) and holding a palette and brushes. The table displays a basket of needlework and a volume of *The Spectator,* the popular London periodical published by Joseph Addison and Richard Steele. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Massachusetts, USA/Bequest of Henry Lee Shattuck in memory of the late Morris Gray

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What economic activities drove the northern maritime economy?

The New Politics of Empire, 1713–1750

The South Atlantic System also changed the politics of empire. British ministers, pleased with the wealth produced by the trade in slaves, sugar, rice, and tobacco, ruled the colonies with a gentle hand. The colonists took advantage of that leniency to strengthen their political institutions and eventually to challenge the rules of the mercantilist system.

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes as you read through this section on the reasons colonists opposed British policies under the mercantilist system.

The Rise of Colonial Assemblies

After the Glorious Revolution, representative assemblies in America copied the English Whigs and limited the powers of crown officials. In Massachusetts during the 1720s, the assembly repeatedly ignored the king's instructions to provide the royal governor with a permanent salary, and legislatures in North Carolina, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania did the same. Using such tactics, the legislatures gradually took control of taxation and appointments, angering imperial bureaucrats and absentee proprietors. "The people in power in America," complained William Penn during a struggle with the Pennsylvania assembly, "think nothing taller than themselves but the Trees."

Leading the increasingly powerful assemblies were members of the colonial elite. Although most property-owning white men had the right to vote, only men of wealth and status stood for election. In New Jersey in 1750, 90 percent of assemblymen came

from influential political families. In Virginia, seven members of the wealthy Lee family sat in the House of Burgesses and, along with other powerful families, dominated its major committees. In New England, affluent descendants of the original Puritans formed a core of political leaders. "Go into every village in New England," John Adams wrote in 1765, "and you will find that the office of justice of the peace, and even the place of representative, have generally descended from generation to generation, in three or four families at most."

However, neither elitist assemblies nor wealthy property owners could impose unpopular edicts on the people. Purposeful crowd actions were a fact of colonial life. An uprising of ordinary citizens overthrew the Dominion of New England in 1689. In New York, mobs closed houses of prostitution; in Salem, Massachusetts, they ran people with infectious diseases out of town; and in New Jersey in the 1730s and 1740s, mobs of farmers battled with proprietors who were forcing tenants off disputed lands. When officials in Boston restricted the sale of farm produce to a single public market, a crowd destroyed the building, and its members defied the authorities to arrest them. "If you touch One you shall touch All," an anonymous letter warned the sheriff, "and we will show you a Hundred Men where you can show one." These expressions of popular discontent, combined with the growing authority of the assemblies, created a political system that was broadly responsive to popular pressure and increasingly resistant to British control.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What explains the increasing political autonomy of the colonies in the eighteenth century?

Salutary Neglect

British colonial policy during the reigns of George I (r. 1714–1727) and George II (r. 1727–1760) allowed for this rise of American self-government as royal bureaucrats, pleased by growing trade and import duties, relaxed their supervision of internal colonial affairs. In 1775, British political philosopher Edmund Burke would praise this strategy as **salutary neglect**.

Salutary neglect was a by-product of the political system developed by Sir Robert Walpole, the Whig leader in the House of Commons from 1720 to 1742. Walpole relied on **patronage**—the practice of giving offices and salaries to political allies—to create a strong Court Party. Under his leadership, Britain's government achieved a new measure of financial and political stability. But critics—the so-called Country Party—charged that Walpole's policies of high taxes and a bloated royal bureaucracy threatened British liberties.

These arguments were echoed in North America, where colonial legislators complained that royal governors abused their patronage powers. To preserve American liberty, the colonists strengthened the powers of the representative assemblies, unintentionally laying the foundation for the American independence movement.

Protecting the Mercantile System

In 1732, Walpole provided a parliamentary subsidy for the new colony of Georgia. While Georgia's reform-minded trustees envisioned the colony as a refuge for Britain's poor, Walpole had little interest in social reform; he subsidized Georgia to protect the valuable rice-growing colony of South Carolina. But the new colony had the opposite effect. Britain's expansion into Georgia outraged Spanish officials, who were already angry about the rising tide of smuggled British manufactures in New Spain. To counter Britain's commercial imperialism, Spanish naval forces stepped up their seizure of illegal traders, in the process cutting off the ear of an English sea captain, Robert Jenkins.

Yielding to parliamentary pressure, Walpole declared war on Spain in 1739. The so-called War of Jenkins's Ear (1739–1741) was a fiasco for Britain. In 1740, British regulars failed to capture St. Augustine because South Carolina whites, still shaken by the Stono Rebellion, refused to commit militia units to the expedition. A year later, an assault on the prosperous seaport of Cartagena (in present-day Colombia) also

The Siege and Capture of Louisbourg, 1745 In 1760, as British and colonial troops moved toward victory in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), the London artist J. Stevens sought to bolster imperial pride by celebrating an earlier Anglo-American triumph. In 1745, a British naval squadron led a flotilla of colonial ships and thousands of New England militiamen in an attack on the French fort at Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, near the mouth of the St. Lawrence River. After a siege of forty days, the Anglo-American force captured the fort, long considered impregnable. The victory was bittersweet because the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) returned the island to France. Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

failed; 20,000 British sailors and soldiers and 2,500 colonial troops died in the attack, mostly from tropical diseases.

The War of Jenkins's Ear quickly became part of a general European conflict, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Massive French armies battled British-subsidized German forces in Europe, and French naval forces roamed the West Indies, vainly trying to conquer a British sugar island. In 1745, three thousand New England militiamen and a British naval squadron captured Louisbourg, the French fort guarding the entrance to the St. Lawrence River. To the dismay of New England Puritans, who feared invasion from Catholic Quebec, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) returned Louisbourg to France. The treaty made it clear to colonial leaders that England would act in its own interests, not theirs.

Mercantilism and the American Colonies

Though Parliament prohibited Americans from manufacturing textiles (Woolen Act, 1699), hats (Hat Act, 1732), and iron products such as plows, axes, and skillets (Iron Act, 1750), and also curbed the colonies' ability to print their own paper money (Currency Act, 1751), it could not prevent the colonies from maturing economically. American merchants soon controlled over 75 percent of the transatlantic trade in manufactures and 95 percent of the commerce between the mainland and the British West Indies (see Map 3.4).

Moreover, by the 1720s, the British sugar islands could not absorb all the flour, fish, and meat produced by mainland settlers. So, ignoring Britain's intense rivalry with France, colonial merchants sold their produce to the French sugar islands. When American rum distillers began to buy cheap molasses from the French islands, the West Indian sugar lobby in London persuaded Parliament to pass the Molasses Act of 1733. The act placed a high tariff on French molasses, so high that it would no

A View of Savannah, 1734 This idealized view of Savannah, Georgia, portrays the infant settlement as a scene of perfect order carved out of vacant wilderness. Dedicated to the colony's trustees, this engraving imagines the town as they would have hoped to see it. Steps ascend the steep riverbank, while public buildings and house lots are beginning to appear. At the far left a guardhouse and row of cannons defend the site from the water, while construction has commenced on a wall of pickets surrounding the perimeter, reminders that the town is always in danger of being attacked. Library of Congress

longer be profitable for American merchants to import it. Colonists protested that the Molasses Act would cripple the distilling industry; cut farm exports; and, by slashing colonial income, reduce the mainland's purchases of British goods. When Parliament ignored these arguments, American merchants smuggled in French molasses by bribing customs officials.

These conflicts angered a new generation of English political leaders. In 1749, Charles Townshend of the Board of Trade charged that the American assemblies had assumed many of the "ancient and established prerogatives wisely preserved in the Crown," and he vowed to replace salutary neglect with more rigorous imperial control.

The wheel of empire had come full circle. In the 1650s, England had set out to create a centrally managed Atlantic empire and, over the course of a century, achieved the military and economic aspects of that goal. Mercantilist legislation, maritime warfare, commercial expansion, and the forced labor of a million African slaves brought prosperity to Britain. However, internal unrest (the Glorious Revolution) and a policy of salutary neglect had weakened Britain's political authority over its American colonies. Recognizing the threat self-government posed to the empire, British officials in the late 1740s vowed to reassert their power in America — an initiative with disastrous results.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **How could Great Britain maintain its mercantilist policies and permit the "salutary neglect" of its colonies at the same time?**

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we examined processes of change in politics and society. The political story began in the 1660s as Britain imposed controls on its American possessions. Parliament passed the Acts of Trade and Navigation to keep colonial products and trade in English hands. Then King James II abolished representative institutions in the northern colonies and created the authoritarian Dominion of New England. Following the Glorious Revolution, the Navigation Acts remained in place and tied the American economy to that of Britain. But the uprisings of 1688–1689 overturned James II's policy of strict imperial control, restored colonial self-government, and ushered in an era of salutary political neglect. It also initiated a long era of imperial warfare, in which Native American peoples allied themselves to the colonies and often served as proxy warriors against French- and Spanish-allied peoples, pursuing their own goals in the process.

The social story centers on the development of the South Atlantic System of production and trade, which involved an enormous expansion in African slave raiding; the Atlantic slave trade; and the cultivation of sugar, rice, and tobacco in America. This complex system created an exploited African American labor force in the southern mainland and West Indian colonies, while it allowed European American farmers, merchants, and artisans on the North American mainland to prosper. How would the two stories play out? In 1750, slavery and the South Atlantic System seemed firmly **entrenched**, but the days of salutary neglect appeared numbered.

CHAPTER 3 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. Identify three new developments between 1660 and 1690 that helped shape England's American Empire.
2. What was tribalization, and how did it help Native Americans cope with their European neighbors?
3. How did their ties to Great Britain and Africa change the lives of American planters?
4. What economic activities drove the northern maritime economy?
5. How could Great Britain maintain its mercantilist policies and permit the "salutary neglect" of its colonies at the same time?
6. Trace the developments outlined in the section entitled "Politics and Power" from 1660 to 1750 on the thematic timeline on page 72. What pattern of political evolution do you see in colonial interactions with Britain?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

proprietorship (p. 77)
Quakers (p. 78)
Navigation Acts (p. 79)
Dominion of New England (p. 80)
Glorious Revolution (p. 80)
constitutional monarchy (p. 81)
Second Hundred Years' War (p. 82)
tribalization (p. 82)
Covenant Chain (p. 83)
South Atlantic System (p. 86)
Middle Passage (p. 89)
Stono Rebellion (p. 97)
gentility (p. 98)
salutary neglect (p. 102)
patronage (p. 102)

Key People

William Penn (p. 77)
Edmund Andros (p. 80)
William of Orange (p. 80)
John Locke (p. 80)
Jacob Leisler (p. 81)
William Byrd II (p. 96)
Robert Walpole (p. 102)

Key Academic Terms

ascendancy (p. 70)
revival (p. 71)
pacifism (p. 79)
inalienable (p. 80)
repository (p. 82)
paradox (p. 83)
stalemate (p. 85)
monopoly (p. 87)
despotic (p. 87)
insurgency (p. 89)
communicate (p. 97)
dissemination (p. 97)
credit (p. 99)
entrench (p. 104)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. In Chapter 2, we traced the emergence of three distinct colonial types in the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: tribute, plantation, and neo-European colonies. In Chapter 3, we have seen how Britain's plantation and neo-European colonies became more closely interconnected after 1700. What developments caused them to become more closely tied to each other? How did they benefit from these ties? Can you see any disadvantages to the colonies in a more fully integrated Atlantic system?
2. Consider the illustrations of women hulling rice in West Africa and Georgia on page 96. Historians have long debated the role Africans played in developing rice cultivation in the South Carolina and Georgia low country. These debates have focused primarily on methods of cultivation: Did Africans who had prior experience with rice teach English planters how to grow it? How can these two images contribute to the debate and expand our perspective on the question of African influences in American rice production?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chronology on page 76 for help in answering the questions below.

The Glorious Revolution (1688–1689), salutary neglect and the rise of the assemblies (1714–1750), and the Hat, Molasses, Iron, and Currency Acts (1732–1751): How do these developments reflect Britain's new attitude toward its colonies? In what matters did Parliament seek to control the colonies, and in what did it grant them autonomy?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–4 refer to the excerpt below.

> "I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, a few, and many, and are the three common ideas of government, when men discourse on the subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: Any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion."
>
> William Penn, "Frame of Government of Pennsylvania," 1682

1. The ideas expressed by William Penn in the excerpt most directly reflect the influence of
   - **a.** transatlantic print culture.
   - **b.** the First Great Awakening.
   - **c.** European Enlightenment ideas.
   - **d.** British mercantilist policies.
2. The ideas expressed in the excerpt contributed most to which of the following developments in colonial Pennsylvania?
   - **a.** The abolition of slavery
   - **b.** The influx of large numbers of European immigrants in the early 1700s
   - **c.** British government efforts to exert more direct control over the colony
   - **d.** Widespread violence between Pennsylvania colonists and American Indians
3. A defining characteristic of Pennsylvania and the other middle colonies was their
   - **a.** plantation economies based on exporting staple crops such as tobacco and rice.
   - **b.** relatively homogeneous population of self-sufficient family farmers.
   - **c.** high degree of cultural and ethnic diversity.
   - **d.** lack of organized religion and low levels of church attendance.
4. The approach toward governing described in the excerpt was most similar to which of the following?
   - a. The local governments created in the Spanish and French colonies
   - b. The establishment of colonial legislatures such as the Virginia House of Burgesses
   - c. The constitutional monarchy created in England after the Glorious Revolution
   - d. The use of town hall meetings in colonial New England

Questions 5–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "When I came [in 1714] there was not so much as one proper carpenter, nor mason, nor tailor, nor butcher in the town, nor . . . a market worth naming. . . . But now we abound in artificers [skilled craftsmen], and some of the best, and our markets large, even to a full supply. And, what above all I would remark, there was not so much as one foreign trading vessel belonging to the town, nor for several years after I came into it. . . .
>
> [N]ow we have between thirty and forty ships . . . engaged in foreign trade. From so small a beginning the town has risen into its present flourishing circumstances. . . ."
>
> *The Autobiography of the Reverend John Barnard*, 1766

5. The excerpt could best be used as historical evidence to support an argument that British colonization of North America grew most significantly due to the influence of which of the following?
   - **a.** The imperial enforcement of mercantilist policies
   - **b.** An intensification of the Atlantic system of trade
   - **c.** An Anglicization of the British colonies
   - **d.** The borrowing of improved naval technology
6. Which of the following most directly resulted from the pattern of change described in the excerpt?
   - **a.** The British colonies attracted larger numbers of settlers than the French, Spanish, or Dutch colonies in North America.
   - **b.** The British government attempted to incorporate the colonies into a coherent, hierarchical imperial structure.
   - **c.** British colonial plantations grew increasingly reliant on the transatlantic trade in enslaved labor.
   - **d.** The relative prosperity of the British colonies stimulated peaceful trade relations with American Indians.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

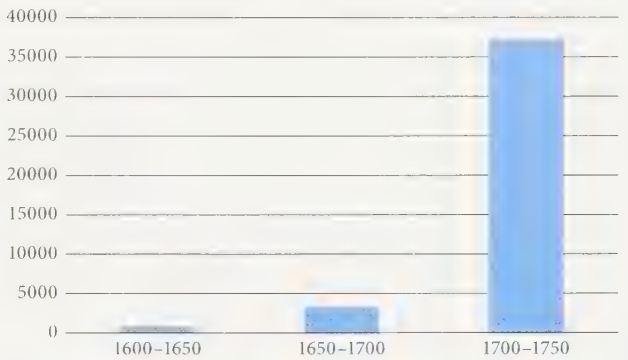
"That Europeans used only non-Europeans as slaves . . . for primarily economic reasons has wide support [among scholars]. . . . [E]lites would surely use the cheapest option possible within the limits of mercantilist policies. . . . Yet such motives operated under the aegis of fundamental non-economic values. . . . One central issue here is perception of race, ethnicity, or, less controversially, who is to be considered an outsider and is therefore enslavable and who is an insider and thus unenslavable. . . . [F]rom the strictly economic standpoint there were strong arguments in support of using European rather than African slave labor. The crux of the matter was shipping costs. . . . [But] the barrier to European slaves in the Americas lay not only beyond shipping and enslavement costs but also beyond any strictly economic sphere. . . ."

David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 2000

"The decision for slavery was implicit in the competitive commercial structure of planters and merchants. . . . Once planters and merchants competed to bring plantation produce to the market by the swiftest means possible, with a free hand to import slaves and exploit them, the transition to the slave-worked plantations was inevitable. The Atlantic slave trade option was supported by governments, deferring to the wishes of the main actors in the matter. For the planter who was seriously interested in maximizing output, and in the fortune this promised to make him, the decision to buy African slaves became a natural one."

Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800*, 2010

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Eltis's and Blackburn's historical interpretations of the origins of slavery in the Americas.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1607 to 1754 that is not mentioned directly in the excerpts could be used to support Eltis's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1607 to 1754 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Blackburn's interpretation.



Slaves Imported to the British North American Colonies

Source of data: www.slavevoyages.org/assessment/estimates

2. Using the graph above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical factor that accounts for the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development resulting from the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical response of enslaved African laborers to the conditions they experienced in the colonies prior to 1750.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between the New England colonies and the Middle colonies in the period from 1660 to 1750.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between the New England colonies and the Middle colonies in the period from 1660 to 1750.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause that accounts for the difference you indicated in (b).

CHAPTER 4

Growth, Diversity, and Conflict
1720–1763

New England's Freehold Society

Farm Families: Women in the Household Economy

Farm Property: Inheritance

Freehold Society in Crisis

Diversity in the Middle Colonies

Economic Growth, Opportunity, and Conflict

Cultural Diversity

Religion and Politics

Commerce, Culture, and Identity

Transportation and the Print Revolution

The Enlightenment in America

American Pietism and the Great Awakening

Religious Upheaval in the North

Social and Religious Conflict in the South

The Midcentury Challenge: War, Trade, and Social Conflict, 1750–1763

The French and Indian War

The Great War for Empire

British Industrial Growth and the Consumer Revolution

The Struggle for Land in the East

Western Rebels and Regulators

AP LEARNING FOCUS

In what ways were Britain's American colonies affected by events across the Atlantic, and how were their societies taking on a life of their own?

In 1736, Alexander MacAllister left the Highlands of Scotland for the backcountry of North Carolina, where his wife and three sisters soon joined him. MacAllister prospered as a landowner and mill proprietor and had only praise for his new home. Carolina was "the best poor man's country," he wrote to his brother Hector, urging him to "advise all poor people . . . to take courage and come." In North Carolina, there were no landlords to keep "the face of the poor . . . to the grinding stone," and so many Highlanders were arriving that "it will soon be a new Scotland." Here, on the far margins of the British Empire, people could "breathe the air of liberty, and not want the necessarys of life." Some 300,000 European migrants—primarily Highland Scots, Scots-Irish, and Germans—heeded MacAllister's advice and helped swell the population of Britain's North American settlements from 400,000 in 1720 to almost 2 million by 1765.

MacAllister's "air of liberty" did not last forever, as the rapid increase in white settlers and the arrival of nearly 300,000 enslaved Africans transformed life throughout mainland British North America. Long-settled towns in New England became overcrowded, and antagonistic ethnic and religious communities jostled uneasily with one another in the Middle Atlantic colonies; in 1748, there were more than a hundred German Lutheran and Reformed congregations in Quaker-led Pennsylvania. By then, the MacAllisters and thousands of other Celtic and German migrants had altered the social landscape and introduced religious conflict into the southern backcountry.

Everywhere, two European cultural movements, the Enlightenment and Pietism, changed the tone of intellectual and spiritual life. Advocates of "rational thought" viewed human beings as agents of moral self-determination and urged Americans to fashion a better social order. Religious Pietists outnumbered them and had more influence. Convinced of the weakness of human nature, evangelical ministers told their followers to seek regeneration through divine grace. Amidst this intellectual and religious ferment, migrants and the landless children of long-settled families moved inland and sparked wars with the Native peoples and with France and Spain. A generation of dynamic growth produced a decade of deadly warfare that would set the stage for a new era in American history.

John Collet, *George Whitefield Preaching* No painting could capture English minister George Whitefield's charismatic appeal, although this image conveys his open demeanor and religious intensity. When Whitefield spoke to a crowd near Philadelphia, an observer noted that his words were "sharper than a two-edged sword. . . . Some of the people were pale as death; others were wringing their hands . . . and most lifting their eyes to heaven and crying to God for mercy." An astute businessman as well as a charismatic preacher, Whitefield tirelessly promoted the sale of his sermons and books.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

- **1695** ▸ Licensing Act lapses in England, triggering the print revolution
- **1710s–1730s** ▸ Enlightenment ideas spread from Europe to America
  ▸ Germans and Scots-Irish settle in Middle colonies
  ▸ Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen preaches Pietism to German migrants
- **1720s–1730s** ▸ William and Gilbert Tennent lead Presbyterian revivals among Scots-Irish
  ▸ Jonathan Edwards preaches in New England
- **1729** ▸ Benjamin Franklin buys the *Pennsylvania Gazette*
- **1739** ▸ George Whitefield sparks Great Awakening
- **1740s–1760s** ▸ Conflict between Old Lights and New Lights
  ▸ Shortage of farmland in New England threatens freehold ideal
  ▸ Growing ethnic and religious pluralism in Middle Atlantic colonies
  ▸ Religious denominations establish colleges
- **1743** ▸ Benjamin Franklin founds American Philosophical Society
  ▸ Samuel Morris starts Presbyterian revivals in Virginia
- **1748** ▸ Ohio Company receives grant of 200,000 acres from the crown
- **1749** ▸ Connecticut farmers form Susquehanna Company
- **1750s** ▸ Industrial Revolution begins in England
  ▸ British shipping dominates North Atlantic
  ▸ Consumer purchases increase American imports and debt
- **1754** ▸ French and Indian War begins
  ▸ Iroquois and colonists meet at Albany Congress
  ▸ Franklin's Plan of Union
- **1756** ▸ Britain begins Great War for Empire
- **1759–1760** ▸ Britain completes conquest of Canada
- **1760s** ▸ Land conflict along New York and New England border
  ▸ Baptist revivals win converts in Virginia
- **1763** ▸ Pontiac's Rebellion leads to Proclamation of 1763
  ▸ Treaty of Paris ends Great War for Empire
  ▸ Scots-Irish Paxton Boys massacre Indians in Pennsylvania
- **1771** ▸ Royal governor puts down Regulator revolt in North Carolina

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

New England's Freehold Society

In the 1630s, the Puritans had fled England, where a small elite of nobles and gentry owned 75 percent of the arable land, while **tenants** (renters) and propertyless workers farmed it. In New England, the Puritans created a yeoman society of relatively equal landowning farm families. But by 1750, the migrants' numerous descendants had parceled out the best farmland, threatening the future of the freehold ideal.

Farm Families: Women in the Household Economy

The Puritans' vision of social equality did not extend to women, and their ideology placed the husband firmly at the head of the household. In *The Well-Ordered Family* (1712), the Reverend Benjamin Wadsworth of Boston advised women, "Since he is thy Husband, God has made him the head and set him above thee." It was a wife's duty "to love and reverence" her husband.

Women learned this subordinate role throughout their lives. Small girls watched their mothers defer to their fathers, and as young women, they were told to be "silent in company." They saw the courts prosecute more women than men for the crime of fornication (sex outside of marriage), and they found that their marriage portions would be inferior to those of their brothers. Thus Ebenezer Chittendon of Guilford, Connecticut, left his land to his sons, decreeing that "Each Daughter [shall] have half so much as Each Son, one half in money and the other half in Cattle."

Throughout the colonies, women assumed the role of dutiful helpmeets (helpmates) to their husbands. In addition to tending gardens, farmwives spun thread and yarn from flax and wool and then wove it into cloth for shirts and gowns. They knitted sweaters and stockings, made candles and soap, churned milk into butter, fermented malt for beer, preserved meats, and mastered dozens of other household tasks. "Notable women" — those

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes throughout this chapter on the role of women in New England families as they developed a thriving mixed economy based on farming and commerce.

who excelled at domestic arts—won praise and high status (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

Bearing and rearing children were equally important tasks. Most women in New England married in their early twenties and by their early forties had given birth to six or seven children, delivered with the help of a female neighbor or a **midwife**. One Massachusetts mother confessed that she had little time for religious activities because "the care of my Babes takes up so large a portion of my time and attention." Yet most Puritan congregations were filled with women: "In a Church of between *Three* and *Four* Hundred *Communicants*," the eminent minister Cotton Mather noted, "there are but few more than *One* Hundred *Men*; all the Rest are Women."

Women's lives remained tightly bound by a web of legal and cultural restrictions. Ministers praised women for their piety but excluded them from an equal role in the church. When Hannah Heaton, a Connecticut farmwife, grew dissatisfied with her Congregational minister, thinking him unconverted and a "blind guide," she sought out equality-minded Quaker and evangelist Baptist churches that welcomed questioning women such as herself and treated "saved" women equally with men. However, by the 1760s, many evangelical congregations had reinstituted men's dominance over women. "The government of Church and State must be . . . family government" controlled by its "king," declared the Danbury (Connecticut) Baptist Association.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What ideas, institutions, and responsibilities shaped New England farm women's lives?

Farm Property: Inheritance

By contrast, European men who migrated to the colonies escaped many traditional constraints, including the curse of landlessness. "The hope of having land of their own & becoming independent of Landlords is what chiefly induces people into America," an official noted in the 1730s. Owning property gave formerly dependent peasants a new social identity.

Unlike the adventurers seeking riches in other parts of the Americas, most New England migrants wanted farms that would provide a living for themselves and ample land for their children. In this way, they hoped to secure a **competency** for their families: the ability to keep their households solvent and independent and to pass that ability on to the next generation. Parents who could not give their offspring land placed these children as indentured servants in more prosperous households. When the indentures ended at age eighteen or twenty-one, propertyless sons faced a decades-long climb up the agricultural ladder, from laborer to tenant and finally to freeholder.

Sons and daughters in well-to-do farm families were luckier: they received a marriage portion when they were in their early twenties. That portion—land, livestock, or farm equipment—repaid them for their past labor and allowed parents to choose their marriage partners. Parents' security during old age depended on a wise choice of son- or daughter-in-law. Although the young people could refuse

Prudence Punderson (1758–1784), *The First, Second and Last Scenes of Mortality* This powerful image reveals both the artistic skills of colonial women in the traditional medium of needlework and the Puritans' continuing cultural concern with the inevitability of death. Prudence Punderson, the Connecticut woman who embroidered this scene, rejected a marriage proposal and followed her Loyalist father into exile on Long Island in 1778. Sometime later, she married a cousin, Timothy Rossiter, and bore a daughter, Sophia, who may well be the baby in the cradle being rocked by "Jenny," a slave owned by Prudence's father. Long worried by "my ill state of health" and perhaps now anticipating her own death, Prudence has inscribed her initials on the coffin—and, in creating this embroidery, transformed her personal experience into a broader meditation on the progression from birth, to motherhood, to death. Embroidery, 1776–1783, Gift of N. Brainard, access on no. 1962.284, the Connecticut Historical Society

Women's Labor

As these documents show, women bore the responsibility for a wide variety of work, from keeping up households to supporting themselves independently.

1. **Thomas Tusser, *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, 1557.** *Advice manuals like Tusser's circulated for generations and offered guidance on household management. In this couplet, Tusser stresses the virtues of a wife's economy and hard work.*

   Wife, make thine own candle,
   Spare penny to handle.
   Provide for thy tallow ere frost cometh in,
   And make thine own candle ere winter begin.

2. **Eliza Lucas, letters, 1740–1742.** *George Lucas owned three South Carolina plantations, but, as lieutenant governor of Antigua, he was frequently absent. When his daughter was sixteen, he gave her responsibility for managing them. She introduced indigo cultivation in South Carolina, and it soon became the colony's second-leading cash crop. These letters were written when she was between the ages of eighteen and twenty.*

   May 2, 1740

   "I have the business of 3 plantations to transact, which requires much writing and more business and fatigue of other sorts than you can imagine. But least you should imagine it too burthensom to a girl at my early time of life, give me leave to answer you: I assure you I think myself happy that I can be useful to so good a father, and by rising very early I find I can go through much business."

   July 1740

   "Wrote my Father a very long letter on his plantation affairs and on . . . the pains I had taken to bring the Indigo, Ginger, Cotton and Lucerne and Casada to perfection, and had greater hopes from the Indigo . . . than any of the rest of the things I tried."

   February 6, 1741

   " . . . I have a Sister to instruct and a parcel of little Negroes whom I have undertaken to teach to read."

   April 23, 1741

   "Wrote to my Father informing him of the loss of a Negro man — also the boat being overset in Santilina [Saint Helena] Sound and 20 barrels of Rice lost."

   [1742]

   "Wont you laugh at me if I tell you I am so busey in providing for Posterity I hardly allow my self time to Eat or sleep. . . . I am making a large plantation of Oaks which I look upon as my own property, whether my father gives me the land or not; and therefore I design many years hence when oaks are more valueable than they are now — which you know they will be when we come to build fleets."

   [c. June 1742]

   "I am engaged with the rudiments of the law to which I am yet but a stranger. . . . If You will not laugh too immoderately at me I'll Trust you with a secrett. I have made two wills already."

3. **Mary Vial Holyoke, diary excerpts, 1761.** *Mary Vial Holyoke, wife of a prominent physician in Salem, Massachusetts, kept a diary that offers a glimpse of the range of household tasks women faced.*

   [1761]

   Jan. 16: Began upon the firkin of butter of 40 lb. . . .
   22: Bo't hog, weighed 182 pounds, at 2/5. Salted hog with half Lisbon & half saltertudas [Tortugas] salt. . . .
   Mar. 4: Ironing. . . .
   7: Scower'd pewter. . . .
   17: Made the Dr. six Cravats marked H. . . .
   Apr. 17: Made soap. . . .
   23: Dressed a Calves Head turtle fashion. . . .
   May 20: Began to whitewash. . . .
   28: Ironed. . . .
   30: Scower'd pewter. . . .
   July 7: Scowered rooms. . . .

4. **Colonial house interiors in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and Augusta, Maine.** *These images show the dining room of Benjamin Chew, a wealthy Philadelphia lawyer (below), and the kitchen of the Howards, an extended family of soldiers and merchants on the Maine frontier (opposite).*

SOURCE: © Ron Blunt

Source: Old Fort Western, Augusta, Maine

5. Business advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1758. *Not all women's work was done in the home. Hannah Breintnall, a Philadelphia widow, ran a tavern before opening a shop specializing in eyeglasses.*

Juſt imported in the Ship Myrtilla, Captain Bolitho, from London, and to be ſold by

HANNAH BREINTNALL,

At the Sign of the Spectacles, in Second-ſtreet, near Black-Horſe Alley,

A Great Variety of the fineſt Chryſtal Spectacles, ſet in Temple, Steel, Leather or other Frames. Likewiſe true Venetian green Spectacles, for weak or watery Eyes, of various Sorts. Alſo Concave Spectacles, for ſhort ſighted Perſons; Magnifying and Reading Glaſſes; and an Aſſortment of large and ſmall Spy glaſſes and Bone Microſcopes, with magnifying and multiplying Glaſs, &c. &c. Pocket Compaſſes, of different Sizes. &c. ‖ 10 s. Theff.

Source: The Library Company of Philadelphia, www.librarycompany.org.

6. *Hilliad Magna: Being the Life and Adventures of Moll Placket-Hole*, 1765. Moll Placket-Hole *was a satirical, seven-page pamphlet that purported to describe the life of a Philadelphia prostitute.* Moll *was an eighteenth-century term for a loose woman or prostitute, while* placket-hole *referred to a slit that might be found in a woman's skirt.*

MOLL PLACKET-HOLE was born in a *Bawdy House* in a *Lane* in the City of *Brotherly Love*. . . . [A]t the Age of twelve (Shocking to consider!) . . . [her] Mother *sold* her Virginity — *sold* it for the Trifling Consideration of *Ten Pounds*. Her Purchaser was soon cloyed and abandoned her. Virtue lost and good Reputation (if ever she had it) gone, she commenced open Prostitute and dealt out her Favours to the highest Bidder. . . . [S]he understood the Trade and set up a *Bawdy-House*. . . . It was necessary, however, that a Man should live with her, that they might appear to the Publick, as *honest* Housekeepers. . . . The Trade became at last so publick, that it gave Offence to her sober Neighbours. . . . [T]he Town tired out with her Insolence, and her Escape from Justice in a regular Manner, set a Mob (many of whom had been her Beneficiaries) upon her. They pulled down her House, and destroyed her Furniture &c. She stormed and raged and swore if her Customers would not build her a better House, she would expose them. . . . They opened a Subscription, and a hundred Pounds were subscribed in one Day.

Sources: (1) Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in the Colonial Days* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898), 35; (2) From *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739–1762*, edited by Elise Pinckney, University of North Carolina Press, 1972. Based on original documents from the South Carolina Historical Society. Courtesy of the South Carolina Historical Society; (3) George Francis Dow, ed., *The Holyoke Diaries, 1709–1856* (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1911), 49–51; (6) *Hilliad Magna: Being the Life and Adventures of Moll Placket-Hole* ([Philadelphia]: Printed [by Anthony Armbruster], 1765).

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare the advice manual (source 1) with Eliza Lucas's letters and Mary Vial Holyoke's diary. What themes do they share in common, and how do these women's experiences deviate from the expectations of the advice book authors?
2. Eliza Lucas supervised slave labor, and Mary Vial Holyoke very likely employed servants. How do these facts affect the way you interpret sources 2 and 3?
3. Compare the two house interiors (source 4). What work would women have done in these spaces? The Chews were a slaveholding family, and the Howards probably employed servants. With that in mind, consider the relationship between supervisory and manual labor.
4. Hannah Breintnall was a well-to-do widow, while Moll Placket-Hole was a fictional stereotype. What does Breintnall's experience tell us about the prospects of a woman living without a male protector? How does Moll Placket-Hole shed light on popular attitudes toward such women?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

With all these sources in mind, write a short essay that considers the role of hierarchy and social power in women's work. How did economic and social status affect the work that was expected of women? How did the women whose lives are documented here navigate the challenges and opportunities they faced? And how does the satire of Moll Placket-Hole illuminate popular attitudes toward women's work and its place in colonial society?

an unacceptable match, they did not have the luxury of falling in love with and marrying whomever they pleased.

Marriage under eighteenth-century English common law was not a contract between equals. Under the legal principle of **coverture**, which placed married women under the protection and authority of their husbands, a bride relinquished to her husband the legal ownership of all her property. After his death, she received a dower right, the right to use (though not sell) one-third of the family's property. On the widow's death or remarriage, her portion was divided among the children. Thus the widow's property rights were subordinate to those of the family line, which stretched across the generations.

A father's duty was to provide inheritances for his children so that one day they could "be for themselves." Men who failed to do so lost status in the community. Some fathers willed the family farm to a single son and provided other children with money, an apprenticeship, or uncleared frontier tracts. Other yeomen moved their families to the frontier, where life was hard but land was cheap and abundant. "The Squire's House stands on the Bank of the Susquehannah," traveler Philip Fithian reported from the Pennsylvania backcountry in the early 1760s. "He tells me that he will be able to settle all his sons and his fair Daughter Betsy on the Fat of the Earth."

Freehold Society in Crisis

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the impact of demographic changes on the colonial regions.

Because of rapid natural increase, New England's population doubled each generation, from 100,000 in 1700, to nearly 200,000 in 1725, to almost 400,000 in 1750. After being divided and then subdivided, farms became so small—50 acres or less—that parents could provide only one child with an adequate inheritance. In the 1740s, the Reverend Samuel Chandler of Andover, Massachusetts, was "much distressed for land for his children," seven of them young boys. A decade later, in nearby Concord, about 60 percent of the farmers owned less land than their fathers had.

Because parents had less to give their sons and daughters, they had less control over their children's lives. The traditional system of arranged marriages broke down, as young people engaged in premarital sex and then used the urgency of pregnancy to win permission to marry. Throughout New England, premarital conceptions rose dramatically, from about 10 percent of firstborn children in the 1710s to more than 30 percent in the 1740s. Given another chance, young people "would do the same again," an Anglican minister observed, "because otherwise they could not obtain their parents' consent to marry."

Even as New England families changed, they maintained the freeholder ideal. Some parents chose to have smaller families and used birth control to do so: abstention, coitus interruptus, or primitive condoms. Other families petitioned the provincial government for frontier land grants and hacked new farms out of the forests of central Massachusetts, western Connecticut, and eventually New Hampshire and Vermont. Still others improved their farms' productivity by replacing the traditional English crops of wheat and barley with high-yielding potatoes and maize (Indian corn). Corn was an especially wise choice: good for human consumption, as well as for feeding cattle and pigs, which provided milk and meat. Gradually, New England changed from a grain to a livestock economy, becoming a major exporter of salted meat to the plantations of the West Indies.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors threatened the freeholder ideal in midcentury New England, and what strategies did farming families use to preserve this ideal?

As the population swelled, New England farmers developed the full potential of what one historian has called the "**household mode of production**," in which families swapped labor and goods. Women and children worked in groups to spin yarn, sew quilts, and shuck corn. Men loaned neighbors tools, draft animals, and grazing land. Farmers plowed fields owned by artisans and shopkeepers, who repaid them with shoes, furniture, or store credit. Partly because **currency** was in short supply, no cash changed hands. Instead, farmers, artisans, and shopkeepers recorded debits and credits

and "balanced" the books every few years. This system helped New Englanders to maximize agricultural output and preserve the freehold ideal.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What goals and values shaped New England society in the eighteenth century?

Diversity in the Middle Colonies

The Middle colonies — New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania — became home to peoples of differing origins, languages, and religions. Scots-Irish Presbyterians, English and Welsh Quakers, German Lutherans and Moravians, Dutch Reformed Protestants, and others all sought to preserve their cultural and religious identities as they pursued economic opportunity. At the same time, rapid population growth throughout the region strained public institutions, pressured Indian lands, and created a dynamic but unstable society.

Economic Growth, Opportunity, and Conflict

Previously home to New Netherland and New Sweden, the Mid-Atlantic region was already ethnically diverse before England gained control of it. The founding of Pennsylvania and New Jersey amplified this pattern. Fertile land seemed abundant, and grain exports to Europe and the West Indies financed the colonies' rapid settlement (AP® America in the World). Between 1720 and 1770, a growing demand for wheat, corn, and flour doubled their prices and brought people and prosperity to the region. Yet that very growth led to conflict, both within the Middle colonies and in their relations with Native American neighbors.

Tenancy in New York In New York's fertile Hudson River Valley, wealthy Dutch and English families presided over the huge manors created by the Dutch West India Company and English governors. Like Chesapeake planters, the New York landlords aspired to live in the manner of the European gentry but found that few migrants wanted to labor as peasants. To attract tenants, the manorial lords granted long leases, with the right to sell improvements such as houses and barns to the next tenant. They nevertheless struggled to populate their estates.

Most tenant families hoped that with hard work and ample sales they could eventually buy their own farmsteads. But preindustrial technology limited output. A worker with a hand sickle could reap only half an acre of wheat, rye, or oats a day. The cradle scythe, a tool introduced during the 1750s, doubled or tripled the amount of grain one worker could cut. Even so, a family with two adult workers could reap only about 12 acres of grain, or roughly 150 to 180 bushels of wheat. After saving enough grain for food and seed, the surplus might be worth £15 — enough to buy salt and sugar, tools, and cloth, but little else. The road to landownership was not an easy one.

Conflict in the Quaker Colonies In Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania and New Jersey, wealth was initially distributed more evenly than in New York, but the proprietors of each colony, like the manor lords of New York, had enormous land claims. The first migrants lived simply in small, one- or two-room houses with a sleeping loft, a few benches or stools, and some wooden platters and cups. Economic growth brought greater prosperity, along with conflicts between ordinary settlers and the proprietors who tried to control their access to land, resources, and political power.

William Penn's early appeals to British Quakers and continental Protestants led to a boom in immigrants. When these first arrivals reported that Pennsylvania and New

Transatlantic Migration, 1500–1760

The following graph compares the number of European and African migrants who arrived in the American colonies of Spain, Portugal, Britain, France, and the Netherlands. It also charts change over time: while immigrants in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries went predominantly to the colonies of Spain and Portugal, Britain's colonies became the principal destination for both Europeans and Africans between 1640 and 1760.

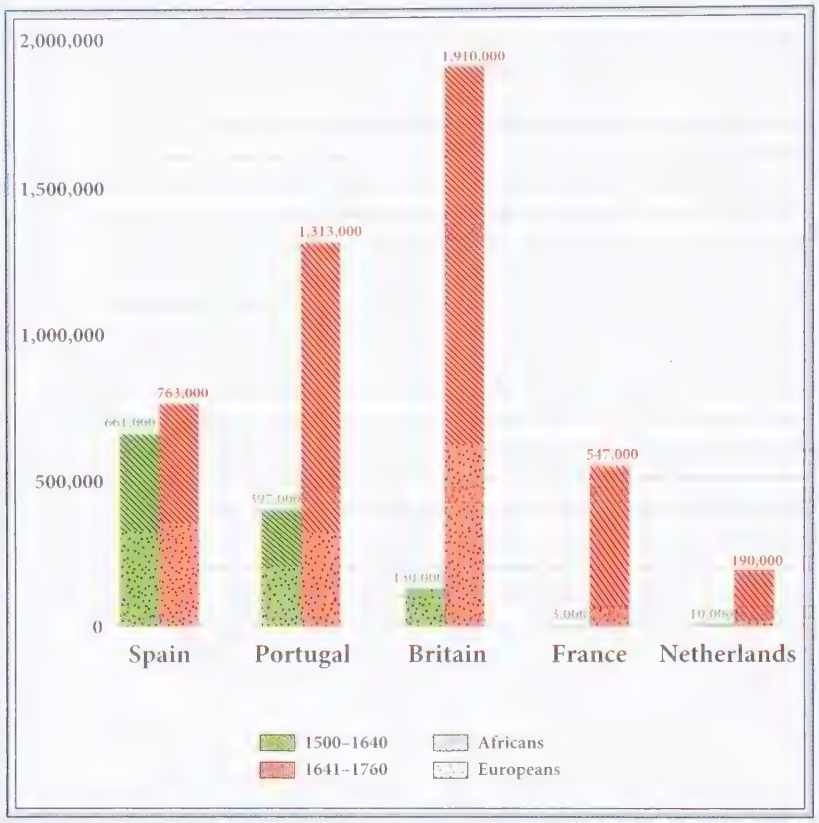


FIGURE 4.1 Transatlantic Migration

SOURCE OF DATA: Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, "Factor Endowments, Institutions, and Differential Paths of Growth Among New World Economies: A View from Economic Historians of the United States," in *How Latin America Fell Behind: Economic Histories of Brazil and Mexico, 1800–1914*, ed. Stephen Haber (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 264

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What relationship do you see between the number of European emigrants and the importation of African slaves? Which nation's colonies had the highest percentage of Africans relative to Europeans? Which had the lowest? Which time periods had the highest and lowest percentages of Africans?
2. Compare France and the Netherlands to Spain, Portugal, and Britain. Why do you suppose that the ratio of Africans to Europeans is so much higher in French and Dutch colonies than in the other nations? Which type of colony — tribute, plantation, or neo-European — was likely to have been most important to the French and Dutch?

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the causes of diversity in the Middle colonies and its impact on the region's development is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Jersey were "the best poor man's country in the world," thousands more followed. Soon the proprietors of both colonies were overwhelmed by the demand for land. By the 1720s, many new migrants were forced to become **squatters**, settling illegally on land they hoped eventually to be able to acquire on legal terms.

Frustration over the lack of land led the Penn family to perpetrate one of the most infamous land frauds of the eighteenth century, the so-called Walking Purchase of 1737, in which they fraudulently exploited an Indian deed to claim more than a million

acres of prime farmland north of Philadelphia. This purchase, while opening new lands to settlement, poisoned Indian relations in the colony. Delaware and Shawnee migration to western Pennsylvania and the Ohio Valley, which was already under way, accelerated rapidly in response.

Immigrants flooded into Philadelphia, which grew from 2,000 people in 1700 to 25,000 by 1760. Many families came in search of land; for them, Philadelphia was only a temporary way station. Other migrants came as laborers, including a large number of indentured servants. Some were young, unskilled men, but the colony's explosive growth also created a strong demand for all kinds of skilled laborers, especially in the construction trades.

Pennsylvania and New Jersey grew prosperous but contentious. New Jersey was plagued by contested land titles, and ordinary settlers rioted against the proprietors in the 1740s and the 1760s. By the 1760s, eastern Pennsylvania landowners with large farms were using slaves and poor Scots-Irish migrants to grow wheat. Other ambitious men were buying up land and dividing it into small tenancies, which they lent out on profitable leases. Still others sold farming equipment and manufactured goods or ran mills. These large-scale farmers, rural landlords, speculators, storekeepers, and gristmill operators formed a distinct class of agricultural capitalists. They built large stone houses for their families, furnishing them with four-poster beds and expensive mahogany tables, on which they laid elegant linen and imported Dutch dinnerware.

By contrast, one-half of the Middle colonies' white men owned no land and little personal property. Some were the sons of smallholding farmers and would eventually inherit some land. But many were Scots-Irish or German "inmates"—single men or families, explained a tax assessor, "such as live in small cottages and have no taxable property, except a cow." In the predominantly German township of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a merchant noted an "abundance of Poor people" who "maintain their Families with great difficulty by day Labour." Although these workers hoped eventually to become landowners, rising land prices prevented many from realizing their dreams.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did rapid immigration and economic growth trigger conflict in the Middle colonies?

Cultural Diversity

The Middle Atlantic colonies were not a melting pot. Most European migrants held tightly to their traditions, creating a patchwork of ethnically and religiously diverse communities (Figure 4.2). In 1748, a Swedish traveler counted no fewer than twelve religious denominations in Philadelphia, including Anglicans, Baptists, Quakers, Swedish and German Lutherans, Mennonites, Scots-Irish Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics.

Migrants preserved their cultural identity by marrying within their ethnic groups. A major exception was the Huguenots, Calvinists who had been expelled from Catholic France in the 1680s and resettled in Holland, England, and the British colonies. Huguenots in American port cities such as Boston, New York, and Charleston quickly lost their French identities by intermarrying with other Protestants. More typical were the Welsh Quakers in Chester County, Pennsylvania: 70 percent of the children of the original Welsh migrants married other Welsh Quakers, as did 60 percent of the third generation.

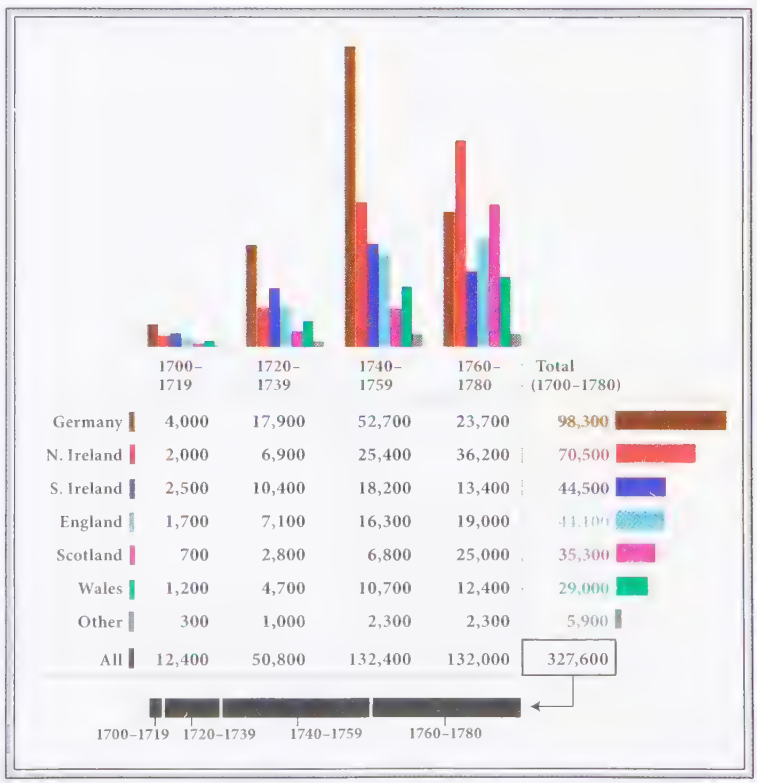
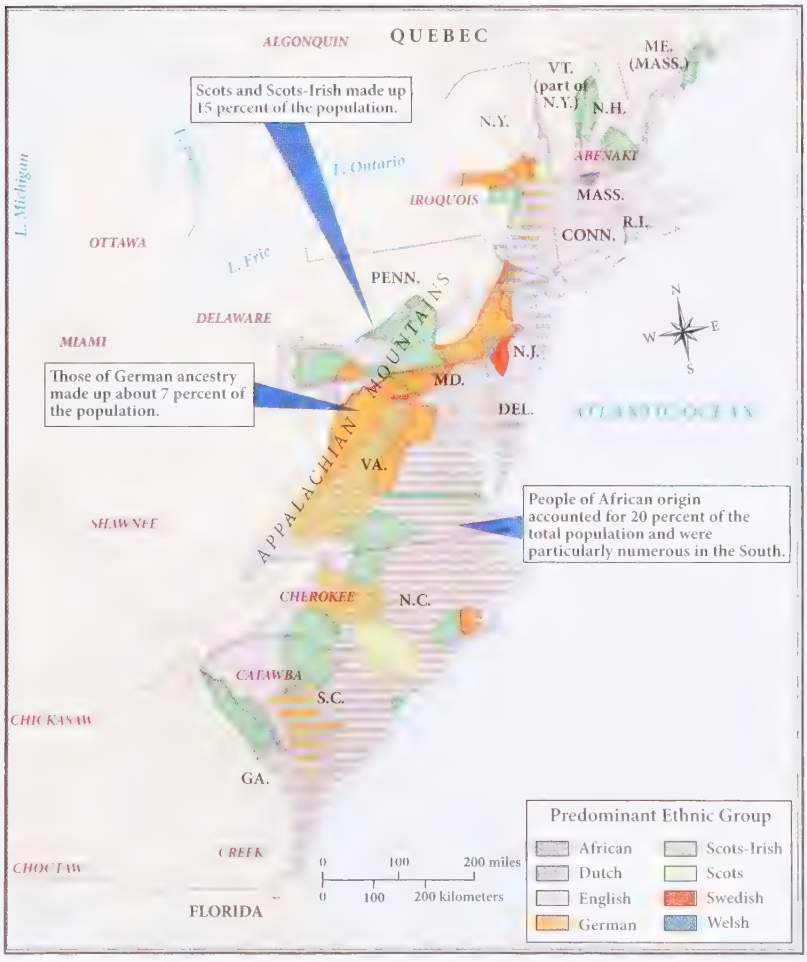


FIGURE 4.2 Estimated European Migration to the British Mainland Colonies, 1700–1780

After 1720, European migration to British North America increased dramatically, peaking between 1740 and 1780, when more than 264,000 settlers arrived in the mainland colonies. Emigration from Germany peaked in the 1740s, but the number of migrants from Ireland, Scotland, England, and Wales continued to increase during the 1760s and early 1770s. Most migrants, including those from Ireland, were Protestants.

In Pennsylvania and western New Jersey, Quakers shaped the culture because of their numbers, wealth, and social **cohesion**. Most Quakers came from English counties with few landlords and brought with them traditions of local village governance, popular participation in politics, and social equality. But after 1720, the growth of German and Scots-Irish populations challenged their dominance.

The German Influx The Quaker vision of a "peaceable kingdom" attracted 100,000 German migrants who had fled their homelands because of military **conscription**, religious persecution, and high taxes. First to arrive, in 1683, were the Mennonites, religious dissenters drawn by the promise of freedom of worship. In the 1720s, a larger wave of German migrants arrived from the overcrowded villages of southwestern Germany and Switzerland. "Wages were far better" in Pennsylvania, Heinrich Schneebeli reported to his friends in Zurich, and "one also enjoyed there a free unhindered exercise of religion." A third wave of Germans and Swiss — nearly 40,000 strong — landed in Philadelphia between 1749 and 1756. To help pay the costs of the expensive trip from the Rhine Valley, German immigrants pioneered the **redemptioner** system, a flexible form of indentured servitude that allowed families to negotiate their own terms upon arrival. Families often indentured one or more children while their parents set up a household of their own.



MAP 4.1 Ethnic and Racial Diversity in the British Colonies, 1775
In 1700, most colonists in British North America were of English origin; by 1775, settlers of English descent constituted only about 50 percent of the total population. African Americans now accounted for one-third of the residents of the South, while tens of thousands of German and Scots-Irish migrants added ethnic and religious diversity in the Middle colonies, the southern backcountry, and northern New England (see Figure 4.2).

Germans soon dominated many districts in eastern Pennsylvania, and thousands more moved down the fertile Shenandoah Valley into the western backcountry of Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas (Map 4.1). Many migrants preserved their cultural identity by settling in German-speaking Lutheran and Reformed communities that endured well beyond 1800. A minister in North Carolina admonished young people "not to contract any marriages with the English or Irish," arguing that "we owe it to our native country to do our part that German blood and the German language be preserved in America."

These settlers were willing colonial subjects of Britain's German-born and German-speaking Protestant monarchs, George I (r. 1714–1727) and George II (r. 1727–1760). They generally avoided politics except to protect their cultural practices; for example, they insisted that married women have the legal right to hold property and write wills, as they did in Germany.

Scots-Irish Settlers Migrants from Ireland, who numbered about 115,000, were the most numerous of the incoming Europeans. Some were Irish and Catholic, but most were Scots and Presbyterian, the descendants of the Calvinist Protestants sent to Ireland during the seventeenth century to solidify English rule there. Once in Ireland, the Scots faced hostility from both Irish Catholics and English officials and landlords. The Irish Test Act of 1704 restricted voting and office holding to members of the Church of England, English mercantilist

regulations placed heavy import duties on linens made by Scots-Irish weavers, and farmers paid heavy taxes. This persecution made America seem desirable. "Read this letter, Rev. Baptist Boyd," a migrant to New York wrote back to his minister, "and tell all the poor folk of ye place that God has opened a door for their deliverance . . . all that a man works for is his own; there are no revenue hounds to take it from us here."

Lured by such reports, thousands of Scots-Irish families sailed for the colonies. By 1720, most migrated to Philadelphia, attracted by the religious tolerance there (AP® Interpreting the Past). Seeking cheap land, they moved to central Pennsylvania and to the fertile Shenandoah Valley to the south. Governor William Gooch of Virginia welcomed the Scots-Irish presence to secure "the Country against the Indians." An Anglican planter, however, thought them as dangerous as "the Goths and Vandals of old" had been to the Roman Empire. Like the Germans, the Scots-Irish retained their culture, living in ethnic communities and holding firm to the Presbyterian Church.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What attracted German and Scots-Irish migrants to Pennsylvania in such large numbers?

Religion and Politics

In Western Europe, the leaders of church and state condemned religious diversity. "To tolerate all [religions] without controul is the way to have none at all," declared an Anglican clergyman. Orthodox church officials carried such sentiments to Pennsylvania. "The preachers do not have the power to punish anyone, or to force anyone to go to church," complained Gottlieb Mittelberger, an influential German minister. As a result, "Sunday is very badly kept. Many people plough, reap, thresh, hew or split wood and the like." He concluded: "Liberty in Pennsylvania does more harm than good to many people, both in soul and body."

Mittelberger was mistaken. Although ministers in Pennsylvania could not invoke government authority to uphold religious values, the result was not social anarchy. Instead, religious sects enforced moral behavior through communal self-discipline. Quaker families attended a weekly meeting for worship and a monthly meeting for business; every three months, a committee reminded parents to provide proper religious instruction. The committee also supervised adult behavior; a Chester County meeting, for example, disciplined a member "to reclaim him from drinking to excess and keeping vain company." Significantly, Quaker meetings allowed couples to marry only if they had land and livestock sufficient to support a family. As a result, the children of well-to-do Friends usually married within the sect, while poor Quakers remained unmarried, wed later in life, or married without permission — in which case they were often ousted from the meeting. These marriage rules helped the Quakers build a self-contained and prosperous community.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the relationship between diversity and tolerance in the Middle colonies and compare it to other colonial regions.

In the 1740s, the flood of new migrants reduced Quakers to a minority — a mere 30 percent of Pennsylvanians. Moreover, Scots-Irish settlers in central Pennsylvania demanded an aggressive Indian policy, challenging the pacifism of the assembly. To retain power, Quaker politicians sought an alliance with those German religious groups that also embraced pacifism and voluntary (not compulsory) militia service. In response, German leaders demanded more seats in the assembly and laws that respected their inheritance customs.

By the 1750s, politics throughout the Middle colonies roiled with conflict. In New York, a Dutchman declared that he "Valued English Law no more than a Turd," while in Pennsylvania, Benjamin Franklin disparaged the "boorish" character and "swarthy complexion" of German migrants. Yet there was broad agreement on the importance of economic opportunity and liberty of conscience. The unstable balance between shared values and mutual mistrust prefigured tensions that would pervade an increasingly diverse American society in the centuries to come.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What issues divided the various ethnic and religious groups of the Middle colonies? What core values did they agree upon?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How were the goals of immigrants to the Middle colonies similar to those of New England colonists, and how did they differ?

Did Diversity Lead to Toleration?

What must it have been like to be a newcomer in colonial America? In some places, new immigrants found themselves to be religious, racial, or ethnic minorities. The Middle colonies were especially diverse. As Sally Schwartz, author of the first excerpt below, notes, a third of Pennsylvania's population was English. Another third was German and, with the exception of a small group of Africans and Native Americans, the rest hailed from other parts of northern Europe. They claimed membership in more than sixteen different faith communities. With such divergent identities, traditions, and cultures, how did they live together? Schwartz and Peter Silver, author of the second passage, agree that Pennsylvania and the Middle colonies were unusually diverse, but disagree about how tolerant their societies were.

SALLY SCHWARTZ
A Mixed Multitude

SOURCE: Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York: New York University Press, 1987), 1–2.

The extremely heterogeneous population confronted Pennsylvania with a unique set of problems that could have impeded the creation of a stable society. Nevertheless, despite the inevitable tensions, exacerbated by waves of new immigration, wars, and religious conflict, colonial Pennsylvanians managed to develop new ideals of pluralism and tolerance on which they built their province. . . . William Penn . . . set forth a new, ideological basis for pluralism and tolerance that transformed the tentative pattern of relative harmony and toleration into one of official policy . . . [H]e drafted a series of constitutions that guaranteed religious freedom and promoted his colony not only in the British Isles but on the Continent as well.

PETER SILVER
Our Savage Neighbors

SOURCE: Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), xviii–xix.

Pennsylvania . . . New Jersey, Delaware, northern Maryland, and parts of New York — colonies that together made the eighteenth-century mid-Atlantic perhaps the most racially, ethnically, and religiously mixed place in the world . . . were the unintended byproducts of a force that is now alien: early modern settler colonialism, in which huge numbers of Europeans and Africans were drawn across the ocean, in freedom and bondage, and replanted in new landscapes. . . . With few exceptions, living together made the different sorts of people there feel frightened of one another's intentions. Forced proximity brought many groups to a fresh appreciation for their own distinctive ways, ways they thought of as "traditional" and fought to recover amid the disturbing novelties that came with diversity. Most strove both to make the other peoples around them act more like themselves and to keep, if they could, from coming to resemble those neighbors, making for a jittery, culturally competitive society.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How do these historians differ in their assessment of colonial America's tolerance of differences in race, ethnicity, and religion?
2. Identify two factors that Schwartz and Silver contend either promoted or undermined colonial tolerance in the face of cultural diversity.
3. Which of these interpretations is best supported by the narrative in Chapter 4?

Commerce, Culture, and Identity

After 1720, transatlantic shipping grew more frequent and Britain and its colonies more closely connected, while a **burgeoning** print culture flooded the colonies with information and ideas. Two great European cultural movements — the **Enlightenment**, which emphasized the power of human reason to understand and shape the world; and **Pietism**, an evangelical Christian movement that stressed the individual's personal relationship with God — reached America as a result. At the same time, an abundance of imported goods began to reshape material culture, bringing new comforts into the

lives of the middling sort while allowing prosperous merchants and landowners to set themselves apart from their neighbors in new ways.

Transportation and the Print Revolution

In the eighteenth century, improved transportation networks opened Britain's colonies in new ways, and British shipping came to dominate the North Atlantic. In 1700, Britain had 40,000 sailors; by 1750, the number had grown to 60,000, while many more hailed from the colonies. An enormous number of vessels plied Atlantic waters: in the late 1730s, more than 550 ships arrived in Boston annually. About a tenth came directly from Britain or Ireland; the rest came mostly from other British colonies, either on the mainland or in the West Indies.

A road network slowly took shape as well, though roadbuilding was expensive and difficult. In 1704, Sarah Kemble Knight traveled from Boston to New York on horseback. The road was "smooth and even" in some places, treacherous in others; it took eight days of hard riding to cover 200 miles. Forty years later, a physician from Annapolis, Maryland, traveled along much better roads to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and back — more than 1,600 miles in all. He spent four months on the road, stopping frequently to meet the locals and satisfy his curiosity. By the mid-eighteenth century, the "Great Wagon Road" carried migrating families down the Shenandoah Valley as far as the Carolina backcountry.

All of these water and land routes carried people, produce, and finished merchandise. They also carried information, as letters, newspapers, pamphlets, and crates of books began to circulate widely. The trip across the Atlantic took seven to eight weeks on average, so the news arriving in colonial ports was not fresh by our standard, but compared to earlier years, the colonies were awash in information.

Until 1695, the British government had the power to censor all printed materials. In that year, Parliament let the Licensing Act lapse, and the floodgates opened. Dozens of new printshops opened in London and Britain's provincial cities. They printed newspapers and pamphlets; poetry, ballads, and sermons; and handbills, tradesman's cards, and advertisements. Larger booksellers also printed scientific treatises, histories, travelers' accounts, and novels. The result was a print revolution. In Britain and throughout Europe, print was essential to the transmission of new ideas, and both the Enlightenment and Pietism took shape in part through its growing influence.

All this material crossed the Atlantic and filled the shops of colonial booksellers. The colonies also began printing their own newspapers. In 1704, the *Boston Newsletter* was founded; by 1720, Boston had five printing presses and three newspapers; and by 1776, the thirteen colonies that united in declaring independence had thirty-seven newspapers among them. This world of print was essential to their ability to share grievances and join in common cause.

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of the flow of ideas through print culture common in the Atlantic world is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

The Enlightenment in America

To explain the workings of the natural world, some colonists relied on folk wisdom. Swedish migrants in Pennsylvania attributed magical powers to the great white mullein, a common wildflower, and treated fevers by tying the plant's leaves around their feet and arms. Traditionally, Christians believed that the earth stood at the center of the universe, and God (and Satan) intervened directly and continuously in human affairs. The scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries challenged these ideas, and educated people — most of them Christians — began to modify their views accordingly.

The European Enlightenment In 1543, the Polish astronomer Copernicus published his observation that the earth traveled around the sun, not vice versa. Copernicus's discovery suggested that humans occupied a more modest place in the

universe than Christian theology assumed. In the next century, Isaac Newton, in his *Principia Mathematica* (1687), used the sciences of mathematics and physics to explain the movement of the planets around the sun (and invented calculus in the process). Though Newton was himself profoundly religious, in the long run his work undermined the traditional Christian understanding of the cosmos.

In the century between the *Principia Mathematica* and the French Revolution of 1789, the philosophers of the European Enlightenment used empirical research and scientific reasoning to study all aspects of life, including social institutions and human behavior. Enlightenment thinkers advanced four fundamental principles: the lawlike order of the natural world, the power of human reason, the "natural rights" of individuals (including the right to self-government), and the progressive improvement of society.

English philosopher John Locke was a major contributor to the Enlightenment. In his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke stressed the impact of environment and experience on human behavior and beliefs, arguing that the character of individuals and societies was not fixed but could be changed through education, rational thought, and purposeful action. Locke's *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) advanced the revolutionary theory that political authority was not given by God to monarchs, as James II had insisted (see Chapter 3). Instead, it derived from social compacts that people made to preserve their **natural rights** to life, liberty, and property. In Locke's view, the people should have the power to change government policies — or even their form of government.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What conditions and ideas lay behind the emergence of the Enlightenment in America?

Some clergymen responded to these developments by devising a rational form of Christianity. Rejecting supernatural interventions and a vengeful Calvinist God, Congregational minister Andrew Eliot maintained that "there is nothing in Christianity that is contrary to reason." The Reverend John Wise of Ipswich, Massachusetts, used Locke's philosophy to defend giving power to ordinary church members. Just as the social compact formed the basis of political society, Wise argued, so the religious covenant among the lay members of a congregation made them — not the bishops of the Church of England or even ministers like himself — the proper interpreters of religious truth. The Enlightenment influenced Puritan minister Cotton Mather as well. When a measles epidemic ravaged Boston in the 1710s, Mather thought that only God could end it; but when smallpox struck a decade later, he used his newly acquired knowledge of **inoculation** — gained in part from a slave, who told him of the practice's success in Africa — to advocate this scientific preventive for the disease.

Benjamin Franklin's Rise This portrait of Benjamin Franklin, attributed to Robert Feke and executed around 1746, portrays Franklin as a successful businessman. His ruffled collar and cuffs, his fashionably curly wig, and his sober but expensive suit reveal his social ambitions. In later portraits, after he gained fame as an Enlightenment sage, he dispensed with the wig and chose more unaffected poses; but in 1746, he was still establishing his credentials as a young Philadelphia gentleman on the rise. Franklin

Franklin's Contributions Benjamin Franklin was the exemplar of the American Enlightenment. Born in Boston in 1706 to devout Calvinists, he grew to manhood during the print revolution. Apprenticed to his brother, a Boston printer, Franklin educated himself through voracious reading. At seventeen, he fled to Philadelphia, where he became a prominent printer, and in 1729 he founded the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which became one of the colonies' most influential newspapers. Franklin also formed a "club of mutual improvement" that met weekly to discuss "Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy." These discussions, as well as Enlightenment literature, shaped his thinking. As Franklin explained in his *Autobiography* (1771), "From the different books I read, I began to doubt of Revelation [God-revealed truth]."

Like a small number of urban artisans, wealthy Virginia planters, and affluent seaport merchants, Franklin became a deist.

Deism was a way of thinking, not an established religion. "My own mind is my own church," said deist Thomas Paine. "I am of a sect by myself," added Thomas Jefferson. Influenced by Enlightenment science, deists such as Jefferson believed that a Supreme Being (or Grand Architect) created the world and then allowed it to operate by natural laws but did not intervene in people's lives. Rejecting the divinity of Christ and the authority of the Bible, deists relied on "natural reason," their innate moral sense, to define right and wrong. Thus Franklin, a onetime slave owner, came to question the morality of slavery, repudiating it once he recognized the parallels between racial bondage and the colonies' political bondage to Britain.

Franklin popularized the practical outlook of the Enlightenment in *Poor Richard's Almanack* (1732–1757), an annual publication that was read by thousands. He also founded the American Philosophical Society (1743–present) to promote "useful knowledge." Adopting this goal in his own life, Franklin invented bifocal lenses for eyeglasses, the Franklin stove, and the lightning rod. His book on electricity, published in England in 1751, won praise as the greatest contribution to science since Newton's discoveries. Inspired by Franklin, ambitious printers in America's seaport cities published newspapers and gentlemen's magazines, the first significant nonreligious periodicals to appear in the colonies. The European Enlightenment, then, added a secular dimension to colonial cultural life, foreshadowing the great contributions to republican political theory by American intellectuals of the Revolutionary era: John Adams, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson.

Enlightenment Philanthropy: Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia Using public funds and private donations, Philadelphia reformers built this imposing structure in 1753. The new hospital embodied two principles of the Enlightenment: that purposeful actions could improve society, and that the products of these actions should express reason and order, exhibited here in the building's symmetrical facade. Etchings like this one from the 1760s (*A Perspective View of the Pennsylvania Hospital*, by John Streeper and Henry Dawkins) circulated widely and bolstered Philadelphia's reputation as the center of the American Enlightenment. The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

American Pietism and the Great Awakening

As some colonists turned to deism, thousands of others embraced Pietism, a Christian movement originating in Germany around 1700 and emphasizing pious behavior (hence the name). In its emotional worship services and individual striving for a mystical union with God, Pietism appealed to believers' hearts rather than their minds (AP® Analyzing Voices). In the 1720s, German migrants carried Pietism to America, sparking a religious **revival** (or renewal of religious enthusiasm) in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where Dutch minister Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen preached passionate sermons to German settlers and encouraged church members to spread the message of spiritual urgency. A decade later, William Tennent and his son Gilbert copied Frelinghuysen's approach and led revivals among Scots-Irish Presbyterians throughout the Middle Atlantic region.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the impact of Enlightenment rationalism and Pietism (Evangelical Protestantism) on colonial development.

New England Revivalism Simultaneously, an American-born Pietist movement appeared in New England. Revivals of Christian zeal were built into the logic of Puritanism. In the 1730s, Jonathan Edwards, a minister in Northampton, Massachusetts, encouraged a revival there that spread to towns throughout the Connecticut River Valley. Edwards

Evangelical Religion and Enlightenment Rationalism

Analyzing primary sources often involves comparing and contrasting documents that represent multiple points of view. In such cases, we ask the same analytical questions of each document, but we also think about the sources in relation to each other. How does one person's perspective on an important issue shed light on other points of view? In the documents that follow, four individuals offer statements that describe formative experiences and link them to core beliefs. As you read, consider the ways in which each person's experience shapes his or her views.

Two great historical movements, Enlightenment thought and Pietistic religion, swept across British North America in the eighteenth century and offered radically different—indeed, almost completely contradictory—worldviews. Pietism sparked religious revivals based on passion and emotion, while Enlightenment rationalism encouraged personal restraint and intellectual logic. Both movements shaped American cultural development: Pietism transformed American religious life, and Enlightenment thinking influenced the principles of the American government.

SARAH LIPPET

Death as a Passage to Life

Sarah Lippet was a longtime member of the Baptist church of Middletown in eastern New Jersey. She died in October 1767 at the age of sixty-one; fellow parishioners reported her sentiments as she lay, for four days, on her deathbed.

SOURCE: "The Triumphant Christian," in *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany*, ed John F. Stillwell (New York, 1964), 3: 465–466.

"All my lifetime I have been in fears and doubts, but now am delivered. He hath delivered them who through fear of death were all their lifetime subject to bondage. For the love I have for Christ I am willing to part with all my friends to be with Him, for I love Him above all; yet it is nothing in me, for I know if I had my desert I should be in Hell. I believe in Christ, and I know that I put my whole trust in Him, and he that believeth in Him shall not be ashamed nor be confounded. . . .

Why do you mourn when I rejoice? You should not; it is no more for me to die and leave my friends for the great love I have for Christ than for me to go to sleep. I have no fears of death in my mind. Christ has the keys of death and hell, and blessed are the dead that die in the Lord. I can't bear to see a tear shed. You should not mourn."

NATHAN COLE

The Struggle for Salvation

Connecticut farmer Nathan Cole found God after listening to a sermon by George Whitefield, the great English evangelist. But Cole's spiritual quest was not easy. He struggled for two years before coming to believe that he was saved.

SOURCE: "The Spiritual Travels of Nathan Cole, 1741" in *The Great Awakening: Documents on the Revival of Religion, 1740–1745*, ed. Richard L. Bushman (New York: Atheneum, 1970), 68–70.

"[After hearing Whitefield] I began to think I was not Elected, and that God made some for heaven and me for hell. And I thought God was not Just in so doing. . . . My heart then rose against God exceedingly, for his making me for hell; Now this distress lasted Almost two years—Poor Me—Miserable me. . . . I was loaded with the guilt of Sin. . . .

Hell fire was most always in my mind; and I have hundreds of times put my fingers into my pipe when I have been smoaking to feel how fire felt: And to see how my Body could bear to lye in Hell fire for ever and ever. . . . And while these thoughts were in my mind God appeared unto me and made me Skringe: before whose face the heavens and the earth fled away; and I was Shrinked into nothing; I knew not whether I was in the body or out, I seemed to hang in open Air before God, and he seemed to Speak to me in an angry and Sovereign way[:] What? Won't you trust your Soul with God?; My heart answered O yes, yes, yes. . . .

When God disappeared or in some measure withdrew, every thing was in its place again and I was on my Bed. . . . I was set free, my distress was gone, and I was filled with a pineing desire to see Christs own words in the bible; . . . I got the bible up under my Chin and hugged it; it was sweet and lovely; the word was nigh [near] me in my hand, then I began to pray and to praise God."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The Importance of a Virtuous Life

Franklin stood at the center of the American Enlightenment. In his *Autobiography*, he outlined his religious views and his human-centered moral principles.

SOURCE: Louis P. Masur, ed., *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, with Related Documents*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's, 2003), 73–74, 93–94, 108.

"My Parents had early given me religious Impressions, and brought me through my Childhood piously in the Dissenting Way. But I was scarce 15 when, after doubting by turns of several Points as I found them disputed in the different Books I read, I began to doubt of Revelation itself. Some Books against Deism fell into my Hands. . . . It happened that they wrought an Effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them: For the Arguments of the Deists [that were quoted in those books] appeared to me much Stronger than the Refutations. In short I soon became a thorough Deist. . . .

I grew convinc'd that Truth, Sincerity & Integrity in Dealings between Man & Man, were of the utmost Importance to the Felicity of Life, and I form'd written Resolutions, (which still remain in my Journal Book) to practice them ever while I lived. . . .

About the Year 1734. There arrived among us from Ireland, a young Presbyterian Preacher named Hemphill, who delivered with a good Voice, & apparently extempore, most excellent Discourses, which drew together considerable Numbers of different Persuasions, who join'd in admiring them. Among the rest I became one of his constant Hearers, his Sermons pleasing me as they had little of the dogmatical kind, but inculcated strongly the Practice of Virtue, or what in the religious Stile are called Good Works. Those however, of our Congregation, who considered themselves as orthodox Presbyterians, disapprov'd his Doctrine, and were join'd by most of the old Clergy, who arraign'd him of Heterodoxy before the Synod, in order to have him silenc'd. I became his zealous Partisan. . . .

I never was without some religious Principles; I never doubted, for instance, the Existance of the Deity, that he made the World, & govern'd it by his Providence; that the most acceptable Service of God was the doing Good to Man; that our Souls are immortal; and that all Crime will be punished & Virtue rewarded either here or hereafter; these I esteem'd the Essentials of every Religion." ❞

JOHN WISE

The Primacy of Human Reason and Natural Laws

Reverend John Wise (1652–1725) served for many years as a pastor in Ipswich, Massachusetts. A graduate of Harvard College, Wise used the Enlightenment doctrines of John Locke and Samuel von Pufendorf to justify the democratic structure of New England Congregational churches.

SOURCE: John Wise, *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches* (Boston: J. Allen, for N. Boone, 1717), 32–40.

"I Shall disclose several Principles of Natural Knowledge; plainly discovering the Law of Nature; or the true sentiments of Natural Reason, with Respect to Mans Being and Government. . . . I shall consider Man in a state of Natural Being, as a Free-Born Subject under the Crown of Heaven, and owing Homage to none but God himself. It is certain Civil Government in General, is a very Admirable Result of Providence, and an Incomparable Benefit to Mankind, yet must needs be acknowledged to be the Effect of Humane Free-Compacts and not of Divine Institution; it is the Produce of Mans Reason, of Humane and Rational Combinations, and not from any direct Orders of Infinite Wisdom. . . .

The Prime Immunity in Mans State, is that he is most properly the Subject of the Law of Nature. He is the Favourite Animal on Earth; in that this Part of Gods Image, viz. Reason is Congenate with his Nature, wherein by a Law Immutable, Instampt upon his Frame, God has provided a Rule for Men in all their Actions; obliging each one to the performance of that which is Right, not only as to Justice, but likewise as to all other Moral Vertues, which is nothing but the Dictate of Right Reason founded in the Soul of Man. . . .

The Second Great Immunity of Man is an Original Liberty Instampt upon his Rational Nature. He that intrudes upon this Liberty, Violates the Law of Nature. . . .

The Third Capital Immunity belonging to Mans Nature, is an equality amongst Men; Which is not to be denyed by the Law of Nature, till Man has Resigned himself with all his Rights for the sake of a Civil State; and then his Personal Liberty and Equality is to be cherished, and preserved to the highest degree." ❞

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. All of these writers declare a belief in God. How do their beliefs and outlooks differ?
2. These writers were variously influenced by the Great Awakening, the Enlightenment, and rational Christianity. How are these movements reflected in the passages above?
3. What roles do fear and anxiety play in the experiences of Sarah Lippet and Nathan Cole? What difference does it make that neither Franklin nor Wise expresses fear, either of God or of his own sinfulness?
4. Benjamin Franklin and John Wise stress the importance of reason and virtue as guides to human conduct. How would Nathan Cole and Sarah Lippet react to that emphasis?

guided and observed the process and then published an account entitled *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God*, printed first in London (1737), then in Boston (1738), and then in German and Dutch translations. Its publication history highlights the transatlantic network of correspondents that gave Pietism much of its vitality.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

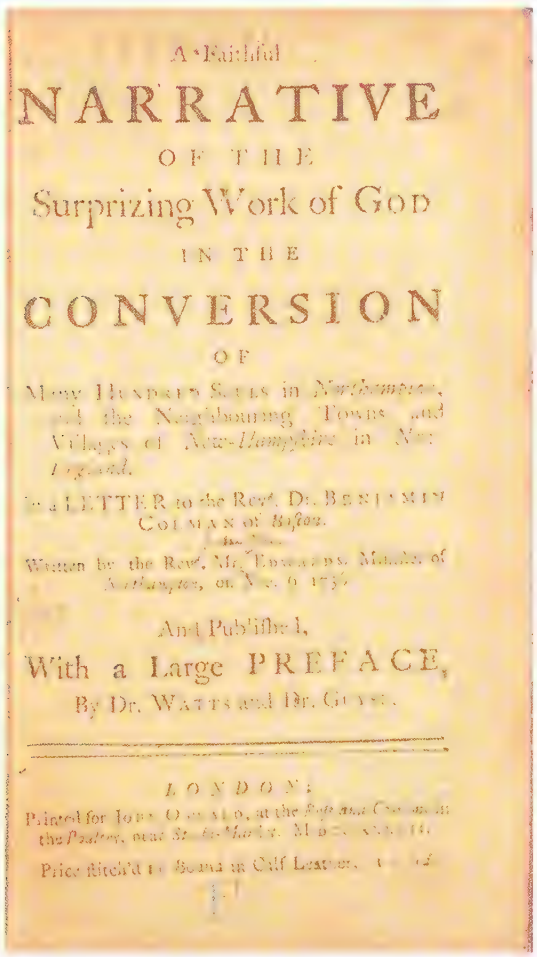
COMPARE & CONTRAST

What did the Enlightenment and Pietism have in common, and how did they differ?

Whitefield's Great Awakening English minister George Whitefield transformed the local revivals of Edwards and the Tennents into a Great Awakening. After Whitefield had his personal awakening upon reading the German Pietists, he became a follower of John Wesley, the founder of English Methodism. In 1739, Whitefield carried Wesley's fervent message to America, where he attracted huge crowds from Georgia to Massachusetts.

Whitefield had a compelling presence. "He looked almost angelical; a young, slim, slender youth . . . cloathed with authority from the Great God," wrote a Connecticut farmer. Like most evangelical preachers, Whitefield did not read his sermons but spoke from memory. More like an actor than a theologian, he gestured eloquently, raised his voice for dramatic effect, and at times assumed a female persona — as a woman in labor struggling to deliver the word of God. When the young preacher told his spellbound listeners that they had sinned and must seek salvation, some suddenly felt a "new light" within them. As "the power of god come down," Hannah Heaton recalled, "my knees smote together . . . [and] it seemed to me I was a sinking down into hell . . . but then I resigned my distress and was perfectly easy quiet and calm . . . [and] it seemed as if I had a new soul & body both." Strengthened and self-confident, these converts, the so-called New Lights, were eager to spread Whitefield's message.

The rise of print intersected with this enthusiasm. "Religion is become the Subject of most Conversations," the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported. "No books are in Request but those of Piety and Devotion." Whitefield and his circle did their best to answer the demand for devotional reading. As he traveled, Whitefield regularly sent excerpts of his journal to be printed in newspapers. Franklin printed Whitefield's sermons and journals by subscription and found them to be among his best-selling titles. Printed accounts of Whitefield's travels, conversion narratives, sermons, and other devotional literature helped to confirm Pietists in their faith and strengthen the communication networks that sustained them.


A Faithful
NARRATIVE
OF THE
Surprizing Work of GOD
IN THE
CONVERSION
OF
A LETTER to the Revd. Dr. BENJAMIN COLMAN of Boston.
Written by the Revd. Mr. Edwards, Minister of Northampton, on Nov. 6 1736.
And Publish'd,
With a Large PREFACE,
By Dr. WATTS and Dr. GUYSE.
LONDON:
Printed for JOHN OSBORN, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, near St. Mildred's. MDCCXXXVII.
Price Sticht'd 1s. Bound in Calf Leather, 1s. 6d.

The Print Revolution and the Great Awakening
A local revival in Northampton, Massachusetts, gained transatlantic importance through the power of print. Jonathan Edwards's *A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Works of God* began as a letter to a fellow clergyman describing events in his congregation. Two English evangelicals, Isaac Watts and John Guyse, learned of the letter and encouraged Edwards to expand it into a book. Edwards sent them an enlarged version; Watts and Guyse gave it a title and shepherded it into print in London in 1737, complete with extensive editorial commentary. A year later the first American edition was published in Boston. It became an important evangelical text in England, Scotland, and North America, and Dutch and German translations also made the book available to Pietists on the continent. Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress

Religious Upheaval in the North

Like all cultural explosions, the Great Awakening was controversial. Conservative ministers — passionless **Old Lights**, according to the evangelists — condemned the "cryings out, faintings and convulsions" in revivalist meetings and the New Lights' claims of "working Miracles or speaking with Tongues." Boston minister Charles Chauncy attacked the Pietist **New Lights** for allowing women to speak in public: it was "a plain breach of that commandment of the lord, where it is said, Let your women keep silence in the churches." In Connecticut, Old Lights persuaded the legislature to prohibit evangelists from speaking to a congregation without the minister's permission. But the New Lights refused to be silenced. Dozens of farmers, women, and artisans roamed the countryside, condemning the Old Lights as "unconverted" and willingly accepting imprisonment: "I shall bring glory to God in my bonds," a dissident preacher wrote from jail.

The Great Awakening undermined legally established churches and their tax-supported ministers. In New England, New Lights left the Congregational Church and founded 125 "separatist" churches that supported their ministers through voluntary contributions (Figure 4.3). Other religious dissidents joined Baptist congregations, which also condemned government support of churches: "God never allowed any civil state upon earth to impose religious taxes," declared Baptist preacher Isaac Backus. In New York and New Jersey, the Dutch Reformed Church split in two as New Lights refused to accept doctrines imposed by conservative church authorities in Holland.

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the impact of the Great Awakening on increasing pluralism in the British colonies.

The Great Awakening also appealed to Christians whose established churches could not serve their needs. By 1740, Pennsylvania's German Reformed and Lutheran congregations suffered from a severe lack of university-trained pastors. In the colony's Dutch Reformed, Dutch and Swedish Lutheran, and even its Anglican congregations, half the pulpits were empty. In this circumstance, **itinerant** preachers who stressed the power of "heart religion" and downplayed the importance of formal ministerial training found a ready audience.

The Great Awakening challenged the authority of all ministers whose status rested on respect for their education and knowledge of the Bible. In an influential pamphlet, *The Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry* (1740), Gilbert Tennent asserted that ministers' authority should come not from theological knowledge but from the conversion experience. Reaffirming Martin Luther's belief in the priesthood of all Christians, Tennent suggested that anyone who had felt God's redeeming grace could speak with ministerial authority. Sarah Harrah Osborn, a New Light "exhorter" in Rhode Island, refused "to shut up my mouth . . . and creep into obscurity" when silenced by her minister.

As religious enthusiasm spread, churches founded new colleges to educate their young men and to train ministers. New Light Presbyterians established the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1746, and New York Anglicans founded King's College (Columbia) in 1754. Baptists set up the College of Rhode Island (Brown) in 1764; two years later, the Dutch Reformed Church subsidized Queen's College (Rutgers) in New Jersey. However, the main intellectual legacy of the Great Awakening was not education for the privileged few but a new sense of authority among the many. A European visitor to Philadelphia remarked in surprise, "The poorest day-laborer . . . holds it his right to advance his opinion, in religious as well as political matters, with as much freedom as the gentleman."

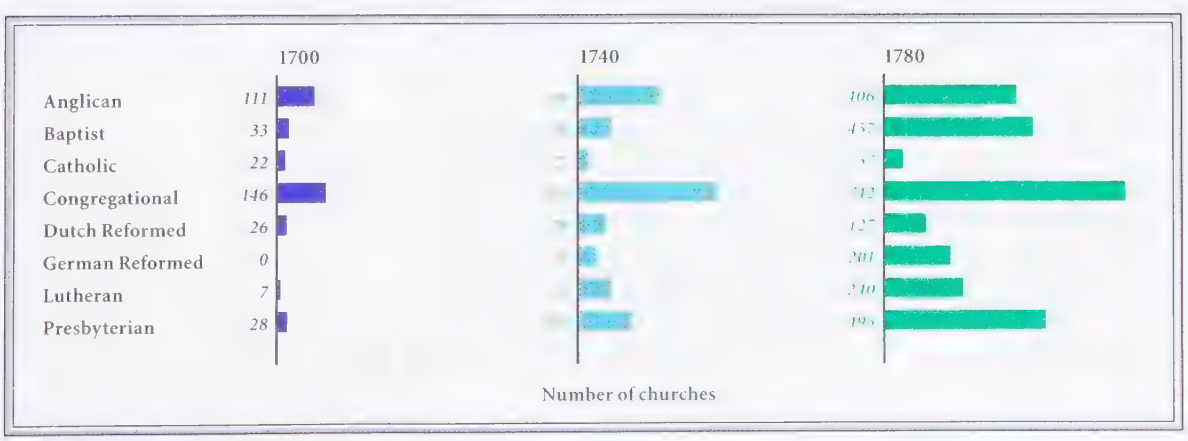


FIGURE 4.3 Church Growth by Denomination, 1700–1780
In 1700, and again in 1740, the Congregational and Anglican churches had the most members. By 1780, however, largely because of their enthusiastic evangelical message, Presbyterian and Baptist congregations outnumbered those of the Anglicans. The growth of immigrant denominations, such as the German Reformed and Lutheran, was equally impressive.

Social and Religious Conflict in the South

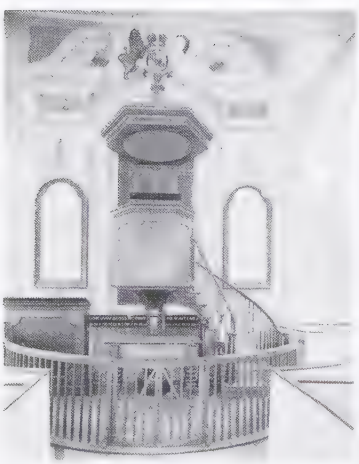
In the southern colonies, where the Church of England was legally established, religious enthusiasm triggered social conflict. Anglican ministers generally ignored the spiritual needs of African Americans and landless whites, who numbered 40 percent and 20 percent of the population, respectively. Middling white freeholders (35 percent of the residents) formed the core of most Church of England congregations. But prominent planters (just 5 percent) held the real power, using their control of parish finances to discipline ministers. One clergyman complained that dismissal awaited any minister who "had the courage to preach against any Vices taken into favor by the leading Men of his Parish."

The Presbyterian Revival Soon, a democratization of religion challenged the dominance of both the Anglican Church and the planter elite. In 1743, bricklayer Samuel Morris, inspired by reading George Whitefield's sermons, led a group of Virginia Anglicans out of their congregation. Seeking a deeper religious experience, Morris invited New Light Presbyterian Samuel Davies to lead their prayer meetings. Davies's sermons, filled with erotic devotional imagery and urging Christians to feel "ardent Passion," sparked Presbyterian revivals across the Tidewater region, threatening the social authority of the Virginia gentry. Traditionally, planters and their well-dressed families arrived at Anglican services in fancy carriages drawn by well-bred horses and flaunted their power by sitting in the front pews. Such ritual displays of the gentry's superiority were meaningless if freeholders attended other churches. Moreover, religious pluralism threatened the tax-supported status of the Anglican Church.

To halt the spread of New Light ideas, Virginia governor William Gooch denounced them as "false teachings," and Anglican justices of the peace closed Presbyterian churches. This harassment kept most white yeomen and poor tenant families in the Church of England.

The Baptist Insurgency During the 1760s, the vigorous preaching and democratic message of New Light Baptist ministers converted thousands of white farm families. The Baptists were radical Protestants whose central ritual was adult (rather than infant) baptism. Once men and women had experienced the infusion of grace—had been "born again"—they were baptized in an emotional public ceremony, often involving complete immersion in water.

Slaves were welcome at Baptist revivals. During the 1740s, George Whitefield had urged Carolina planters to bring their slaves into the Christian fold, but white opposition and the Africans' commitment to their ancestral religions kept the number of converts low. However, in the 1760s, native-born African Americans in Virginia welcomed the Baptists' message that all people were equal in God's eyes. Sensing a threat to the system of racial slavery, the House of Burgesses imposed heavy fines on Baptists who preached to slaves without their owners' permission.



A Contrast in Styles and Values These two church interiors highlight the divergent styles and values of traditional state churches and new, radical Protestant ones. On the left is St. James' Anglican Church in Goose Creek, South Carolina, completed in 1719. It embodies traditional values. The minister is elevated above the congregation in an imposing pulpit. The ornate pilasters and cornices reflect the importance of classical architecture in gentry culture, while the shield featuring a lion and unicorn—a symbol of the British monarchy—emphasizes the tie between church and state. On the right, the Mount Shiloh Baptist Church in Faber, Virginia, exhibits the plain style and egalitarian values of the Baptist movement. The minister is not elevated above the congregation, the pews are plain and open, and the room lacks any special ornamentation. This building dates to the nineteenth century, but its predecessors would have been similar in style. Left: Library of Congress. Right: Virginia Baptist Historical Society

Baptists threatened gentry authority because they repudiated social distinctions and urged followers to call one another "brother" and "sister." They also condemned the planters' decadent lifestyle. As planter Landon Carter complained, the Baptists were "destroying pleasure in the Country; for they encourage ardent Prayer . . . & an intire Banishment of *Gaming*, *Dancing*, & Sabbath-Day Diversions." The gentry responded with violence. In Caroline County, an Anglican posse attacked Brother John Waller at a prayer meeting. Waller "was violently jerked off the stage; they caught him by the back part of his neck, beat his head against the ground, and a gentleman gave him twenty lashes with his horsewhip."

Despite these attacks, Baptist congregations multiplied. By 1775, about 15 percent of Virginia's whites and hundreds of enslaved blacks had joined Baptist churches. To signify their state of grace, some Baptist men "cut off their hair, like Cromwell's round-headed chaplains." Others forged a new evangelical masculinity, "crying, weeping, lifting up the eyes, groaning" when touched by the Holy Spirit.

The Baptist revival in the Chesapeake challenged customary authority in families and society but did not overturn it. Rejecting the pleas of evangelical women, Baptist men kept church authority in the hands of "free born male members," and Anglican slaveholders retained control of the political system. Still, the Baptist insurgency infused the lives of poor tenant families with spiritual meaning and empowered yeomen to defend their economic interests. Moreover, as Baptist ministers spread Christianity among slaves, the cultural gulf between blacks and whites shrank, undermining one justification for slavery and giving some blacks a new religious identity. Within a generation, African Americans would develop distinctive versions of Protestant Christianity.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **How did the accelerating pace of travel and communication affect colonial society and culture?**

The Midcentury Challenge: War, Trade, and Social Conflict, 1750–1763

Between 1750 and 1763, three significant events transformed colonial life. First, Britain went to war against the French in America, sparking a worldwide conflict: the Great War for Empire. Second, a surge in trade boosted colonial consumption but caused Americans to become deeply indebted to British creditors. Third, westward migration sparked warfare with Indian peoples, violent disputes between settlers and land speculators, and backcountry rebellions against eastern-controlled governments.

The French and Indian War

In 1754, overlapping French and British claims in North America came to a head (Map 4.2). The French maintained their vast claims through a network of forts and trading posts that sustained alliances with neighboring Indians. The soft underbelly of this **sprawling** empire was the Ohio Valley, where French claims were tenuous. Native peoples were driven out of the valley by Iroquois attacks in the seventeenth century, but after 1720 displaced Indian populations—especially Delawares and Shawnees from Pennsylvania—resettled there in large numbers. In the 1740s, British traders from Pennsylvania began traveling down the Ohio River. They traded with Delawares and Shawnees in the upper valley and began to draw French-allied Indians into their orbit and away from French posts. Then, in 1748, the Ohio Company of Virginia, a partnership of prominent colonial planters and London merchants, received a 200,000-acre grant from the crown to establish a new settlement on the upper Ohio, threatening French claims to the region.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the impact of colonial rivalries in the Ohio Valley on American Indian populations to earlier imperial rivalries involving native groups.

MAP 4.2 European Spheres of Influence in North America, 1754

In the mid-eighteenth century, France, Spain, and the British-owned Hudson's Bay Company laid claim to the vast areas of North America still inhabited primarily by Indian peoples. British settlers had already occupied much of the land east of the Appalachian Mountains. To safeguard their lands west of the mountains, Native Americans played off one European power against another. As a British official remarked: "To preserve the Ballance between us and the French is the great ruling Principle of Modern Indian Politics." When Britain expelled France from North America in 1763, Indians had to face encroaching Anglo-American settlers on their own.

Conflict in the Ohio Valley By midcentury, Britain relied on the Iroquois Confederacy as its partner in Indian relations throughout the Northeast. By extending the Covenant Chain, the Iroquois had become a kind of Indian Empire in their own right, claiming to speak for other groups throughout the region based on their seventeenth-century conquests. The Delawares, Shawnees, and other groups who repopulated the Ohio Valley did so in part to escape the Iroquois yoke. To maintain influence on the Ohio, the Iroquois sent two "half-kings," Tanaghrisson (an adopted Seneca) and Scarouady (an Oneida), to the Native settlement of Logstown, a trading town on the upper Ohio, where Britain recognized them as leaders.

French authorities, alarmed by British inroads, built a string of forts from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Ohio, culminating with Fort Duquesne on the site of present-day Pittsburgh. To reassert British claims, Governor Dinwiddie dispatched an expedition led by Colonel George Washington, a twenty-two-year-old Virginian whose half-brothers were Ohio Company stockholders. Washington discovered that most of the Ohio Indians had decided to side with the French; only the Iroquois half-kings and a few of their followers supported his efforts. After Washington's party fired on a French detachment, Tanaghrisson rushed in and killed a French officer to ensure war — a prospect that would force British arms to support Iroquois interests in the valley.

To see a longer excerpt of Winthrop's "City upon a Hill" sermon, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Washington's party was soon defeated by a larger French force. The result was an international incident that prompted Virginian and British expansionists to demand war. But war in North America was a worrisome prospect: the colonies were notoriously incapable of cooperating in their own defense, and the Covenant Chain was badly in need of repair.

The Albany Congress The Iroquois Confederacy was unhappy with its British alliance and believed that the British were neglecting the Iroquois while settlers from New York pressed onto their lands. Moreover, the Ohio Indians, France, and Britain were all acting in the Ohio Valley without consulting them. To mend relations with the Iroquois, the British Board of Trade called a meeting at Albany in June 1754. There, a prominent Mohawk leader named Hendrick Peters Theyanoguin challenged Britain to defend its interests more vigorously, while Benjamin Franklin proposed a "Plan of Union" among the colonies to counter French expansion.

The Albany Plan of Union proposed that "one general government . . . be formed in America, including all the said colonies." It would have created a continental assembly to manage trade, Indian policy, and the colonies' defense. Though it was attractive to a few reform-minded colonists and administrators, the plan would have compromised the independence of colonial assemblies and the authority of Parliament. It never received serious consideration, but that did not stop the push toward war.

The War Hawks Win In Parliament, the fight for the Ohio prompted a debate over war with France. Henry Pelham, the British prime minister, urged calm: "There is such a load of debt, and such heavy taxes already laid upon the people, that nothing but an absolute necessity can justifie our engaging in a new War." But two expansionist-minded war hawks — rising British statesman William Pitt and Lord Halifax, the new head of the Board of Trade — persuaded Pelham to launch an American war. In June 1755, British and New England troops captured Fort Beauséjour in the disputed territory of Nova Scotia (which the French called Acadia). Soldiers from Puritan Massachusetts then forced nearly 10,000 French settlers from their lands, arguing they were "rebels" without property rights, and deported them to France,

Hendrick Peters Theyanoguin, Chief of the Mohawks Great Britain's alliance with the Iroquois Confederacy — the Covenant Chain — was central to its Indian policy in the mid-eighteenth century, and the Mohawk warrior and sachem Hendrick Peters Theyanoguin emerged as its most powerful spokesman. His speech at the Albany Congress of 1754, in which he urged Great Britain toward war, was reported in newspapers in Britain and the colonies and made him a transatlantic celebrity. This print was advertised for sale in London bookstalls just as his death at the Battle of Lake George (1755) was being reported in newspapers there. Hendrick wears a rich silk waistcoat, an overcoat trimmed with gold lace, a ruffled shirt, and a tricorn hat — gifts from his British allies — while he holds a wampum belt in one hand and a tomahawk in the other. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library

the West Indies, and Louisiana (where "Acadians" became "Cajuns"). English and Scottish Protestants took over the farms the French Catholics left behind.

This Anglo-American triumph was quickly offset by a stunning defeat. In July 1755, General Edward Braddock advanced on Fort Duquesne with a force of 1,500 British regulars and Virginia militiamen. Braddock and his fellow officers were persuaded that British arms could easily triumph in the American backcountry, but instead they were routed by a French and Indian force. Braddock was killed, and more than half his troops were dead or wounded. "We have been beaten, most shamefully beaten, by a handfull of Men," George Washington complained bitterly as he led the survivors back to Virginia.

The Great War for Empire

By 1756, the American conflict had spread to Europe, where it was known as the Seven Years' War, and pitted Britain and Prussia against France, Spain, and Austria. When Britain mounted major offensives in India, West Africa, and the West Indies as well as in North America, the conflict became the Great War for Empire.

William Pitt emerged as the architect of the British war effort. Pitt was a committed expansionist with a touch of arrogance. "I know that I can save this country and that I alone can," he boasted. A master strategist, he planned to cripple France by seizing its colonies. In North America, he enjoyed a decisive demographic advantage, since George II's 2 million subjects outnumbered the French 14 to 1. To mobilize the colonists, Pitt paid half the cost of their troops and supplied them with arms and equipment, at a cost of £1 million a year. He also committed a fleet of British ships and 30,000 British soldiers to the conflict in America.

Beginning in 1758, the powerful Anglo-American forces moved from one triumph to the next, in part because they brought Indian allies back into the fold. They forced the French to abandon Fort Duquesne (renamed Fort Pitt) and then captured Fort Louisbourg, the stronghold at the mouth of the St. Lawrence that had been captured in 1745, only to be returned at the close of the previous war. In 1759, an armada led by British general James Wolfe sailed down the St. Lawrence and took Quebec, the heart of France's American Empire. The Royal Navy prevented French reinforcements from crossing the Atlantic, allowing British forces to complete the conquest of Canada in 1760 by capturing Montreal (Map 4.3).

Elsewhere, the British likewise had great success. From Spain, the British won Cuba and the Philippine Islands. Fulfilling Pitt's dream, the East India Company ousted French traders from India, and British forces seized French Senegal in West Africa. They also captured the rich sugar islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the French West Indies, but at the insistence of the West Indian sugar lobby (which wanted to protect its monopoly), the ministry returned the islands to France in the Treaty of Paris of 1763. Despite that controversial decision, the treaty confirmed Britain's triumph. It granted Britain sovereignty over half of North America, including French Canada, all French territory east of the Mississippi River, Spanish Florida, and the recent conquests in Africa and India. Britain had forged a commercial and colonial empire that was nearly worldwide.

Though Britain had won cautious support from some Native American groups in the late stages of the war, its territorial acquisitions alarmed many Native peoples from New York to the Mississippi, who preferred the presence of a few French traders to an influx of thousands of Anglo-American settlers. To encourage the French to return, the Ottawa chief Pontiac declared, "I am French, and I want to die French." Neolin, a Delaware prophet, went further, calling for the expulsion of all white-skinned invaders: "If you suffer the English among you, you are dead men. Sickness, smallpox, and their poison [rum] will destroy you entirely." In 1763, inspired by Neolin's nativist vision, Pontiac led a major uprising at Detroit. Following his example, Indians throughout the Great Lakes and Ohio Valley seized nearly every British military garrison west of Fort Niagara, besieged Fort Pitt, and killed or captured more than 2,000 settlers.

British military expeditions defeated the Delawares near Fort Pitt and broke the siege of Detroit, but it took the army nearly two years to reclaim all the posts it had lost.

MAP 4.3 The Anglo-American Conquest of New France

After full-scale war with France began in 1756, it took almost three years for the British ministry to equip colonial forces and dispatch a sizable army to far-off America. In 1758, British and colonial troops attacked the heartland of New France, capturing Quebec in 1759 and Montreal in 1760. This conquest both united and divided the allies. Colonists celebrated the great victory: "The Illuminations and Fireworks exceeded any that had been exhibited before," reported the *South Carolina Gazette*. However, British officers had little respect for colonial soldiers. Said one, "[They are] the dirtiest, most contemptible, cowardly dogs you can conceive."

In the peace settlement, Pontiac and his allies accepted the British as their new political "fathers." The British ministry, having learned how expensive it was to control the trans-Appalachian west, issued the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which confirmed Indian control of the region and declared it off-limits to colonial settlement. It was an edict that many colonists would ignore.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the Seven Years' War reshape Britain's empire in North America and affect Native peoples?

British Industrial Growth and the Consumer Revolution

Britain owed its military and diplomatic success to its unprecedented economic resources. Since 1700, when it had wrested control of many oceanic trade routes from the Dutch, Britain had become the dominant commercial power in the Atlantic and Indian oceans. By 1750, it was also becoming the first country to use new manufacturing technology and work discipline to expand output. This combination of commerce and industry would soon make Britain the most powerful nation in the world.

Mechanical power was key to Britain's Industrial Revolution. British artisans designed and built water mills and steam engines that efficiently powered a wide array of machines: lathes for shaping wood, jennies and looms for spinning and weaving textiles, and hammers for forging iron. Compared with traditional manufacturing methods, the new power-driven machinery produced woolen and linen textiles, iron tools, furniture, and chinaware in greater quantities — and at lower cost. Moreover, the entrepreneurs running the new workshops drove their employees hard, forcing them to keep pace with the machines and work long hours. To market the abundant factory-produced goods, English and Scottish merchants extended credit to colonial shopkeepers for a full year instead of the traditional six months. Americans soon were purchasing 30 percent of all British exports.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the prosperity of the British Empire improve and endanger the lives and interests of colonists?

Nicholas Boylston, c. 1769
Merchants in the coastal and transatlantic trades gained enormous wealth in the mid-eighteenth century and displayed it in new ways. Among the most flamboyant was Nicholas Boylston. Of Boylston's home John Adams wrote, "A Seat it is for a noble Man, a Prince." In this portrait, painted by John Singleton Copley in 1769, Boylston flaunts his exotic possessions. In place of the wig he would have worn outside his home, Boylston wears a red velvet turban to keep his shaved head warm. His morning gown of heavy silk damask covers a rich waistcoat, casually unbuttoned in the middle to reveal his elegant ruffled shirt. Boylston rests his left elbow on two thick account books, an unmistakable reminder of the source of his wealth.
Boston Massachusetts Private

To pay for British manufactures, mainland colonists increased their exports of tobacco, rice, indigo, and wheat. Using credit advanced by Scottish merchants, planters in Virginia bought land, slaves, and equipment to grow tobacco, which they exported to expanding markets in France and central Europe. In South Carolina, rice planters used British government subsidies to develop indigo and rice plantations. New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia became the breadbasket of the Atlantic World, supplying Europe's exploding population with wheat.

Americans used their profits and the generous credit extended from overseas to buy English manufactures. When he was practicing law in Boston, John Adams visited the home of Nicholas Boylston, one of the city's wealthiest merchants, "to view the Furniture, which alone cost a thousand Pounds sterling," he wrote. "[T]he Marble Tables, the rich Beds with Crimson Damask Curtains and Counterpins, the Beautiful Chimny Clock, the Spacious Garden, are the most magnificent of any Thing I have ever seen." Through their possessions, well-to-do colonists set themselves apart from their humbler — or, as they might have said, more vulgar — neighbors.

Although Britain's **consumer revolution** raised living standards, it landed many consumers — and the colonies as a whole — in debt (Figure 4.4). Even during the wartime boom of the 1750s, exports paid for only 80 percent of British imports. Britain financed the remaining 20 percent — the Americans' trade deficit — through the extension of credit and Pitt's military expenditures. When the military subsidies ended in 1763, the colonies fell into an economic recession. Merchants looked anxiously at their overstocked warehouses and feared bankruptcy. "I think we have a gloomy prospect before us," a Philadelphia trader noted in 1765. The increase in transatlantic trade had made Americans more dependent on overseas credit and markets.

The Struggle for Land in the East

In good times and bad, the population continued to grow, intensifying the demand for **arable** land. Consider the experience of Kent, Connecticut. Like earlier generations, Kent's residents had moved inland to establish new farms, but Kent stood at the colony's western boundary. To provide for the next generation, many Kent families joined the Susquehanna Company (1749), which speculated in lands in the Wyoming Valley in present-day northeastern Pennsylvania. As settlers took up farmsteads there, the company urged the Connecticut legislature to claim the region on the basis of Connecticut's

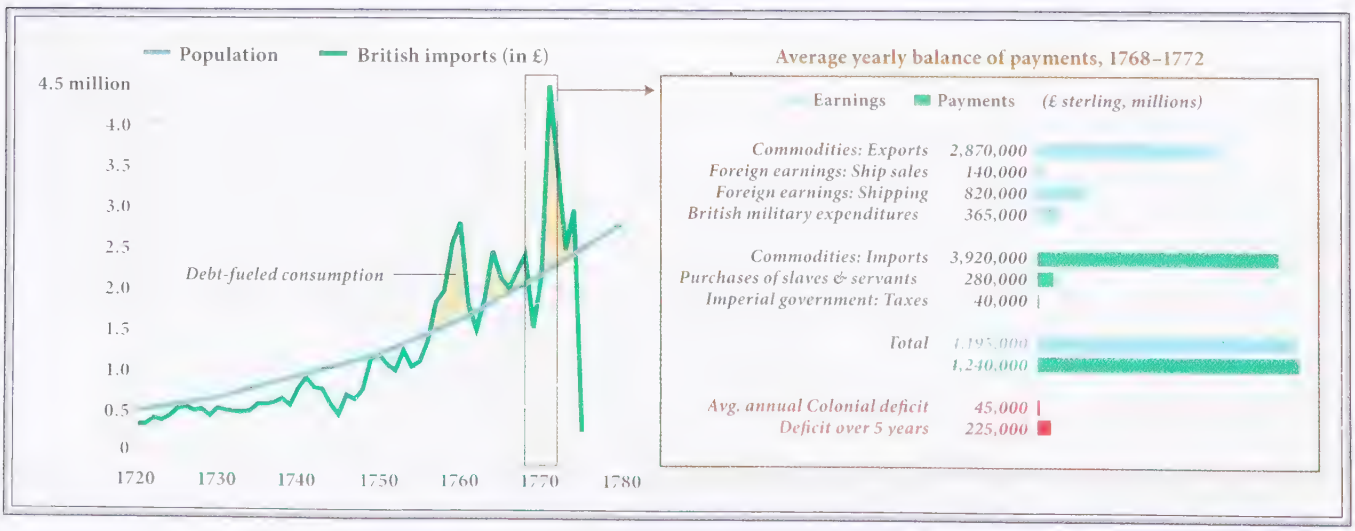


FIGURE 4.4 Mainland Population and British Imports
Around 1750, British imports were growing at a faster rate than the American population, indicating that the colonists were consuming more per capita. But Americans went into debt to pay for these goods, running an annual trade deficit with their British suppliers that by 1772 had created a cumulative debt of £2 million.

"sea-to-sea" royal charter of 1662. However, Charles II had also granted the Wyoming Valley to William Penn, and the Penn family had sold farms there to Pennsylvania residents. By the late 1750s, settlers from Connecticut and Pennsylvania were at war, burning down their rivals' houses and barns. Delawares with their own claim to the valley were caught in the crossfire. In April 1763, the Delaware headman Teedyuscung was burned to death in his cabin; in retaliation, Teedyuscung's son Captain Bull led a war party that destroyed a community of Connecticut settlers.

Simultaneously, three distinct but related land disputes broke out in the Hudson River Valley (Map 4.4). Dutch tenant farmers, Wappinger Indians, and migrants from Massachusetts asserted ownership rights to lands long claimed by manorial families such as the Van Rensselaers and the Livingstons. When the manor lords turned to the legal system to uphold their claims, Dutch and English farmers in Westchester, Dutchess, and Albany counties rioted to close the courts. In response, New York's royal governor ordered British troops to assist local sheriffs and manorial bailiffs: they suppressed the tenant uprisings, intimidated the Wappingers, and evicted the Massachusetts squatters.

Other land disputes erupted in New Jersey and the southern colonies, where landlords and English aristocrats had successfully revived legal claims based on long-dormant seventeenth-century charters. One court decision allowed Lord Granville, the heir of an original Carolina proprietor, to collect an annual tax on land in North Carolina; another decision awarded ownership of the entire northern neck of Virginia (along the Potomac River) to Lord Fairfax.

The revival of these proprietary claims by manorial lords and English nobles testified to the rising value of land along the Atlantic coastal plain. It also underscored the increasing similarities between rural societies in Europe and America. To avoid the status of European peasants, native-born yeomen and tenant families joined the stream of European migrants searching for cheap land near the Appalachian Mountains.

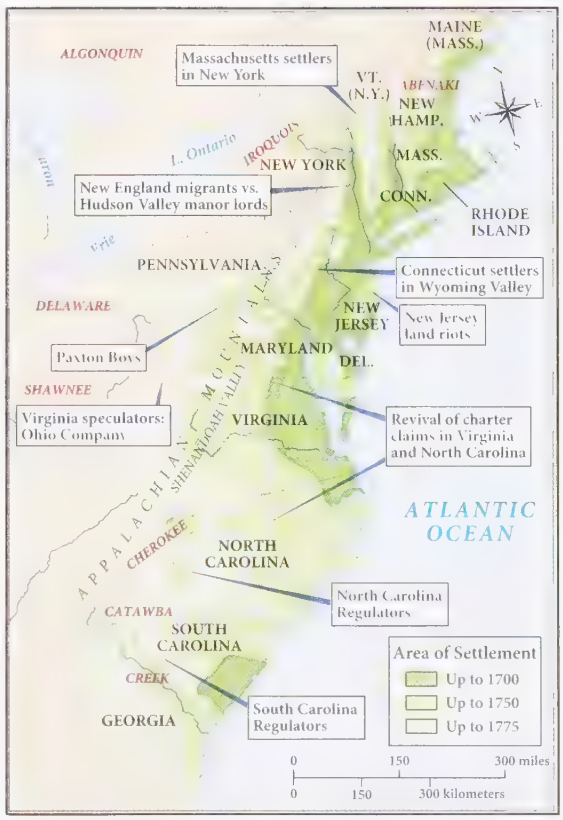
AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the reasons that limitations set by the Proclamation of 1763 angered colonists is critical on the AP® exam.

Western Rebels and Regulators

As would-be landowners moved west, they sparked conflicts over Indian policy, political representation, and debts. During the war with France, Delaware and Shawnee warriors had exacted revenge for Thomas Penn's land swindle of 1737 by destroying frontier farms in Pennsylvania and killing hundreds of residents. Scots-Irish settlers demanded the expulsion of all Indians, but Quaker leaders refused. So in 1763, a group of Scots-Irish frontiersmen called the Paxton Boys massacred twenty Conestoga Indians, an **assimilated** community that had lived alongside their colonist neighbors peacefully for many years. When Governor John Penn tried to bring the murderers to justice, 250 armed Scots-Irishmen advanced on Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin intercepted the angry mob at Lancaster and arranged a truce, averting a battle with the militia. Prosecution of the Paxton Boys failed for lack of witnesses, and the episode gave their defenders the opportunity to **excoriate** Pennsylvania's government for protecting Indians while it neglected the interests of backcountry colonists.

The South Carolina Regulators Violence also broke out in the backcountry of South Carolina, where land-hungry Scottish and Anglo-American settlers clashed repeatedly with Cherokees during the war with France. After the fighting ended in 1763, a group of landowning vigilantes known as the **Regulators** demanded that the eastern-controlled government provide western districts with more courts, fairer taxation, and greater representation in the assembly. "We



MAP 4.4 Westward Expansion and Land Conflicts, 1750–1775

Between 1750 and 1775, the mainland colonial population more than doubled — from 1.2 million to 2.5 million — triggering westward migrations and legal battles over land, which had become increasingly valuable. Violence broke out in eastern areas, where tenant farmers and smallholders contested landlords' property claims based on ancient titles; and in the backcountry, where migrating settlers fought with Indians, rival claimants, and the officials of eastern-dominated governments.

are *Free-Men* — British Subjects — Not Born *Slaves*," declared a Regulator manifesto. Fearing slave revolts, the lowland rice planters who ran the South Carolina assembly compromised. In 1767, the assembly created western courts and reduced the fees for legal documents; but it refused to reapportion the legislature or lower western taxes. Like the Paxton Boys in Pennsylvania, the South Carolina Regulators won attention to backcountry needs but failed to wrest power from the eastern elite.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the causes and impact of the Regulator movement of the 1760s to Bacon's Rebellion in the 1670s.

Civil Strife in North Carolina In 1766, a more radical Regulator movement arose in North Carolina. When the economic recession of the early 1760s brought a sharp fall in tobacco prices, many farmers could not pay their debts. When creditors sued these farmers for payment, judges directed sheriffs to seize the debtors' property. Many backcountry farmers lost their property or ended up in jail for resisting court orders.

To save their farms, North Carolina's debtors defied the government's authority. Disciplined mobs intimidated judges, closed courts, and freed their comrades from jail. The Regulators proposed a series of reforms, including lower legal fees and tax payments in the "produce of the country" rather than in cash. They also demanded greater representation in the assembly and a just revenue system that would tax each person "in proportion to the profits arising from his estate." All to no avail. In May 1771, Royal Governor William Tryon mobilized British troops and the eastern militia, which defeated a large Regulator force at the Alamance River. When the fighting ended, thirty men lay dead, and Tryon summarily executed seven insurgent leaders. Not since Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in 1675 and the colonial uprisings during the Glorious Revolution of 1688 (see Chapters 2 and 3) had a colonial dispute caused so much political agitation.

In 1771, as in 1675 and 1688, colonial conflicts became linked with imperial politics. In Connecticut, the Reverend Ezra Stiles defended the North Carolina Regulators. "What shall an injured & oppressed people do," he asked, "[when faced with] Oppression and tyranny?" Stiles's remarks reflected growing resistance to recently imposed British policies of taxation and control. The American colonies still depended primarily on Britain for their trade and military defense. However, by the 1760s, the mainland settlements had evolved into complex societies with the potential to exist independently. British policies would play a crucial role in determining the direction the maturing colonies would take.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did midcentury developments reflect Britain's deepening connections to North America?

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we observed dramatic changes in British North America between 1720 and 1763. An astonishing surge in population — from 400,000 to almost 2 million — was the combined result of natural increase, European migration, and the African slave trade. The print revolution and the rise of the British Atlantic world brought important new influences: the European Enlightenment and European Pietism transformed the world of ideas, while a flood of British consumer goods and the genteel aspirations of wealthy colonists reshaped the colonies' material culture.

Colonists confronted three major regional challenges. In New England, crowded towns and ever-smaller farms threatened the yeoman ideal of independent farming, prompting families to limit births, move to the frontier, or participate in an "exchange" economy. In the Middle Atlantic colonies, Dutch, English, German, and Scots-Irish residents maintained their religious and cultural identities while they competed for access to land and political power. Across the backcountry, new interest in western lands triggered conflicts with Indian peoples, civil unrest among whites, and, ultimately, the Great War for Empire. In the aftermath of the fighting, Britain stood triumphant in Europe and America.

CHAPTER 4 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What goals and values shaped New England society in the eighteenth century?
2. How were the goals of immigrants to the Middle colonies similar to those of New England colonists, and how did they differ?
3. How did the accelerating pace of travel and communication affect colonial society and culture?
4. How did midcentury developments reflect Britain's deepening connections to North America?
5. Review the events listed under "American and National Identity" and "Work, Exchange, and Technology" for the period 1720–1750 on the thematic timeline on page 72. How did economic developments in the colonies influence the formation of new cultural identities in this era?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

tenancy (p. 108)
competency (p. 109)
coverture (p. 112)
household mode of production (p. 112)
squatters (p. 114)
redemptioner (p. 116)
Enlightenment (p. 118)
Pietism (p. 118)
natural rights (p. 120)
deism (p. 121)
revival (p. 121)
Old Lights (p. 124)
New Lights (p. 124)
consumer revolution (p. 132)
Regulators (p. 133)

Key People

Isaac Newton (p. 120)
John Locke (p. 120)
Benjamin Franklin (p. 120)
Jonathan Edwards (p. 121)
George Whitefield (p. 124)
Tanaghrisson (p. 129)
William Pitt (p. 129)
Pontiac (p. 130)

Key Academic Terms

midwife (p. 109)
currency (p. 112)
cohesion (p. 116)
conscription (p. 116)
burgeoning (p. 118)
inoculate (p. 120)
itinerant (p. 125)
sprawl (p. 127)
arable (p. 132)
assimilation (p. 133)
excoriate (p. 133)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. In Chapter 3 we saw the rise of the South Atlantic System, an engine of economic growth that tied Britain's colonies more closely together and generated prosperity throughout the British Atlantic world. What consequences of that integration and prosperity are evident in the topics discussed in this chapter? How was the Great War for Empire grounded in earlier economic developments? And how did the postwar debt crisis grow out of the South Atlantic System?
2. Return to the John Collet painting of George Whitefield that opened the chapter (p. 107). How does Collet portray Whitefield's audience? Consider the postures and facial expressions of individual members of the crowd and imagine what might have been running through their minds as they listened. What do the various elements of this painting (the crowd, tankard of ale, sleeping dog, setting) suggest about the Great Awakening's appeal? About Collet's attitude toward evangelical preaching?

KEY TURNING POINTS

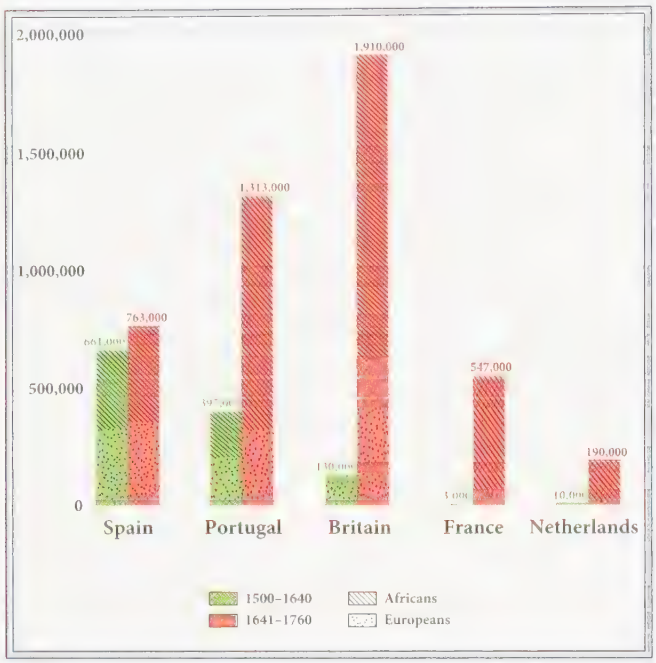
Refer to the chapter chronology on page 108 for help in answering the questions below.

The Ohio Company grant (1748), the formation of the Susquehanna Company (1749), land conflict along the New York and New England border (1760s), and the defeat of the North Carolina Regulators (1771): How do these events reveal tensions over the question of who would control the development of frontier lands in Britain's mainland North American colonies? What were the effects of these conflicts on Native American populations?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the graph below.



Transatlantic Migration

Source of Data: Stanley L. Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, "Factor Endowments, Institutions, and Differential Paths of Growth Among New World Economies: A View from Economic Historians of the United States," in *How Latin America Fell Behind: Essays on the Economic Histories of Brazil and Mexico, 1800–1914*, ed. Stephen Haber (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 264.

1. The population trend reflected on the graph for the colonies of France and the Netherlands most directly resulted from which government policies?
   a. Seeking to subjugate and enslave American Indians
   b. Allowing intermarriage and fostering trade alliances with American Indians
   c. Prompting agriculture and settlement on land taken from American Indians
   d. Defining caste systems and regulating the labor and taxes paid to the state
2. After 1640, the migration trends to British colonies depicted on the graph led to which of the following?
   a. Increased British colonial conflicts with American Indians over land, resources, and political boundaries
   b. Greater colonial resistance to Anglicization and intercolonial commercial ties
   c. Diminished colonial rivalry between Britain and France
   d. Reduced cultural pluralism and intercolonial intellectual exchange
3. The long-term effects of the migration trends portrayed on the graph are most directly explained by
   a. mutual misunderstandings between Europeans and American Indians.
   b. participation by all British colonies to varying degrees in the Atlantic slave trade.
   c. the decline in the *encomienda* system in the Spanish colonies.
   d. French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies alliance with, and arming of, American Indian groups.

Questions 4–5 refer to the following excerpt.

> "If you would be wealthy . . . *think of Saving as well as Getting:* the Indies *have not made* Spain *rich, because her* Outgoes are greater than her Incomes. Away then with you expensive Follies, and you will not have so much Cause to complain of hard Times, [and] heavy Taxes. . . . *'Tis easier to suppress the first Desire, than to satisfy all that follow it* . . . think what you do when you run in Debt; *You give another Power over your Liberty*. . .
>
> This Doctrine, my Friends, is *Reason* and *Wisdom*; but after all, do not depend too much upon your own *Industry*, and *Frugality*, and *Prudence*, though excellent Things, for they all may be blasted without the Blessing of Heaven; and therefore ask that Blessing humbly, and be not uncharitable to those that at present seem to want it, but comfort and help them."
>
> Benjamin Franklin, "Father Abraham's Speech" from *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1757

4. Which of the following developments led most directly to the publication of *Poor Richard's Almanac*?
   a. The rise of Protestant evangelism in the mid-eighteenth century
   b. The cultural exchanges generated by transatlantic print culture
   c. The experiences and experiments in colonial self-government
   d. Romantic beliefs in human perfectibility spreading in reaction to the Enlightenment
5. All of the following persons or groups would have been likely to agree with the point of view of the excerpt EXCEPT
   a. a Baptist minister.
   b. members of the colonial commercial elite.
   c. an Enlightenment scholar.
   d. an indentured servant.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"The extremely heterogeneous population confronted Pennsylvania with a unique set of problems that could have impeded the creation of a stable society. Nevertheless, despite the inevitable tensions, exacerbated by waves of new immigration, war, and religious conflict, colonial Pennsylvanians managed to develop new ideals of pluralism and tolerance on which they built their province. . . . William Penn set forth a new ideological basis for pluralism and tolerance that transformed the tentative pattern of relative harmony and toleration into one of official policy. . . . [H]e drafted a series of constitutions that guaranteed religious freedom and promoted his colony not only in the British Isles but on the Continent as well."

Sally Schwartz, *A Mixed Multitude: The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania*, 1987

"Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, northern Maryland, and parts of New York — colonies that together made the eighteenth century mid-Atlantic perhaps the most racially, ethnically, and religiously mixed place in the world . . . were unintended byproducts of a force that is now alien: early modern settler colonialism, in which huge numbers of Europeans and Africans were drawn across the ocean, in freedom and in bondage, and replanted in new landscapes. . . . With few exceptions, living together made the different sorts of people living there feel frightened of one another's intentions. Forced proximity brought many groups to a fresh appreciation for their own distinctive ways, ways they thought of as "traditional" and fought to recover amid the disturbing novelties that came with diversity. Most strove both to make the other peoples around them act more like themselves and keep, if they could, from coming to resemble their neighbors, making for a jittery, culturally competitive society."

Peter Silver, *Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America*, 2008

1. Using the two excerpts at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Schwartz's and Silver's historical interpretations about the influence of demography in shaping colonial society between 1650 and 1763.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event, development, or circumstance from the period 1650 to 1763 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Schwartz's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event, development, or circumstance from the period 1650 to 1763 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Silver's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain why ONE of the following choices was the largest factor influencing American colonists to reject their identity as subjects of the British Empire.
     - The ideas of the Enlightenment
     - The end of the Seven Years' War
     - The first Great Awakening
   - **b.** Provide ONE specific historical example to support your argument in (a).
   - **c.** Provide specific evidence why ONE of the other options was a less important factor influencing colonists to reject their identity as subjects of the British Empire.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE important difference in the development of the New England and Middle colonies in the period 1720–1763.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ANOTHER important difference in the development of the New England and Middle colonies in the period 1720–1763.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE important similarity between the New England and Middle colonies in the same period.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent of change in the labor systems of the British North American colonies between 1600 and 1750.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: The General Court of Massachusetts, *An Act of Assessment on Spinning*, 1655.

"This Court . . . Does therefore Order . . . That all hands not necessarily employed on other occasions, as Women, Girls and Boys, shall and hereby are enjoined to Spin according to their skill and ability; and that the Select men in every Town do consider the condition and capacity of every family, and accordingly do assess them at one or more Spinners; And because Several Families are necessarily employed the greatest part of their time in other business, yet if opportunities were attended, some time might be spared, at least be some of them for this work. . . ."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Gabriel Thomas, *An Historical Description [of Pennsylvania]*, 1698.

"I must say, even the present encouragements are very great and inviting for poor people (both men and women) of all kinds, can here get three times the wages for their Labor they can in England or Wales.

I shall instance in a few. . . . The first was a blacksmith (my next neighbor) who himself and one Negro man he had, got fifty shillings in one day, by working up a hundred pound weight of iron. . . . And for carpenters, both house and ship, bricklayers, masons, either of these tradesmen will get between five and six shillings every day constantly. As to journeymen shoemakers, they have two shillings per pair both for men and women's shoes; and journeymen tailors have 12 shillings per week. . . .

The maidservant's wages is commonly between six and ten pounds per annum, with very good accommodation. And for the women who get their livelihood by their own industry, their Labor is very dear. . . .

[T]he chief reason why wages of servants of all sorts is much higher here than there, arises from the great fertility and produce of the place; if these large stipends were refused them, they would quickly set up for themselves. . . .

First, their land costs them little or nothing in comparison [to] the farmers in England. . . . In the second place, they have constantly good price for their corn, by reason of the great and quick vent [trade] into Barbados and other Islands; through which means silver is become more plentiful than here in England. . . . Thirdly they pay no tithes and their Taxes are inconsiderable. . . ."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: Estimated Number of White and Black Headrights to Virginia.

Years	White Headrights	Black Headrights
1650–1659	18,836	317
1660–1669	18,369	609
1670–1679	13,867	411
1680–1689	10,401	619
1690–1699	9,379	1,847

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, 1705.

"Slaves are the Negroes . . . following the condition of the Mother, . . . They are called Slaves, in respect of the time of their Servitude, because it is for Life.

Servants, are those which serve for only a few years, according to the time of the Indenture, or the Custom of the Country. . . .

The Male-Servants, and Slaves of both Sexes, are employed together in Tilling and Manuring the Ground, in Sowing and Planting Tobacco, Corn, etc. Some Distinction indeed is made between them in the Clothes, and Food; but the Work of both, is no other than what the Overseers, the Freemen, and the Planters themselves do.

Sufficient Distinction is also made between the Female-Servants and Slaves; for a White Woman is rarely or never put to work in the Ground [fields], if she be good for anything else. . . .

The work of their Servants and Slaves, is no other than what every common Freeman does. Neither is any freeman required to do more in a day than his Overseer. And I can assure you with a great deal of Truth, that generally their Slaves are not worked near so hard, nor so many Hours in a day, as the Husbandmen [Farmers], and Day-Laborers in *England*. An Overseer is a Man, that having served his time, has acquired the Skill and Character of an experienced Planter, and is therefore entrusted with the Direction of the Servants and Slaves."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: *An Indentured Contract of Apprenticeship between William Matthews and Thomas Windover*, 1718.

"I, William Mathews . . . of the city of New York . . . does voluntarily and of his own free will . . . put himself as an apprentice cordwainer [shoemaker] to Thomas Windover. . . .

[William Mathews] will live and . . . serve from August 15, 1718, until the full term of seven years be completed and ended. . . . [He] shall faithfully serve his master, shall faithfully keep his secrets, and gladly obey his lawful commands everywhere. . . . He shall not waste his said master's goods nor lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not . . . contract matrimony within the [seven years].

At cards, dice, or any other unlawful game, he shall not play. . . with his own goods or the goods of others. Without a license from his master he shall neither buy nor sell during the said term. He shall not absent himself day or night from his master's service without his leave, not haunt alehouses, but in all things he shall behave himself as a faithful apprentice toward his master. . . .

The master . . . shall, by the best means or methods, teach or cause the apprentice to be taught the art or mystery of a cordwainer. He shall find and provide unto the said apprentice sufficient meat, drink, apparel, lodging, and washing fit for an apprentice. During the said term, every night in winter he shall give the apprentice one quarter of schooling. At the expiration of the said term he shall provide him with a sufficient new suit of apparel, four shirts, and two necklets."

DOCUMENT 6

Source: South Carolina Assembly, *An Act for the Better Ordering and Governing of Negroes and Other Slaves in This Province*, 1740.

"I. *And be it enacted* . . . That all Negroes and Indians . . . mullatoes or mestizos who now are, or shall hereafter be, in this Province, and all their issue and offspring, born or to be born, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be, and remain forever hereafter, absolute slaves. . . .

II. . . . *Be it further enacted* . . . That no person whatsoever shall permit or suffer any slave under his or their care or management . . . to go out of the plantation . . . without a letter. . . .

XXX. *And be it further enacted* . . . That no slave who shall dwell, reside, inhabit, or be usually employed in Charlestown, shall presume to buy, sell, deal, traffic, barter, exchange or use commerce for any goods, wares, provisions, grain, victuals [foodstuffs], or commodities, of any sort or kind whatsoever. . . .

XLIII. . . . *Be it therefore enacted* . . . That no men slaves exceeding seven in number, shall herein be permitted to travel together in any high road in this Province, without some white person with them; and it shall and may be lawful for any [white] person or persons . . . to apprehend all and every such slaves, and shall and may whip them, not exceeding twenty lashes on the bare back.

LVI. And whereas, several Negroes did lately rise in rebellion, and did commit many barbarous murders at Stono and in other parts adjacent thereto; and whereas, in suppressing the said rebels, several of them were killed and others taken alive and executed. . . . Be it enacted . . . That all and every act . . . committed, and executed, in and about suppressing and putting all . . . the said . . . Negroes to death, is and are hereby declared lawful, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. . . ."

DOCUMENT 7

Source: Benjamin Franklin, observations on the population of Pennsylvania in his essay "Observations Concerning the Increasing of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, &c," 1751.

"Land being thus plenty in America, and so cheap as that a laboring Man, that understands Husbandry [agriculture], can in a short Time save Money enough to purchase a Piece of new Land sufficient for a Plantation, whereon he may subsist a family; such are not afraid to marry. . . .

Labor will never be cheap here, where no man continues long a laborer for others, but gets a plantation of his own; no man continues long a journeyman to a trade, but goes among those new settlers, and sets up for himself, etc. Hence labor is no cheaper now in Pennsylvania than it was thirty years ago, though so many thousand laboring people have been imported. . . .

The labor of slaves can never be so cheap here as the labor of workingmen is in Britain. . . . Why then will Americans purchase slaves? Because slaves may be kept as long as a man pleases, or has occasion for their labor; while hired men are continually leaving their masters (often in the midst of business) and setting up for themselves."

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following three questions to answer.

2. **Evaluate the extent to which British mercantilist policies affected the economic development of the New England colonies between 1660 and 1754.**

3. **Evaluate the extent to which the chattel slave system affected the economic development of the Chesapeake colonies between 1660 and 1754.**

4. **Evaluate the extent to which imperial rivalry affected the economic development of the Southernmost Atlantic Coast colonies of the Carolinas and Georgia between 1660 and 1754.**

PART 3

CHAPTER 5
The Problem of Empire, 1754–1776

CHAPTER 6
Making War and Republican Governments, 1776–1789

CHAPTER 7
Hammering Out a Federal Republic, 1787–1820

Revolution and Republican Culture

1754–1800

Although Part 3 is dominated by the causes and consequences of the War of Independence, it opens in 1754 to capture the changes wrought by the Great War for Empire, which were revolutionary in themselves — Britain had triumphed in the war, only to see its American empire unravel and descend into rebellion. Against all odds, thirteen colonies first united to win their independence, and then formed a federal republic that could claim a place among the nations of the world. "The American war is over," Philadelphia Patriot Benjamin Rush declared in 1787, "but this is far from being the case with the American Revolution. On the contrary, nothing but the first act of the great drama is closed. It remains yet to establish and perfect our new forms of government."

The republican revolution extended far beyond politics. It challenged many of the values and institutions that had prevailed for centuries in Europe and the Atlantic world. After 1776, Americans reconsidered basic assumptions that structured their societies, cultures, families, and communities. These social and cultural effects of the Revolution were only beginning to take shape by 1800, but we end Part 3 there, when the essential characteristics of the United States were becoming clear. (Chapter 7 carries the political story forward to 1820 in order to trace key themes to their conclusion, but Part 4 takes 1800 as its start date.) This periodization — 1754 to 1800 — captures a critical phase in American history: the transition from imperial rivalry and wars among European powers and Native societies to the founding of a new nation-state and its political institutions. Three principal developments are discussed in Part 3: ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

From British North America to the United States of America

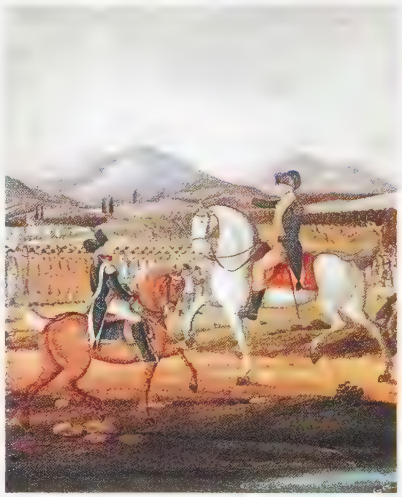
To administer the vast new American territory it gained in 1763, Britain had to reform its empire. Until that time, its colonies had been left largely free to manage their own affairs. Now, Parliament hoped to pay the costs of empire by taxing the colonies, while at the same time extending control over its new lands in the continental interior. Colonial radicals resisted these reforms. Calling themselves Patriots, they insisted on preserving local control over taxes. As Britain pressured local communities, colonists created intercolonial institutions and developed a broad critique of British rule that combined older, republican political principles with radical ideas of natural rights and the equality of all men. Their protests grew more strident, eventually resulting in open warfare with Great Britain and a declaration of independence.

The Granger Collection, New York

Experiments in Government

At the same time they fought a war against Great Britain, Patriot leaders in the newly independent states had to create new governments. They drafted constitutions for their states while maintaining a loose confederacy to bind them together. In 1787, reformers put forward a new plan of government: a constitution that would bind the states into a single nation.

The new American republic emerged fitfully. Experiments in government took shape across an entire generation, and it took still longer to decide how much power the federal republic should wield over the states. Political culture was unformed and slow to develop. Political parties, for example, were an unexpected development. At first they were widely regarded as illegitimate, but by 1800 they had become essential to managing political conflict, heightening some forms of competition while blunting others. In the last half of the eighteenth century, American political culture was transformed as newly created governments gained the allegiance of their citizens.



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Conquest, Competition, and Consolidation

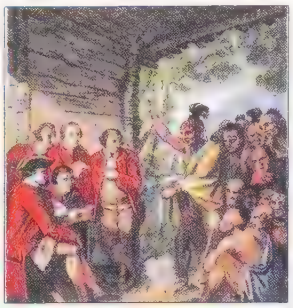
One uncontested value of the Revolutionary era was a commitment to economic opportunity. To achieve this, people migrated in large numbers, creating new pressures on the United States to meet the needs of its citizens. The federal government acted against westerners who tried to rebel or secede, fought Indian wars to claim new territory, and turned back challenges from Britain and France to maintain its control over western lands. By 1820, the United States had dramatically expanded its boundaries and extended control far beyond the original seaboard states.

Even as the borders of the United States expanded, its diversity inhibited the effort to define an American culture and identity. Native Americans still lived in their own clans and nations; black Americans were developing a distinct African American culture; and white Americans were enmeshed in vigorous regional ethnic communities. But by 1800, to be an American meant, for many members of the dominant white population, to be a republican, a Protestant, and an enterprising individual.

mithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, D.
Resource, NY

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

Revolution and Republican Culture 1754–1800



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This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes.

Consider the items listed under the theme "Culture and Society." How did the American Revolution challenge existing social arrangements? Consider the role of religion in American life, the status of women, and the institution of slavery. What tensions developed as a result of those challenges?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1763	• Concept of popular sovereignty gains force • Colonists claim rights of Englishmen	• Stamp Act Congress (1765) • First Continental Congress (1774) • Second Continental Congress (1775)	• Merchants defy Sugar and Stamp Acts • Patriots mount three boycotts of British goods, in 1765, 1767, and 1774 • Boycotts spur Patriot women to make textiles
1776	• Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) causes colonists to rethink political loyalties • New state constitutions rely on property qualifications to define citizenship rights	• The Declaration of Independence (1776) • States adopt republican constitutions (1776 on) • Articles of Confederation ratified (1781) • Treaty of Paris (1783)	• Manufacturing expands during the war • Cutoff of trade and severe inflation threaten economy • War debt grows
1787	• Indians form Western Confederacy (1790) • Second Great Awakening (1790–1860) • Emerging political divide between South and North	• U.S. Constitution drafted (1787) • Conflict over Alexander Hamilton's economic policies • First national parties: Federalists and Republicans	• Bank of the United States founded (1791) • Land speculation increases in the West • Whiskey producers rebel against taxes (1794) • War in Europe raises wheat prices in Chesapeake and Middle colonies • Invention of cotton gin creates boom in cotton production
1800	• Marshall's Supreme Court affirms national over state powers	• Jefferson reduces activism of national government; end of First Party System • Chief Justice Marshall asserts federal judicial powers • "Era of Good Feeling" in politics	• Congress cuts off Atlantic slave trade (1808) • Eastern farmers change crop mix and upgrade equipment

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• Patriots call for American unity • The idea of natural rights challenges the institution of chattel slavery	• Migration into the Ohio Valley after Pontiac's Rebellion • Quebec Act (1774) allows Catholicism	• The trans-Appalachian west attracts the interest of settlers and investors • Ohio Indians resist Anglo-American expansion	• France and Spain cede all their territories east of the Mississippi River to Britain in the Treaty of Paris (1763) • Patriots invade Canada (1775)	1763
• Judith Sargent Murray publishes "On the Equality of the Sexes" (1779) • Emancipation of slaves begins in the North • Virginia enacts religious freedom (1786)	• Declining immigration from Europe (1775–1820) enhances American identity • African American slaves seek freedom through military service	• The vast geographical scale of the American Revolution poses challenges for its combatants	• Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) assaults monarchy • U.S. alliances with France (1778) and Spain (1779) virtually ensure a Patriot victory	1770
• Politicians and ministers deny vote to women; praise republican motherhood • Bill of Rights ratified (1791) • Sedition Act limits freedom of the press (1798)	• State cessions, land ordinances, and Indian wars create national domain in the West • The Alien Act makes it harder for immigrants to become citizens and allows for deporting aliens (1798)	• The Northwest Ordinance and sham Indian treaties open western land to settlement	• War between Britain and France puts American neutrality at risk • The French Revolution divides Americans	1787
• Handsome Lake preaches a middle path between Indian and Christian traditions	• Conflicts with Native Americans increase as settlers move west	• The Louisiana Purchase (1803) nearly doubles the size of the United States • The West is explored by Lewis and Clark (1804–1806)	• Napoleonic Wars lead to British impressment of American sailors • Jefferson enacts Embargo Act of 1807 • Battle of Tippecanoe eliminates threat from Western Confederacy • War of 1812 fought; Jackson's victory raises nation's pride • Monroe Doctrine (1823) asserts American leadership in Western Hemisphere	1800

CHAPTER 5

The Problem of Empire

1754–1776

An Empire Transformed

The Costs of Empire

George Grenville and the Reform Impulse

An Open Challenge: The Stamp Act

The Dynamics of Rebellion, 1765–1770

Formal Protests and the Politics of the Crowd

The Ideological Roots of Resistance

Another Kind of Freedom

Parliament and Patriots Square Off Again

The Problem of the West

Parliament Wavers

The Road to Independence, 1771–1776

A Compromise Repudiated

The Continental Congress Responds

The Rising of the Countryside

Loyalists and Neutrals

Violence East and West

Lord Dunmore's War

Armed Resistance in Massachusetts

The Second Continental Congress Organizes for War

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*

Independence Declared

AP LEARNING FOCUS

Was colonial independence inevitable, and was war the only way to achieve it?

In June 1775, the city of New York faced a perplexing dilemma. Word arrived that George Washington, who had just been named commander in chief of the newly formed Continental army, was coming to town. But on the same day, William Tryon, the colony's crown-appointed governor, was scheduled to return from Britain. Local leaders orchestrated a delicate dance. Though the Provincial Congress was operating illegally in the eyes of the crown, it did not wish to offend Governor Tryon. It instructed the city's newly raised volunteer battalion to divide in two. One company awaited Washington's arrival, while another prepared to greet the governor. The "residue of the Battalion" was to be "ready to receive either the General or Governour *Tryon*, which ever shall first arrive." Washington arrived first. He was met by nine companies of the volunteer battalion and a throng of well-wishers, who escorted him to his rooms in a local tavern. Many of this same crowd then crossed town to join the large group assembled to greet the governor, whose ship was just landing. The crowd met him with "universal shouts of applause" and accompanied him home.

This awkward moment in the history of one American city reflects a larger crisis of loyalty that plagued colonists throughout British North America in the years between 1763 and 1776. The outcome of the Great War for Empire left Great Britain the undisputed master of eastern North America. But that success pointed the way to catastrophe. Convinced of the need to reform the empire and tighten its administration, British policymakers imposed a series of new administrative measures on the colonies. Accustomed as they were to governing their own affairs, colonists could not accept these changes. Yet the bonds of loyalty were strong, and the unraveling of British authority was tortuous and complex. Only gradually — as militancy slowly mounted on both sides — were the ties of empire broken and independence declared.

The Great New York Fire of 1776 In the wake of the Declaration of Independence, General William Howe's first objective was to capture New York, with its strategic location and excellent harbor. Patriot forces under George Washington's command attempted to defend the city but were forced into retreat and abandoned it to the British in September 1776. Early in the morning of September 21, a fire broke out near the southern tip of Manhattan and burned northwestward, driven by a strong wind. As many as a quarter of the town's buildings were destroyed; residents, already distressed by the fighting, fled into the streets with whatever possessions they could carry. Each side accused the other of arson, but that charge was never proven. From The New York Public Library, http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5[illegible]

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1763
- Proclamation Line limits white settlement

1764
- Sugar Act and Currency Act
- Colonists oppose vice-admiralty courts

1765
- Stamp Act imposes direct tax
- Quartering Act requires barracks for British troops
- Stamp Act Congress meets
- Americans boycott British goods

1766
- First compromise: Stamp Act repealed
- Declaratory Act passed

1767
- Townshend duties

1768
- Second American boycott

1770
- Second compromise: partial repeal of Townshend Act
- Boston Massacre

1772
- Committees of correspondence form

1773
- Tea Act leads to Boston Tea Party

1774
- Coercive Acts punish Massachusetts
- Dunmore's War against the Shawnees
- Continental Congress meets
- Third American boycott

1775
- General Gage marches to Lexington and Concord
- Second Continental Congress creates Continental army
- Lord Dunmore recruits Loyalist slaves
- Patriots invade Canada and skirmish with Loyalists in South
- Western settlers occupy Kentucky

1776
- Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*
- Declaration of Independence

An Empire Transformed

The war that began as the French and Indian War in 1754 and culminated in the Great War for Empire of 1756–1763 (Chapter 4) transformed the British Empire in North America. The British ministry could no longer let the colonies manage their own affairs while it minimally oversaw Atlantic trade. Its interests and responsibilities now extended far into the continental interior — a much more costly and complicated proposition than it had ever faced before. And neither its American colonies nor their Native American neighbors were inclined to cooperate in the transformation.

British administrators worried about their American colonists, who, according to former Georgia governor Henry Ellis, felt themselves "entitled to a greater measure of Liberty than is enjoyed by the people of England." Ireland had been closely ruled for decades, and recently the East India Company set up dominion over millions of non-British peoples (Map 5.1 and AP® America in the World). Britain's American possessions were likewise filled with aliens and "undesirables": "French, Dutch, Germans innumerable, Indians, Africans, and a multitude of felons from this country," as one member of Parliament put it. Consequently, declared Lord Halifax, "The people of England" considered Americans "as foreigners."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

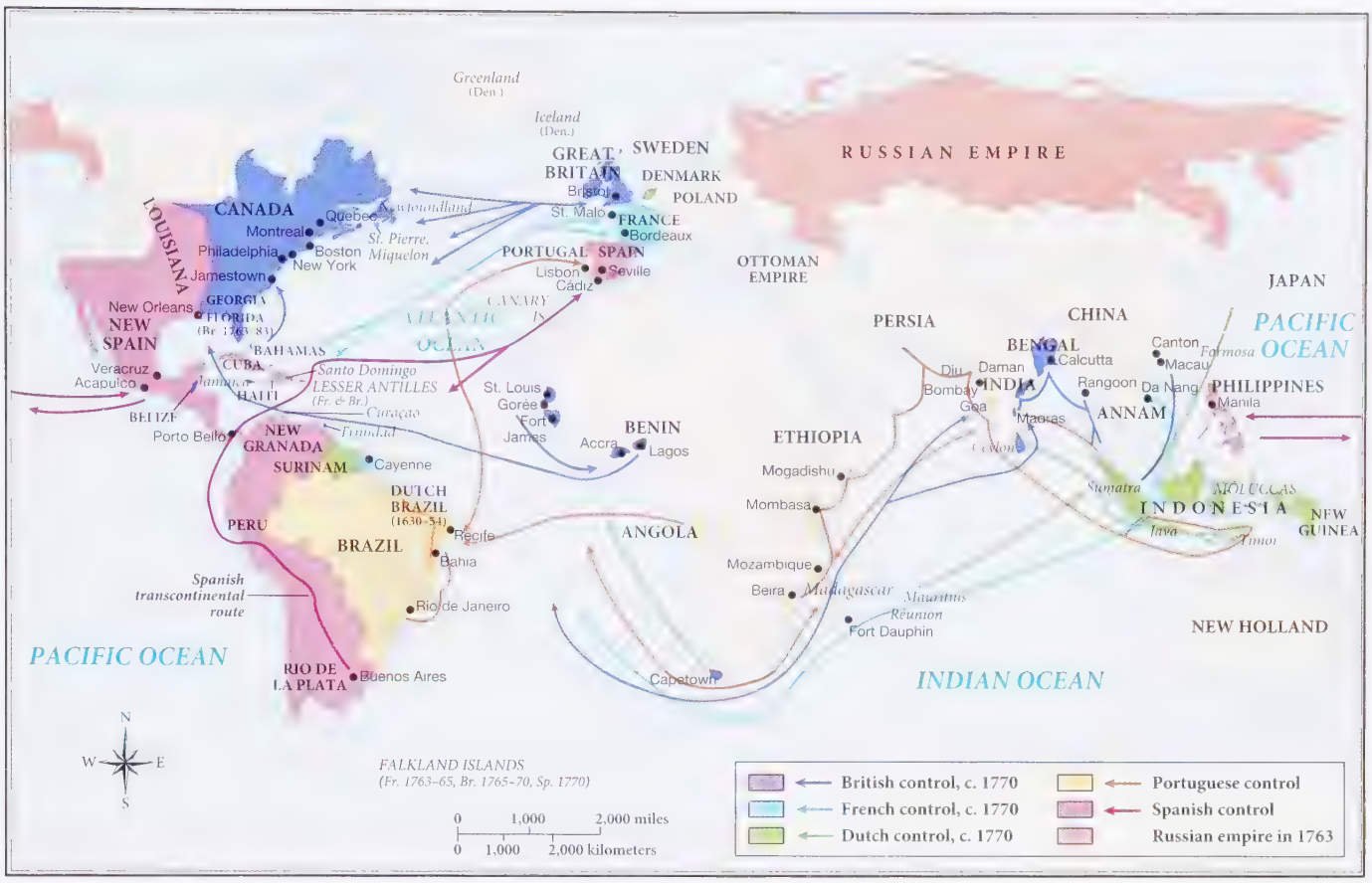
CAUSATION

What was the impact of the Great War for Empire on British policymakers and the colonies?

Contesting that status, wealthy Philadelphia lawyer John Dickinson argued that his fellow colonists were "not [East Indian] Sea Poys, nor Marattas, but *British subjects* who are born to liberty, who know its worth, and who prize it high." Thus was the stage set for a struggle between the conceptions of identity — and empire — held by British ministers, on the one hand, and many American colonists on the other.

The Costs of Empire

The Great War for Empire imposed enormous costs on Great Britain. The national debt soared from £75 million to £133 million and was, an observer noted, "becoming the alarming object of every British subject." By war's end, interest on the debt alone consumed 60 percent of the nation's budget, and the ministry had to raise taxes. During the eighteenth century, taxes were shifting from land — owned by the gentry and aristocracy — to consumables, and successive ministries became ever more ingenious in devising new ways to raise money. Excise (or sales) taxes were levied on all kinds of ordinary goods — salt and beer, bricks and candles, paper (in the form of a stamp tax) — that were consumed by middling and poor Britons. In the 1760s, the per capita tax burden was 20 percent of income.



MAP 5.1 Eurasian Trade and European Colonies, c. 1770
By 1770, the Western European nations that had long dominated maritime trade had created vast colonial empires and spheres of influence. Spain controlled the western halves of North and South America, Portugal owned Brazil, and Holland ruled Indonesia. Britain, a newer imperial power, boasted settler societies in North America, rich sugar islands in the West Indies, slave ports in West Africa, and a growing presence on the Indian subcontinent. France had lost its possessions on mainland North America but retained lucrative sugar islands in the Caribbean.

To collect the taxes, the government doubled the size of the tax bureaucracy (Figure 5.1). Customs agents patrolled the coasts of southern Britain, seizing tons of contraband French wines, Dutch tea, and Flemish textiles. Convicted smugglers faced heavy penalties, including death or forced "transportation" to America as indentured servants. (Despite colonial protests, nearly fifty thousand English criminals had already been shipped to America to be sold as indentured servants.)

The price of empire abroad was thus larger government and higher taxes at home. Members of two British opposition parties, the Radical Whigs and the Country Party, complained that the huge war debt placed the nation at the mercy of the "monied interests," the banks and financiers who reaped millions of pounds' interest from government bonds. To reverse the growth of government and the threat to personal liberty and property rights, British reformers demanded that Parliament represent a broader spectrum of the property-owning classes. The Radical Whig John Wilkes condemned rotten boroughs — sparsely populated, aristocratic-controlled electoral districts — and demanded greater representation for rapidly growing commercial and manufacturing cities. The war thus transformed British politics.

The war also revealed how little power Britain wielded in its American colonies. In theory, royal governors had extensive political powers; in reality, they shared power with the colonial assemblies, which outraged British officials. Moreover, colonial merchants had evaded trade duties for decades by bribing customs officials. To end that

Britain's Atlantic and Asian Empires

The following table enumerates the economic benefits derived by Great Britain from its various colonies, which sent a wide variety of goods to Britain and also served as markets for British exports.

TABLE 5.1

English/British Imports and Exports (annual averages in pounds sterling)

	England*		Britain*	
	1700–1701	1750–1751	1772–1773	1789–1790
Imports from Asia, Africa, and America				
North America	372,000	877,000	1,997,000	1,351,000
The Fisheries**	0	7,000	27,000	188,000
West Indies	785,000	1,484,000	3,222,000	4,045,000
Africa	24,000	43,000	80,000	87,000
East Indies	775,000	1,101,000	2,203,000	3,256,000
Total	1,956,000	3,512,000	7,529,000	8,927,000
Exports to America, Asia, and Africa				
North America	362,000	1,355,000	3,254,000	3,763,000
West Indies	336,000	589,000	1,402,000	1,892,000
Africa	145,000	188,000	777,000	799,000
East India	125,000	653,000	893,000	2,173,000
Total	968,000	2,785,000	6,326,000	8,627,000

*The "England" column shows data for England and Wales; "Britain" includes Scotland as well.
**Includes Massachusetts Bay, Maine, and Newfoundland; by the 1760s more than £500,000 worth of fish was being sent annually to the West Indies and southern Europe.

SOURCE: Adapted from *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 2, ed. P. J. Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 101.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare Britain's colonies in their roles as producers of British imports to their roles as consumers of British exports. Why are the mainland colonies of North America a distant third as producers of imports, but ranked first as consumers of exports?
2. How did the American Revolution (1776–1783) impact the economic relationship between Great Britain and its mainland colonies? Is it reasonable to conclude that political independence did not bring economic independence?

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the causes for changes in British policies toward colonies after the French and Indian War is critical for the AP® exam.

practice, Parliament passed the Revenue Act of 1762. The ministry also instructed the Royal Navy to seize American vessels carrying food crops from the mainland colonies to the French West Indies. It was absurd, declared a British politician, that French armies attempting "to Destroy one English province . . . are actually supported by Bread raised in another."

Britain's military victory brought another fundamental shift in policy: a new peacetime deployment of 15 royal battalions — some 7,500 troops — in North America. In part the move was strategic. The troops would maintain Britain's hold on its vast new North American territory: they would prevent colonists from defying the Proclamation of 1763 (see Chapter 4), while managing relations with Native Americans and 60,000 French residents of Canada, Britain's newly conquered colony (Map 5.2).

In part, too, the move had financial implications. The cost of supporting these troops was estimated at £225,000 per year, and Parliament expected that the colonies would bear the cost of the troops stationed in America. The king's ministers agreed that Parliament could no longer let them off the hook for the costs of empire. The greatest gains from the war had come in North America, where the **specter** of French encirclement had finally been lifted, and the greatest new postwar expenses were being **incurred** in North America as well.

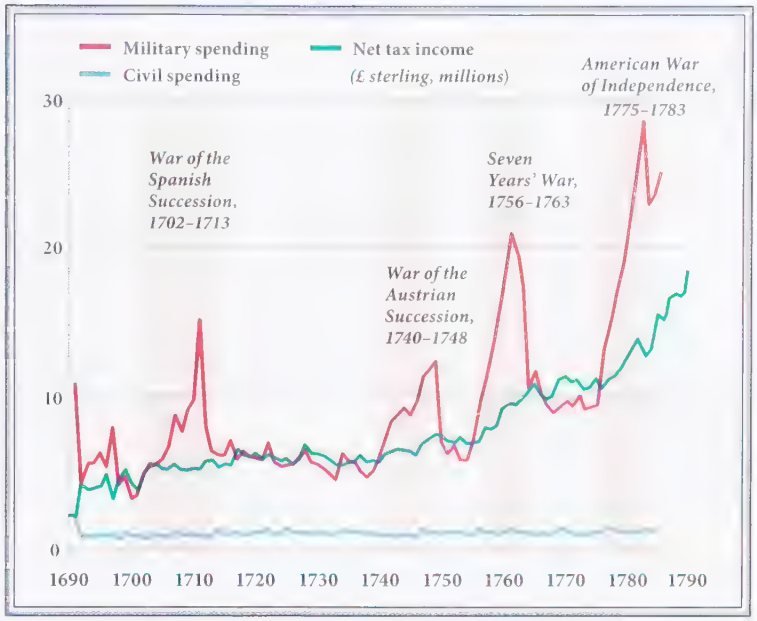


FIGURE 5.1 The Cost of Empire, 1690–1790
It cost money to build and maintain an empire. As Britain built a great navy, subsidized the armies of European allies, and fought four wars against France and Spain between 1702 and 1783, military expenditures soared. Tax revenues did not keep pace, so the government created a large national debt by issuing bonds for millions of pounds. This policy created a class of wealthy financiers, led to political protests, and eventually prompted attempts to tax the American colonists.

George Grenville and the Reform Impulse

The challenge of raising revenue from the colonies fell first to George Grenville. Widely regarded as "one of the ablest men in Great Britain," Grenville understood the need for far-reaching imperial reform. He first passed the Currency Act of 1764, which banned the American colonies from using paper money as legal tender. Colonial shopkeepers, planters, and farmers had used local currency, which was worth less than British pounds sterling, to pay their debts to British merchants. The Currency Act ensured that merchants would no longer be paid in money printed in the colonies, boosting their profits and British wealth.

The Sugar Act Grenville also won parliamentary approval of the **Sugar Act of 1764** to replace the widely ignored Molasses Act of 1733 (see Chapter 3). The earlier act had set a tax rate of 6 pence per gallon on French molasses, in effect outlawing the trade, since such a high tax made it unprofitable. Rather than pay it, colonial merchants bribed customs officials at the going rate of 1.5 pence per gallon. Grenville intended to allow the trade and settled on a duty of 3 pence per gallon, which merchants could pay and still turn a profit.

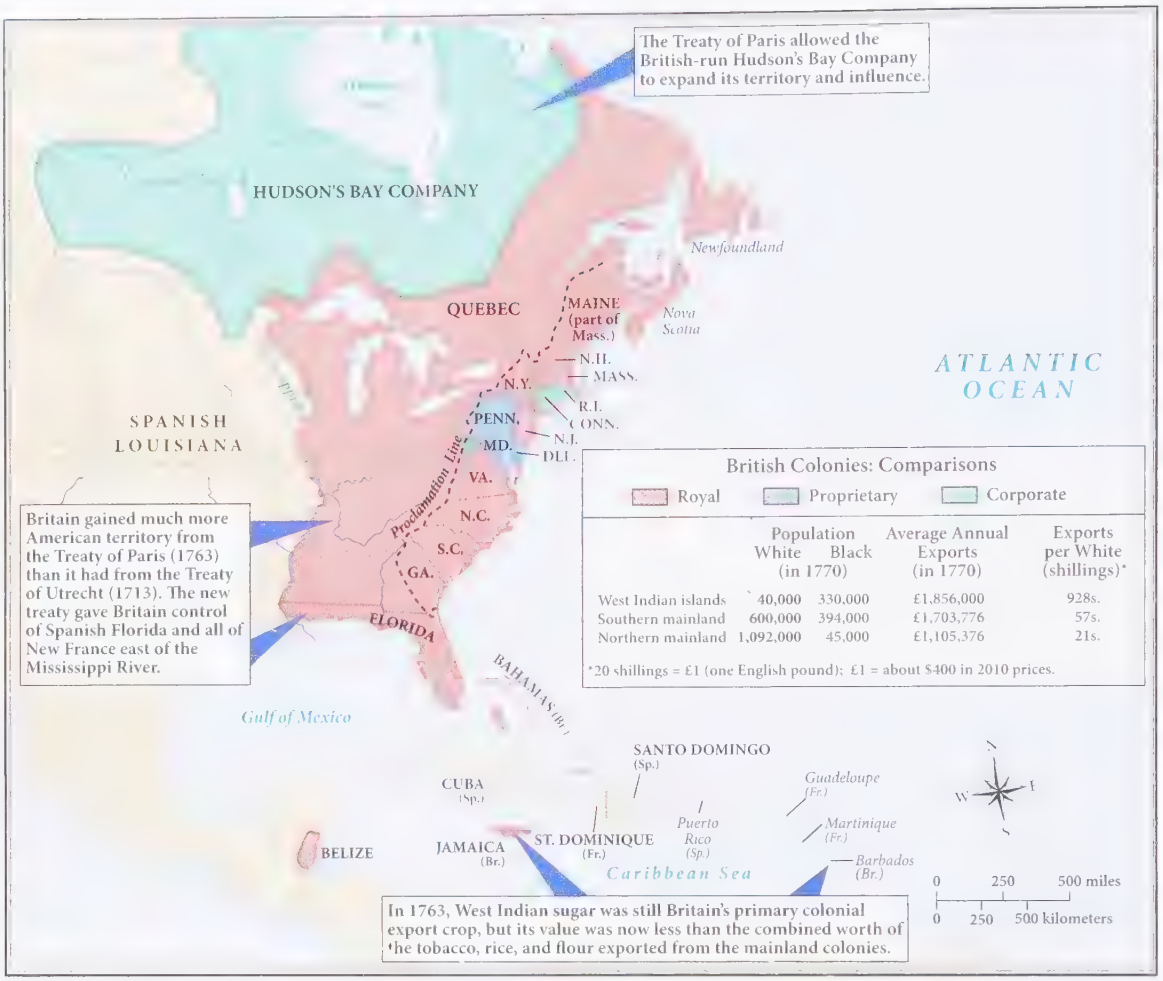
This carefully crafted policy garnered little support in America. New England merchants, among them John Hancock of Boston, had made their fortunes smuggling French molasses. In 1754, Boston merchants paid customs duties on a mere 400 hogsheads of molasses, yet they imported 40,000 hogsheads for use by 63 Massachusetts rum distilleries. Publicly, the merchants claimed that the Sugar Act would ruin the distilling industry; privately, they vowed to evade the duty by smuggling or by bribing officials.

The End of Salutary Neglect More important, colonists raised constitutional objections to the Sugar Act. In Massachusetts, the leader of the assembly argued that the new legislation was "contrary to a fundamental Principall of our Constitution: That all Taxes ought to originate with the people." In Rhode Island, Governor Stephen Hopkins warned: "They who are taxed at pleasure by others cannot possibly have any property, and they who have no property, can have no freedom." The Sugar Act raised other constitutional issues as well. Merchants prosecuted under the act would be tried in **vice-admiralty courts**, tribunals governing the high seas and run by British-appointed judges. Previously, merchants accused of Navigation Acts violations were tried by local common-law courts, where friendly juries often acquitted them. The Sugar Act instead extended the jurisdiction of the vice-admiralty courts to all customs offenses.

The Sugar Act revived old American fears. The influential Virginia planter Richard Bland emphasized that the American colonists "were not sent out to be the Slaves but

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

AP® EXAM TIP
Take detailed notes on the ways British laws were designed to benefit British power in North America after the French and Indian War.


The Treaty of Paris allowed the British-run Hudson's Bay Company to expand its territory and influence.
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
Newfoundland
QUEBEC
MAINE (part of Mass.)
Nova Scotia
N.H.
MASS.
N.Y.
R.I.
CONN.
PENN.
N.J.
MD.
DEL.
VA.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SPANISH LOUISIANA
Proclamation Line
N.C.
S.C.
GA.
FLORIDA
Britain gained much more American territory from the Treaty of Paris (1763) than it had from the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). The new treaty gave Britain control of Spanish Florida and all of New France east of the Mississippi River.
BAHAMAS (Br.)
Gulf of Mexico
SANTO DOMINGO (Sp.)
CUBA (Sp.)
Guadeloupe (Fr.)
Puerto Rico (Sp.)
Martinique (Fr.)
BELIZE
JAMAICA (Br.)
ST. DOMINIQUE (Fr.)
Barbados (Br.)
Caribbean Sea
In 1763, West Indian sugar was still Britain's primary colonial export crop, but its value was now less than the combined worth of the tobacco, rice, and flour exported from the mainland colonies.
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
British Colonies: Comparisons
Royal
Proprietary
Corporate
Population White (in 1770) Black (in 1770) Average Annual Exports (in 1770) Exports per White (shillings)*
West Indian islands 40,000 330,000 £1,856,000 928s.
Southern mainland 600,000 394,000 £1,703,776 57s.
Northern mainland 1,092,000 45,000 £1,105,376 21s.
*20 shillings = £1 (one English pound); £1 = about $400 in 2010 prices.

MAP 5.2 Britain's American Empire in 1763
The Treaty of Paris gave Britain control of the eastern half of North America and returned a few captured sugar islands in the West Indies to France. To protect the empire's new mainland territories, British ministers dispatched troops to Florida and Quebec. They also sent troops to uphold the terms of the Proclamation of 1763, which prohibited Anglo-American settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains.

To see a longer excerpt of the Richard Bland document, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History.***

to be the Equals of those that remained behind." John Adams, the young Massachusetts lawyer defending John Hancock on a charge of smuggling, argued that the vice-admiralty courts diminished this equality by "degrad[ing] every American . . . below the rank of an Englishman."

In fact, accused smugglers in Britain were also tried in vice-admiralty courts, so there was no discrimination against Americans. The real issue was the growing power of the British state. After decades of salutary neglect, Americans saw that the new imperial regime would deprive them "of some of their most essential Rights as British subjects," as a committee of the Massachusetts assembly put it. In response, Royal Governor Francis Bernard replied: "The rule that a British subject shall not be bound by laws or liable to taxes, but what he has consented to by his representatives must be confined to the inhabitants of Great Britain only." To Bernard, Grenville, and other imperial reformers, Americans were second-class subjects of the king, with rights limited by the Navigation Acts, parliamentary laws, and British interests.

An Open Challenge: The Stamp Act

Another new tax, the **Stamp Act of 1765**, sparked the first great imperial crisis. Grenville hoped the Stamp Act would raise £60,000 per year. The act would require a tax stamp on

all printed items, from college diplomas, court documents, land titles, and contracts to newspapers, almanacs, and playing cards. It was ingeniously designed. Like its counterpart in England, it bore more heavily on the rich, since it charged only a penny a sheet for newspapers and other common items but up to £10 for a lawyer's license. It also required no new bureaucracy; stamped paper would be delivered to colonial ports and sold to printers in lieu of unstamped stock.

Benjamin Franklin, agent of the Pennsylvania assembly, proposed a different solution: American representation in Parliament. "If you chuse to tax us," he wrote, "give us Members in your Legislature, and let us be one People." With the exception of William Pitt, British politicians rejected Franklin's idea as too radical. They argued that the colonists already had **virtual representation** in Parliament because some of its members were transatlantic merchants and West Indian sugar planters. Colonial leaders were equally skeptical of Franklin's plan. Americans were "situate at a great Distance from their Mother Country," the Connecticut assembly declared, and therefore "cannot participate in the general Legislature of the Nation."

Protesting the Stamp Act in Portsmouth, New Hampshire Throughout the colonies, disciplined mobs protesting the Stamp Act forced stamp distributors to resign their offices. In this engraving, protesters in the small city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, stone an effigy of the distributor as other members of the mob carry off a coffin representing the death of American "Liberty." Illustration from Interesting Events in the History of the U.S. by J.W. Barber, 1829/Picture Research Consultants & Archives

The House of Commons ignored American opposition and passed the act by an overwhelming majority of 205 to 49. At the request of General Thomas Gage, the British military commander in America, Parliament also passed the **Quartering Act of 1765**, which required colonial governments to provide barracks and food for British troops. Finally, Parliament approved Grenville's proposal that violations of the Stamp Act be tried in vice-admiralty courts.

Using the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy, Grenville had begun to fashion a centralized imperial system in America much like that already in place in Ireland: British officials would govern the colonies with little regard for the local assemblies. Consequently, the prime minister's plan provoked a constitutional confrontation on the specific issues of taxation, jury trials, and military quartering as well as on the general question of representative self-government.

AP® EXAM TIP

The role of colonial leaders in energizing ideas of independence and resistance to British law is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why did most British and colonial leaders reject the idea that the colonies should be represented in Parliament?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What changes in Britain's imperial policy were triggered by its victory in the Great War for Empire?

The Dynamics of Rebellion, 1765–1770

In the name of reform, Grenville had thrown down the gauntlet to the Americans. The colonists had often resisted unpopular laws and aggressive governors, but they had faced an all-out attack on their institutions only once before — in 1686, when James II had unilaterally imposed the Dominion of New England. Now the danger was even greater because both the king and Parliament backed reform. But the Patriots, as the defenders of American rights came to be called, met the challenge posed by Grenville and his successor, Charles Townshend. They organized protests — formal and informal, violent as well as peaceful — and fashioned a compelling ideology of resistance.

Formal Protests and the Politics of the Crowd

Virginia's House of Burgesses was the first formal body to complain. In May 1765, hotheaded young Patrick Henry denounced Grenville's legislation and attacked George III (r. 1760–1820) for supporting it. He compared the king to Charles I, whose tyranny had led to his overthrow and execution in the 1640s. These remarks, which bordered on treason, frightened the Burgesses; nonetheless, they condemned the Stamp Act's "manifest Tendency to Destroy American freedom." In Massachusetts, James Otis, another republican-minded firebrand, persuaded the House of Representatives to call a meeting of all the mainland colonies "to implore Relief" from the act.

The Stamp Act Congress Nine assemblies sent delegates to the **Stamp Act Congress**, which met in New York City in October 1765. The congress protested the loss of American "rights and liberties," especially the right to trial by jury. It also challenged the constitutionality of both the Stamp and Sugar Acts by declaring that only the colonists' elected representatives could tax them. Still, moderate-minded delegates wanted compromise, not confrontation. They assured Parliament that Americans "glory in being subjects of the best of Kings" and humbly petitioned for repeal of the Stamp Act. Other influential Americans favored active (but peaceful) resistance, organizing a boycott of British goods.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of popular movements that incorporate activism by laborers, artisans, and women in energizing the push for independence.

Crowd Actions Popular opposition also took a violent form, however. When the Stamp Act went into effect on November 1, 1765, disciplined mobs demanded the resignation of stamp-tax collectors. In Boston, a group calling itself the **Sons of Liberty** burned an **effigy** of collector Andrew Oliver and then destroyed Oliver's new brick warehouse. Two weeks later, Bostonians attacked the house of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson, Oliver's brother-in-law and a prominent defender of imperial authority, breaking his furniture, looting his wine cellar, and setting fire to his library.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

Why did the Stamp Act arouse so much more resistance than the Sugar Act?

Wealthy merchants and Patriot lawyers, such as John Hancock and John Adams, encouraged the mobs, which were usually led by middling artisans and minor merchants. In New York City, nearly three thousand shopkeepers, artisans, laborers, and seamen marched through the streets breaking windows and crying "Liberty!" Resistance to the Stamp Act spread far beyond the port cities. In nearly every colony, angry crowds—the "rabble," their detractors called them—intimidated royal officials. Near Wethersfield, Connecticut, five hundred farmers seized tax collector Jared Ingersoll and forced him to resign his office in "the Cause of the People."

The Motives of the Crowd Such crowd actions were common in both Britain and America, and protesters had many motives. Roused by the Great Awakening, evangelical Protestants resented arrogant British military officers and corrupt royal bureaucrats. In New England, where rioters invoked the antimonarchy sentiments of their great-grandparents, an anonymous letter sent to a Boston newspaper promising to save "all the Freeborn Sons of America" was signed "Oliver Cromwell," the English republican revolutionary of the 1650s. In New York City, Sons of Liberty leaders Isaac Sears and Alexander McDougall were minor merchants and Radical Whigs who feared that imperial reform would undermine political liberty. The mobs also included apprentices, day laborers, and unemployed sailors: young men with their own notions of liberty who—especially if they had been drinking—were quick to resort to violence.

Nearly everywhere popular resistance nullified the Stamp Act. Fearing an assault on Fort George, New York lieutenant governor Cadwallader Colden called on General Gage to use his small military force to protect the stamps. Gage refused. "Fire from the Fort might disperse the Mob, but it would not quell them," he told Colden, and the result would be "an Insurrection, the Commencement of Civil War." The tax was collected in Barbados and Jamaica, but frightened collectors resigned their offices in all thirteen colonies that would eventually join in the Declaration of Independence. This

popular insurrection gave a democratic cast to the emerging Patriot movement. "Nothing is wanting but your own Resolution," declared a New York rioter, "for great is the Authority and Power of the People."

The Ideological Roots of Resistance

Some Americans couched their resistance in constitutional terms. Many were lawyers or well-educated merchants and planters. Composing pamphlets of remarkable political sophistication, they gave the resistance movement its rationale, its political agenda, and its leaders.

Patriot writers drew on three intellectual traditions. The first was **English common law**, the centuries-old body of legal rules and procedures that protected the lives and property of the monarch's subjects. In the famous *Writs of Assistance* case of 1761, Boston lawyer James Otis invoked English legal precedents to challenge open-ended search warrants. In demanding a jury trial for John Hancock in the late 1760s, John Adams appealed to the Magna Carta (1215), the ancient document that, said Adams, "has for many Centuries been esteemed by Englishmen, as one of the . . . firmest Bulwarks of their Liberties." Other lawyers protested that new strictures violated specific "liberties and privileges" granted in colonial charters or embodied in Britain's "ancient constitution."

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the context in which common law, Enlightenment thought, and Whig ideals influenced calls for independence.

Enlightenment rationalism provided Patriots with a second important intellectual resource. Virginia planter Thomas Jefferson and other Patriots drew on the writings of John Locke, who had argued that all individuals possessed certain **natural rights**—life, liberty, and property—that governments must protect (see Chapter 4). And they turned to the works of French philosopher Montesquieu, who had maintained that a "separation of powers" among government departments prevented arbitrary rule.

The republican and Whig strands of the English political tradition provided a third ideological source for American Patriots. Puritan New England had long **venerated** the Commonwealth era (1649–1660), when England had been a republic (see Chapter 2). After the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, many colonists praised the English Whigs for creating a constitutional monarchy that prevented the king from imposing taxes and other measures. Joseph Warren, a physician and a Radical Whig Patriot, suggested that the Stamp Act was part of a ministerial plot "to force the colonies into rebellion" and justify the use of "military power to reduce them to servitude." John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania* (1768) urged colonists to "remember your ancestors and your posterity" and oppose parliamentary taxes. The letters circulated widely and served as an early call to resistance. If Parliament could tax the colonies without their consent, he wrote, "our boasted liberty is but A sound and nothing else."

Such arguments, widely publicized in newspapers and pamphlets, gave intellectual substance to the Patriot movement and turned a series of impromptu riots, tax protests, and boycotts of British manufactures into a formidable political force.

Phillis Wheatley Born in West Africa and enslaved as a child, Phillis Wheatley was purchased by Boston merchant and tailor John Wheatley when she was eight. Tutored by Wheatley's children, Phillis learned to read English, Greek, and Latin by the age of twelve. This engraving, which pictures her at a writing desk, was the frontispiece for her *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral*, 1773, which was praised by George Washington and gained attention in both Britain and the colonies. Freed upon the death of her master, Wheatley married John Peters, a free black man. He was later imprisoned for debt, forcing Wheatley to take employment as a maid. She died in 1784 at age thirty-one; none of her three children survived infancy.

Another Kind of Freedom

"We are taxed without our own consent," Dickinson wrote in one of his *Letters*. "We are therefore—SLAVES." As Patriot writers argued that taxation without representation made colonists the slaves of Parliament, many, including Benjamin Franklin in

AP® EXAM TIP

Illustrating the contradictions between the ideals of the American Revolution and the system of slavery in the colonies is critical to success on the AP® exam.

Philadelphia and James Otis in Massachusetts, also began to condemn the institution of chattel slavery itself as a violation of slaves' natural rights. African Americans made the connection as well. In Massachusetts, slaves submitted at least four petitions to the legislature asking that slavery be abolished. As one petition noted, slaves "have in common with other men, a natural right to be free, and without molestation, to enjoy such property, as they may acquire by their industry."

In the southern colonies, where slaves constituted half or more of the population and the economy depended on their servitude, the quest for freedom alarmed slaveholders. In November 1773, a group of Virginia slaves hoped to win their freedom by supporting British troops that, they heard, would soon arrive in the colony. Their plan was uncovered, and, as James Madison wrote, "proper precautions" were taken "to prevent the Infection" from spreading. He fully understood how important it was to defend the colonists' liberties without allowing the idea of natural rights to undermine the institution of slavery. "It is prudent," he wrote, "such things should be concealed as well as suppressed." Throughout the Revolution, the quest for African American rights and liberties would play out alongside that of the colonies, but unlike national independence, the liberation of African Americans would not be fulfilled for many generations.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

Why were southerners more threatened by challenges to the institution of slavery than northerners?

Parliament and Patriots Square Off Again

When news of the Stamp Act riots and the boycott reached Britain, Parliament was already in turmoil. Disputes over domestic policy had led George III to dismiss Grenville as prime minister. However, Grenville's allies demanded that imperial reform continue, if necessary at gunpoint. "The British legislature," declared Chief Justice Sir James Mansfield, "has authority to bind every part and every subject, whether such subjects have a right to vote or not."

Yet a majority in Parliament was persuaded that the Stamp Act was cutting deeply into British exports and thus doing more harm than good. "The Avenues of Trade are all shut up," a Bristol merchant told Parliament: "We have no Remittances and are at our Witts End for want of Money to fulfill our Engagements with our Tradesmen." Grenville's successor, the Earl of Rockingham, forged a compromise. He repealed the Stamp Act and reduced the duty on molasses imposed by the Sugar Act to a penny a gallon. Then he pacified imperial reformers and hardliners with the **Declaratory Act of 1766**, which explicitly reaffirmed Parliament's "full power and authority to make laws and statutes . . . to bind the colonies and people of America . . . in all cases whatsoever." By swiftly ending the Stamp Act crisis, Rockingham hoped it would be forgotten just as quickly.

Celebrating Repeal This British cartoon mocking supporters of the Stamp Act — "The Repeal, or the Funeral Procession of Miss Americ-Stamp" — was probably commissioned by merchants trading with America. Preceded by two flag bearers, George Grenville, the author of the legislation, carries a miniature coffin (representing the act) to a tomb, as a dog urinates on the leader of the procession. Two bales on the wharf, labeled "Stamps from America" and "Black cloth return'd from America," testify to the failure of the act. The Granger Collection, New York

Charles Townshend Steps In Often the course of history is changed by a small event — an illness, a personal grudge, a chance remark. That was the case in 1767, when George III named William Pitt to head a new government. Pitt, chronically ill and often absent from parliamentary debates, left chancellor of the **exchequer** Charles Townshend in command. Pitt was sympathetic toward America; Townshend was not. He had strongly supported the Stamp Act, and in 1767 he promised to find a new source of revenue in America.

The new tax legislation, the **Townshend Act of 1767**, had both fiscal and political goals. It imposed duties on colonial imports of paper, paint, glass, and tea that were expected to raise about £40,000 a year. Though Townshend did allocate some of this revenue for American military expenses, he earmarked most of it to pay the salaries of royal governors, judges, and other imperial officials, who had always previously been paid by colonial assemblies. Now, he hoped, royal appointees could better enforce parliamentary laws and carry out the king's instructions. Townshend next devised the Revenue Act of 1767, which created a board of customs commissioners in Boston and vice-admiralty courts in Halifax, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. By using parliamentary taxes to finance imperial administration, Townshend intended to undermine American political institutions.

The Townshend duties revived the constitutional debate over taxation. During the Stamp Act crisis, some Americans, including Benjamin Franklin, distinguished between external and internal taxes. They suggested that external duties on trade (such as those long mandated by the Navigation Acts) were acceptable to Americans, but that direct, or internal, taxes were not. Townshend thought this distinction was "perfect nonsense," but he indulged the Americans and laid duties only on trade.

A Second Boycott and the Daughters of Liberty

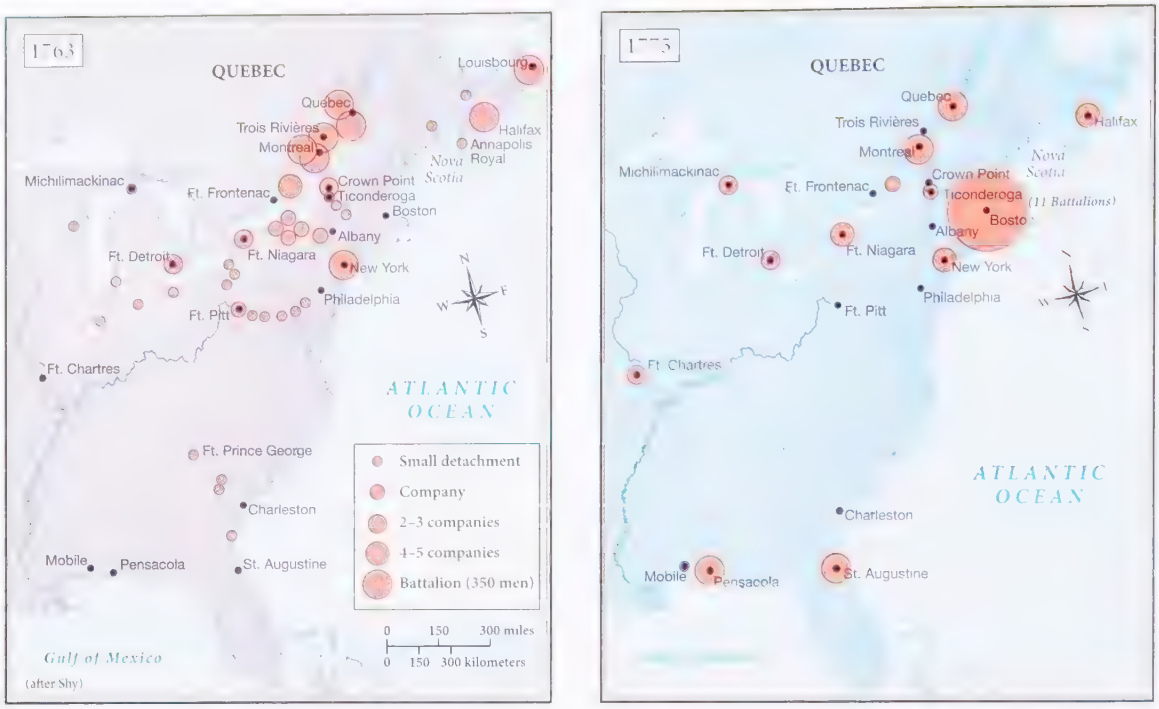
Even so, most colonial leaders rejected the legitimacy of Townshend's measures. In February 1768, the Massachusetts assembly condemned the Townshend Act, and Boston and New York merchants began a new boycott of British goods. Throughout Puritan New England, ministers and public officials discouraged the purchase of "foreign superfluities" and promoted the domestic manufacture of cloth and other necessities.

American women, ordinarily excluded from public affairs, became crucial to the **nonimportation movement**. They reduced their households' consumption of imported goods and produced large quantities of homespun cloth. Pious farmwives spun yarn at their ministers' homes. In Berwick, Maine, "true Daughters of Liberty" celebrated American products by "drinking rye coffee and dining on bear venison." Other women's groups supported the boycott with charitable work, spinning flax and wool for the needy. Just as Patriot men followed tradition by joining crowd actions, so women's protests reflected their customary concern for the well-being of the community.

Newspapers celebrated these exploits of the Daughters of Liberty. One Massachusetts town proudly claimed an annual output of 30,000 yards of cloth; East Hartford, Connecticut, reported 17,000 yards. This surge in domestic production did not offset the loss of British imports, which had averaged about 10 million yards of cloth annually, but it brought thousands of women into the public arena.

The boycott mobilized many American men as well. In the seaport cities, the Sons of Liberty published the names of merchants who imported British goods and harassed their employees and customers.

Edenton Ladies' Tea Party In October 1774, a group of fifty-one women from Edenton, North Carolina, led by Penelope Barker, created a local association to support a boycott of British goods. Patriots in the colonies praised the Edenton Tea Party, which was one of the first formal female political associations in North America, but it was ridiculed in Britain, where this cartoon appeared in March 1775. The women are given a mannish appearance, and the themes of promiscuity and neglect to their female duties are suggested by the presence of a slave and an amorous man, the neglected child, and the urinating dog. [Library of Congress]



MAP 5.3 British Troop Deployments, 1763 and 1775
As the imperial crisis deepened, British military priorities changed. In 1763, most British battalions were stationed in Canada to deter Indian uprisings and French Canadian revolts. After the Stamp Act riots of 1765, the British placed large garrisons in New York and Philadelphia. By 1775, eleven battalions of British regulars occupied Boston, the center of the Patriot movement.

By March 1769, the nonimportation movement had spread to Philadelphia; two months later, the members of the Virginia House of Burgesses vowed not to buy dutied articles, luxury goods, or imported slaves. Reflecting colonial self-confidence, Benjamin Franklin called for a return to the pre-1763 mercantilist system: "Repeal the laws, renounce the right, recall the troops, refund the money, and return to the old method of requisition."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
How did the nonimportation movement bring women into the political sphere?

Despite the enthusiasm of Patriots, nonimportation—accompanied by pressure on merchants and consumers who resisted it—opened fissures in colonial society. Not only royal officials, but also merchants, farmers, and ordinary folk, were subject to new forms of surveillance and coercion—a pattern that would only become more pronounced as the imperial crisis unfolded.

Troops to Boston American resistance only increased British determination. When the Massachusetts assembly's letter opposing the Townshend duties reached London, Lord Hillsborough, the secretary of state for American affairs, branded it "unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of Parliament." To strengthen the "Hand of Government" in Massachusetts, Hillsborough dispatched General Thomas Gage and 2,000 British troops to Boston (Map 5.3). Once in Massachusetts, Gage accused its leaders of "Treasonable and desperate Resolves" and advised the ministry to "Quash this Spirit at a Blow." In 1765, American resistance to the Stamp Act had sparked a parliamentary debate; in 1768, it provoked a plan for military coercion.

The Problem of the West

At the same time that successive ministries addressed the problem of raising a colonial revenue, they quarreled over how to manage the vast new inland territory—about half

a billion acres—acquired in the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (see Chapter 4). The Proclamation Line had drawn a boundary between the colonies and Indian country. The line was originally intended as a temporary barrier. It prohibited settlement "for the present, and until our further Pleasure be known." The Proclamation also created three new mainland colonies—Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida—and thus opened new opportunities at the northern and southern extremities of British North America.

AP® EXAM TIP

The role of the Proclamation of 1763 in growing animosity between the British government and colonists is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

But many colonists looked west rather than north or south. Four groups in the colonies were especially interested in westward expansion. First, gentlemen who had invested in numerous land speculation companies were petitioning the crown for large land grants in the Ohio country. Second, officers who served in the Seven Years' War were paid in land warrants—up to 5,000 acres for field officers—and some, led by George Washington, were exploring possible sites beyond the Appalachians. Third, Indian traders who had received large grants from the Ohio Indians hoped to sell land titles. And fourth, thousands of squatters were following the roads cut to the Ohio by the Braddock and Forbes campaigns during the Seven Years' War to take up lands in the hope that they could later receive a title to them. "The roads are . . . alive with Men, Women, Children, and Cattle from Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland," wrote one astonished observer (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

All of this activity antagonized the Ohio Indians. In 1770, Shawnees invited hundreds of Indian leaders to gather at the town of Chillicothe on the Scioto River. There they formed the Scioto Confederacy, which pledged to oppose any further expansion into the Ohio country. Some British officers and administrators tried to protect Indian interests, while others encouraged their exploitation, leading to interpretive disagreements among historians (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Meanwhile, in London, the idea that the Proclamation Line was only temporary gave way to the view that it should be permanent. Hillsborough, who became colonial secretary in 1768, adamantly opposed westward expansion, believing it would antagonize the Indians without benefitting the empire. Moreover, he owned vast Irish estates, and he was alarmed by the number of tenants who were leaving Ireland for America. To preserve Britain's laboring class, as well as control costs, Hillsborough wanted to make the Proclamation Line permanent.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What groups were most interested in western lands, and why did Hillsborough oppose them?

For colonists who were already moving west to settle in large numbers, this shift in policy caused confusion and frustration. Eventually, like the Patriots along the seaboard, they would take matters into their own hands.

Parliament Wavers

In Britain, the colonies' nonimportation agreement was taking its toll. In 1768, the colonies had cut imports of British manufactures in half; by 1769, the mainland colonies had a trade surplus with Britain of £816,000. Hard-hit by these developments, British merchants and manufacturers petitioned Parliament to repeal the Townshend duties. Early in 1770, Lord North became prime minister. A witty man and a skillful politician, North designed a new compromise. Arguing that it was foolish to tax British exports to America (thereby raising their price and decreasing consumption), he persuaded Parliament to repeal most of the Townshend duties. However, North retained the tax on tea as a symbol of Parliament's supremacy (Figure 5.2).

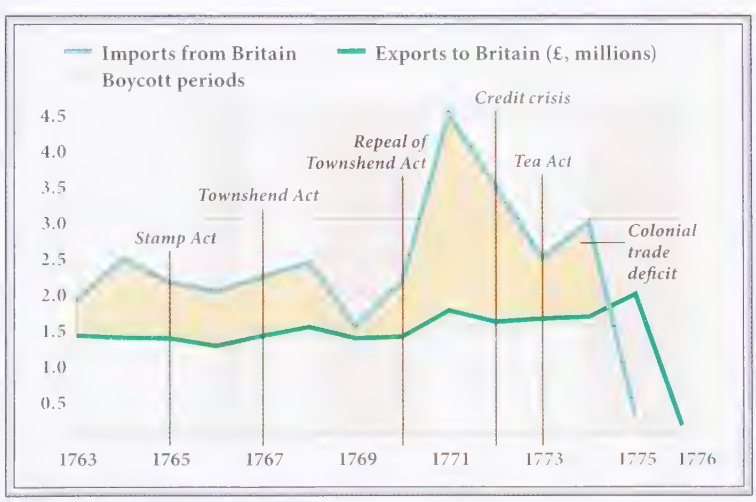


FIGURE 5.2 Trade as a Political Weapon, 1763–1776

Political upheaval did not affect the mainland colonies' exports to Britain, which rose slightly over the period, but imports fluctuated greatly. The American boycott of 1765–1766 prompted a dip in imports, but the second boycott of 1768–1770 led to a sharp drop in imports of British textiles, metal goods, and ceramics. Imports of manufactures soared after the repeal of the Townshend duties, only to plummet when the First Continental Congress proclaimed a third boycott in 1774.

Beyond the Proclamation Line

Though the Royal Proclamation of 1763 called the territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River "Indian country," the reality was more complex than this phrase indicates. The following documents illustrate some of the patterns that shaped life beyond the Proclamation Line between 1763 and 1776.

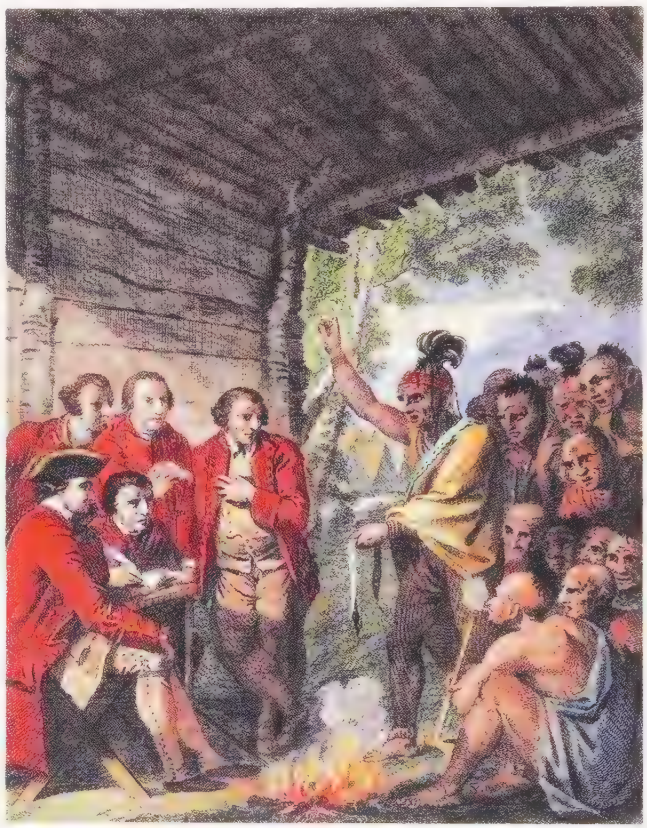
1. **Colonel John Bradstreet's Thoughts on Indian Affairs, 1764.** *Colonel John Bradstreet led a force of British redcoats to Fort Niagara in response to Pontiac's Rebellion. He drafted these remarks shortly afterward.*

   Of all the Savages upon the continent, the most knowing, the most intriguing, the less useful, and the greatest Villains, are those most conversant with the Europeans, and deserve most the attention of Govern[men]t by way of correction, and these are the Six Nations, Shawanese and Delawares; they are well acquainted with the defenceless state of the Inhabitants, who live on the Frontiers, and think they will ever have it in their power to distress and plunder them, and never cease raising the jealousy of the Upper Nations against us, by propagating amongst them such stories, as make them believe the English have nothing so much at heart as the extirpation of all Savages. The apparent design of the Six Nations, is to keep us at war with all Savages, but themselves, that they may be employed as mediators between us and them.

2. **William Johnson to the British Lords of Trade, 1763.** *William Johnson, a New Yorker with extensive experience in Indian relations, was the crown's superintendent for Indian affairs in the northern colonies.*

   [T]he Colonies, had all along neglected to cultivate a proper understanding with the Indians, and from a mistaken notion, have greatly dispised them, without considering, that it is in their power at pleasure to lay waste and destroy the Frontiers. . . . Without any exageration, I look upon the Northern Indians to be the most formidable of any uncivilized body of people in the World. Hunting and War are their sole occupations, and the one qualifies them for the other, they have few wants, and those are easily supplied, their properties of little value, consequently, expeditions against them however successful, cannot distress them, and they have courage sufficient for their manner of fighting, the nature and situation of their Countrys, require not more.

3. **"Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet," 1766.** *Based on a painting by Benjamin West, this engraving from a book about Bouquet's campaign to the Ohio following Pontiac's Rebellion depicts a meeting with Delaware, Seneca, and Shawnee representatives in October 1764.*



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4. **David Jones's journal, 1773.** *David Jones was a Baptist minister who traveled down the Ohio River in 1772 and 1773. His journal offers a compelling glimpse of life in the valley's trading communities.*

   FRIDAY [January] 22, in company with Mr. Irwine, set out for Chillicaathee. . . . Here Mr. Irwine kept an

assortment of goods, and for that purpose rented an house from an Indian whose name is *Waappee Monneeto*, often called the White Devil. . . . Went to see Mr. Moses Henry a gunsmith and trader from Lancaster. This gentleman has lived for some years in this town, and is lawfully married to a white woman, who was captivated so young that she speaks the language as well as any Indian. . . .

Mr. Henry lives in a comfortable manner, having plenty of good beef, pork, milk, &c. . . . Chillicaathee is the chief town of the Shawanee Indians — it is situated north of a large plain adjacent to a branch of Paint Creek. This plain is their corn-field, which supplies great part of their town. Their houses are made of logs. . . .

WEDNESDAY [February] 10. . . . This is a small town consisting of Delawares and Shawanees. The chief is a Shawanee woman, who is esteemed very rich — she entertains travelers — there were four of us in company, and for our use, her negro quarter was evacuated this night, which had a fire in the middle without any chimney. This woman has a large stock, and supplied us with milk. Here we also got corn for our horses at a very expensive price. . . .

FRIDAY [February] 12 . . . We passed [the Delaware chief] Captain White Eye's Town. . . . He told me that he intended to be religious, and have his children educated. He saw that their way of living would not answer much longer — game grew scarce — they could not much longer pretend to live by hunting, but must farm, &c. — But said, he could not attend to matters of religion now, for he intended to make a great *hunt* down Ohio, and take the skins himself to Philadelphia.

5. **Killbuck to the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, December 1771.** *John Killbuck Jr., or Gelelemend, a Delaware headman, aired grievances on behalf of Ohio Delaware, Munsie, and Mahican Indians.*

Great numbers more of your people have come over the Great Mountains and settled throughout this country, and we are sorry to tell you, that several quarrels have happened between your people and ours, in which people have been killed on both sides, and that we now see the nations round us and your people ready to embroil in a quarrel, which gives our nations great concerns, as we, on our parts, want to live in friendship with you. As you have always told us, you have laws to govern your people by, — but we do not see that you have; therefore, brethren, unless you can fall upon some method of governing your people who live between the Great Mountains and the Ohio River and who are now very numerous, it will be out of the Indians' power to govern their young men, for we assure you the black clouds begin to gather fast in this country. . . . We find your people are very fond of our rich land. We see them quarrelling every day about land and burning one another's houses, so that we do not know how soon they may come over the river Ohio and drive us from our villages, nor do we see you, brothers, take any care to stop them.

6. **Aeneas MacKay to Pennsylvania governor John Penn, April 4, 1774.** *MacKay, a magistrate of Pennsylvania's Westmoreland County, reported on Virginia's effort to create a competing jurisdiction in the vicinity of Pittsburgh. Dr. John Connolly, appointed by Governor Dunmore as commander of the militia in Pittsburgh, was at the center of the controversy.*

Since the return of the Celebrated Doctor Connelly from Virginia last to this place, which he did on the 28th of March, our village is become the scene of anarchy and Confusion. . . .

The Doctor now is in actual possession of the Fort, with a Body Guard of Militia about him, Invested, as we are told, with both Civil & military power, to put the Virginia Law in Force in these parts, and a considerable Number of the Inhabitants of these back Parts of this Country, Ready to join him on any emergency, every artifice are used to seduce the people, some by being promoted to Civil or military employments, and others with the promises of grants of Lands, on easy Terms, & the giddy headed mobs are so Infatuated as to suffer themselves to be carried away by these Insinuating Delusions. . . .

The Indians are greatly alarmed at seeing parties of armed men patrolling through our streets Daily, not knowing but there is hostility intended against them and their country.

Sources: (1, 2) E. B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 15 vols. (Albany, 1856–1887), 7: 690–694, 574; (4) David Jones, *A Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Nations of Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio, in the Years 1772 and 1773* (Burlington, 1774 [rep. NY, 1971]); (5) K. G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783*, 19 vols. (Shannon and Dublin, 1972–1981), 3: 254–255; (6) Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, series 1, 12 vols. (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns & Co., 1856), 4: 484–486.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. John Bradstreet, a career British army officer, based his observations (source 1) on his wartime experiences in the West. William Johnson (source 2) had lived in close proximity to Iroquois Indians for many years. Compare their views: what do they agree upon, and where do they differ?
2. Charles Grignion's engraving (source 3) appeared in print a short time after Pontiac's Rebellion. How does it portray the Ohio Indians? Compare Grignion's image with the descriptions in sources 1 and 2 and John Killbuck's speech (source 5). What parallels or differences do you see?
3. What do you find most surprising about source 4? What evidence of European influence do you see in the Indian towns Jones describes?
4. Sources 5 and 6 describe the state of affairs on the upper Ohio shortly before the outbreak of Dunmore's War. What concerns does Killbuck express? Why was Virginia's willingness to organize a militia so important to the residents of the region?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using these documents and what you have learned in Chapter 5, write a short essay that surveys British and Anglo-American attitudes toward the Ohio Indians and explores the contradictions between these attitudes and the reality of life in the Ohio country.

AP INTERPRETING THE PAST

Did British Administrators Try to Protect or Exploit Native Americans?

Despite official British policy to prohibit colonial settlement west of the Proclamation Line of 1763, Anglo-American colonists nonetheless continued to push into the Ohio Valley (see Map 5.5, p. 164). Not surprisingly, the Indian peoples living in the Ohio Valley continued to be alarmed at the influx. In an effort to manage the empire and the potential for conflict, British officials had to balance relations with the Indian nations while also preventing conflict between Indians and Anglo-American colonists. In the excerpts below, historians Eric Hinderaker (one of the authors of this textbook) and Gregory Evans Dowd highlight one aspect of this conflict: British imperial policy toward the Indian nations.

ERIC HINDERAKER

SOURCE: Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 175.

Officers of empire and Indian leaders had consistently sought, through long years of association, to create patterns of leadership and diplomacy that would mute conflict and encourage accommodation. . . . The collapse of British authority in the Ohio Valley dealt the final blow to the already badly weakened principles of accommodation and mediation.

GREGORY EVANS DOWD

SOURCE: Gregory Evans Dowd, *War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 175.

Official policy, highly confused though it was, tended to place Indians far beyond the rule of law, and it intended, even in the long run, to keep them there by pushing them away from any civil jurisdiction in the colonies. . . . During the war . . . officers urged, ordered, and approved the indiscriminate slaughter of Indians.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify the major difference between these two historians' arguments concerning British policy toward Native Americans.
2. How does each historian assess the effectiveness of British imperial officials in managing relations with Native Americans?
3. How does the textbook's discussion of Anglo-American settlers in the Ohio Valley support or challenge each of the historians' arguments regarding British policy?

The Boston Massacre Even as Parliament was debating North's repeal, events in Boston guaranteed that reconciliation between Patriots and Parliament would be hard to achieve. Between 1,200 and 2,000 troops had been stationed in Boston for a year and a half. Soldiers were also stationed in New York, Philadelphia, several towns in New Jersey, and various frontier outposts in these years, with a minimum of conflict or violence. But in Boston — a small port town on a tiny peninsula — the troops numbered 10 percent of the local population, and their presence wore on the locals. On the night of March 5, 1770, a group of nine British redcoats fired into a crowd and killed five townspeople. A subsequent trial exonerated the soldiers, but Boston's Radical Whigs, convinced of a ministerial conspiracy against liberty, labeled the incident a "massacre" and used it to rally sentiment against imperial power.

Sovereignty Debated When news of North's compromise arrived in the colonies in the wake of the Boston Massacre, the reaction was mixed. Most of Britain's colonists remained loyal to the empire, but five years of conflict had taken their toll. In 1765, American leaders had accepted Parliament's authority; the Stamp Act Resolves had opposed only certain "unconstitutional" legislation. By 1770, the most outspoken Patriots — Benjamin Franklin in Pennsylvania, Patrick Henry in Virginia, and Samuel Adams in Massachusetts — repudiated parliamentary supremacy and claimed equality for the American assemblies within the empire. Franklin suggested that the colonies were now "distinct and separate states" with "the same Head, or Sovereign, the King."

Patriot Propaganda Silversmith Paul Revere issued this engraving of the confrontation between British redcoats and snowball-throwing Bostonians in the days after it occurred. To whip up opposition to the military occupation of their town, Revere and other Patriots labeled the incident "The Boston Massacre." The shooting confirmed their Radical Whig belief that "standing armies" were instruments of tyranny. Library of Congress

Franklin's suggestion outraged Thomas Hutchinson, the American-born royal governor of Massachusetts. Hutchinson emphatically rejected the idea of "two independent legislatures in one and the same state." He told the Massachusetts assembly, "I know of no line that can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies."

There the matter rested. The British had twice imposed revenue acts on the colonies, and American Patriots had twice forced a retreat. If Parliament insisted on a policy of constitutional absolutism by imposing taxes a third time, some Americans were prepared to pursue violent resistance. Nor did they flinch when reminded that George III condemned their agitation. As the Massachusetts House replied to Hutchinson, "There is more reason to dread the consequences of absolute uncontrolled supreme power, whether of a nation or a monarch, than those of total independence." Fearful of civil war, Lord North's ministry hesitated to force the issue.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

What was Benjamin Franklin's position on colonial representation in 1765, and why had his view changed by 1770?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What was the relationship between formal protests against Parliament and popular resistance in the years between 1765 and 1770?

The Road to Independence, 1771–1776

Repeal of the Townshend duties in 1770 restored harmony to the British Empire, but strong feelings and mutual distrust lay just below the surface. In 1773, those emotions erupted, destroying any hope of compromise. Within two years, the Americans and the British clashed in armed conflict. Despite widespread resistance among loyal colonists, Patriot legislators created provisional governments and military forces, the two essentials for independence.

AP® EXAM TIP

To practice identifying examples of cause and effect relationships trace events from 1771 to 1776 that weakened ties between Britain and its colonies.

A Compromise Repudiated

Once aroused, political passions are not easily quieted. In Boston, Samuel Adams and other radical Patriots continued to warn Americans of imperial domination and, late in 1772, persuaded the town meeting to set up a committee of correspondence "to state the Rights of the Colonists of this Province." Soon, eighty Massachusetts towns had similar committees. When British officials threatened to seize the Americans responsible for the burning of the customs vessel *Gaspée* and prosecute them in Britain, the Virginia House of Burgesses and several other assemblies set up their own **committees of correspondence**. These standing committees allowed Patriots to communicate with leaders in other colonies when new threats to liberty occurred. By 1774, among the colonies that would later declare independence, only Pennsylvania was without one.

The East India Company and the Tea Act These committees sprang into action when Parliament passed the **Tea Act of May 1773**. The act provided financial relief for the East India Company, a royally chartered private corporation that served as the instrument of British imperialism. The company was deeply in debt; it also had a huge surplus of tea as a result of high import duties, which led Britons and colonists alike to drink smuggled Dutch tea instead. The Tea Act gave the company a government loan and, to boost its revenue, canceled the import duties on tea the company exported to Ireland and the American colonies. Now even with the Townshend duty of 3 pence a pound on tea, high-quality East India Company tea would cost less than the Dutch tea smuggled into the colonies by American merchants.

Radical Patriots accused the British ministry of bribing Americans with the cheaper East India Company tea so they would give up their principled opposition to the tea tax. As an anonymous woman wrote to the *Massachusetts Spy*, "The use of [British] tea is considered not as a private but as a public evil . . . a handle to introduce a variety of . . . oppressions amongst us." Merchants joined the protest because the East India Company planned to distribute its tea directly to shopkeepers, excluding American wholesalers from the trade's profits. "The fear of an Introduction of a Monopoly in this Country," British general Frederick Haldimand reported from New York, "has induced the mercantile part of the Inhabitants to be very industrious in opposing this Step and added Strength to a Spirit of Independence already too prevalent."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why did colonists react so strongly against the Tea Act, which imposed a small tax and actually lowered the price of tea?

The Tea Party and the Coercive Acts The Sons of Liberty prevented East India Company ships from delivering their cargoes in New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. In Massachusetts, Royal Governor Hutchinson was determined to land the tea and collect the tax. To foil the governor's plan, artisans and laborers disguised as Indians boarded three ships—the *Dartmouth*, the *Eleanor*, and the *Beaver*—on December 16, 1773, broke open 342 chests of tea (valued at about £10,000, or about $900,000 today), and threw them into the harbor. "This destruction of the Tea . . . must have so important Consequences," John Adams wrote in his diary, "that I cannot but consider it as an Epoch in History."

The king was outraged. "Concessions have made matters worse," George III declared. "The time has come for compulsion." Early in 1774, Parliament passed four **Coercive Acts** to force Massachusetts to pay for the tea and to submit to imperial

authority. The Boston Port Bill closed Boston Harbor to shipping; the Massachusetts Government Act annulled the colony's charter and prohibited most town meetings; a new Quartering Act mandated new barracks for British troops; and the Justice Act allowed trials for capital crimes to be transferred to other colonies or to Britain.

Patriot leaders throughout the colonies branded the measures "Intolerable" and rallied support for Massachusetts. In Georgia, a Patriot warned the "Freemen of the Province" that "every privilege you at present claim as a birthright, may be wrested from you by the same authority that blockades the town of Boston." "The cause of Boston," George Washington declared in Virginia, "now is and ever will be considered as the cause of America." The committees of correspondence had created a firm sense of Patriot unity.

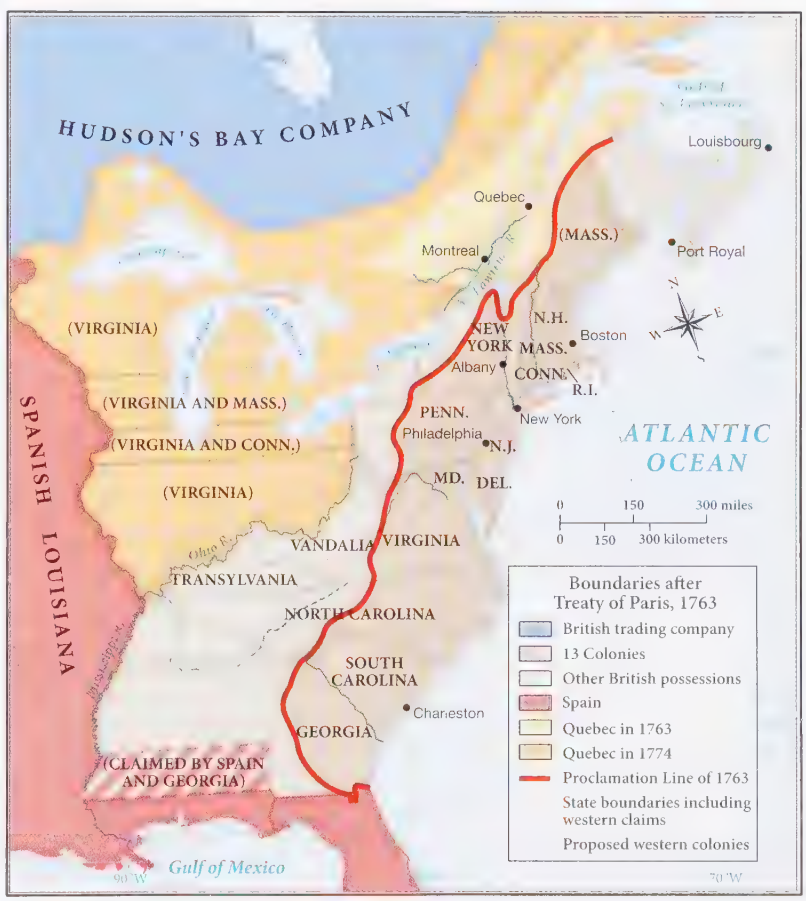
In 1774, Parliament also passed the Quebec Act, which allowed the practice of Roman Catholicism in Quebec. This concession to Quebec's predominantly Catholic population reignited religious passions in New England, where Protestants associated Catholicism with arbitrary royal government. Because the act extended Quebec's boundaries into the Ohio River Valley, it also angered influential land speculators in Virginia and Pennsylvania and ordinary settlers by the thousands (Map 5.4). Although the ministry did not intend the Quebec Act as a coercive measure, many colonists saw it as further proof of Parliament's intention to control American affairs.

The Continental Congress Responds

In response to the Coercive Acts, Patriot leaders convened a new continent-wide body, the **Continental Congress**. Twelve mainland colonies sent representatives. Four recently acquired colonies — Florida, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland — refused to send delegates, as did Georgia, where the royal governor controlled the legislature. The assemblies of Barbados, Jamaica, and the other sugar islands, although wary of British domination, were even more fearful of revolts by their predominantly African populations and therefore declined to attend.

The delegates who met in Philadelphia in September 1774 had different agendas. Southern representatives, fearing a British plot "to overturn the constitution and introduce a system of arbitrary government," advocated a new economic boycott. Independence-minded representatives from New England demanded political union and defensive military preparations. Many delegates from the Middle Atlantic colonies favored compromise.

Led by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, these men of "loyal principles" proposed a new political system similar to Benjamin Franklin's proposal at the Albany Congress of 1754: each colony would retain its assembly to legislate on local matters, and a new continent-wide body would handle general American affairs. The king would appoint a president-general to preside over a legislative council selected by the colonial assemblies. Galloway's plan failed by a single vote; a bare majority thought it was too conciliatory (AP® Analyzing Voices).



MAP 5.4 British Western Policy, 1763–1774
The Proclamation of 1763 prohibited white settlement west of the Appalachian Mountains. Nonetheless, Anglo-American settlers and land speculators proposed the new colonies of Vandalia and Transylvania to the west of Virginia and North Carolina. The Quebec Act of 1774 designated most western lands as Indian reserves and vastly enlarged the boundaries of Quebec, dashing speculators' hopes and eliminating the old sea-to-sea land claims of many seaboard colonies. The act especially angered New England Protestants, who condemned it for allowing French residents to practice Catholicism, and colonial political leaders, who protested its failure to provide Quebec with a representative assembly.

The Debate over Representation and Sovereignty

These two documents offer formal statements of political principles. To analyze them effectively, think carefully about the ways in which the abstract ideas they express might shape the lives of ordinary people. Why did Parliament believe the taxing power was essential to its authority? Why would colonists disagree? And why would people like Joseph Galloway want to find a way to reconcile their differences? Consider what motivated the authors of these documents as you read them; then turn to the Questions for Analysis that follow.

Speaking before the House of Commons, Benjamin Franklin declared that before 1763 Americans had paid little attention to the question of Parliament's "right to lay taxes and duties" in the colonies. The reason was simple, Franklin said: "A right to lay internal taxes was never supposed to be in Parliament, as we are not represented there." Franklin recognized that representation was central to the imperial debate. As the following selections show, the failure to solve the problem of representation, and the closely related issue of parliamentary sovereignty, led to the American rebellion.

JARED INGERSOLL

Report on the Debates in Parliament (1765)

Connecticut lawyer Jared Ingersoll (1722–1781) served as his colony's agent, or lobbyist, in Britain. In this 1765 letter to the governor of Connecticut, Ingersoll summarizes the debate then under way in Parliament over the Stamp Act. When the act passed, he returned home to become the stamp distributor in Connecticut. A mob forced him to resign that post. Ingersoll later served as a vice-admiralty judge in Philadelphia and, during the Revolution, remained loyal to Britain.

SOURCE: New Haven Colony Historical Society, *Papers* (1918), 9: 306–315.

"The principal Attention has been to the Stamp bill that has been preparing to Lay before Parliament for taxing America. The Point of the Authority of Parliament to impose such Tax I found on my Arrival here was so fully and Universally yielded [accepted], that there was not the least hopes of making any impressions that way. . . .

I beg leave to give you a Summary of the Arguments which are made use of in favour of such Authority. The House of Commons, say they, is a branch of the supreme legislature of the Nation, and which in its Nature is supposed to represent, or rather to stand in the place of, the Commons, that is, of the great body of the people. . . .

That this house of Commons, therefore, is now . . . a part of the Supreme unlimited power of the Nation, as in every State there must be some unlimited Power and Authority. . . .

They say a Power to tax is a necessary part of every Supreme Legislative Authority, and that if they have not that Power over America, they have none, and then America is at once a Kingdom of itself.

On the other hand those who oppose the bill say, it is true the Parliament have a supreme unlimited Authority over every Part and Branch of the Kings dominions and as well over Ireland as any other place.

Yet [they say] we believe a British parliament will never think it prudent to tax Ireland [or America]. Tis true they say, that the Commons of England and of the British Empire are all represented in and by the house of Commons, but this representation is confessedly on all hands by Construction and Virtual [because most British subjects] . . . have no hand in choosing the representatives. . . .

[They say further] that the Effects of this implied Representation here and in America must be infinitely different in the Article of Taxation. . . . By any Mistake an act of Parliament is made that prove injurious and hard the Member of Parliament here [in Britain] sees with his own Eyes and is moreover very accessible to the people. . . . [Also,] the taxes are laid equally by one Rule and fall as well on the Member himself as on the people. But as to America, from the great distance in point of Situation [they are not represented in the same way]. . . .

[Finally, the opponents of the Act say] we already by the Regulations upon their trade draw from the Americans all that they can spare. . . . This Step [of taxation] should not take place until or unless the Americans are allowed to send Members to Parliament.

Thus I have given you, I think, the Substance of the Arguments on both sides of that great and important

AP EXAM TIP

Compare the Continental Congress to earlier attempts to unify colonies in the Albany Congress (p. 159) and Stamp Act Congress (p. 148).

Instead, the delegates demanded the repeal of the Coercive Acts and stipulated that British control be limited to matters of trade. They also approved a program of economic retaliation: Americans would stop importing British goods in December 1774. If Parliament did not repeal the Coercive Acts by September 1775, the Congress vowed to cut off virtually all colonial exports to Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies. Ten years of constitutional conflict had culminated in a threat of all-out commercial warfare.

Question of the right and also of the Expediency of taxing America by Authority of Parliament. . . . [But] upon a Division of the house upon the Question, there was about 250 to about 50 in favour of the Bill. ”

JOSEPH GALLOWAY

Plan of Union (1775)

Speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly Joseph Galloway was a delegate to the First Continental Congress, where he proposed a plan that addressed the issue of representation. The colonies would remain British but operate under a continental government with the power to veto parliamentary laws that affected America. Radical Patriots in the Congress, who favored independence, prevented a vote on Galloway's plan and suppressed mention of it in the records. Galloway remained loyal to the crown, fought on the British side in the War for Independence, and moved to England in 1778.

SOURCE: Joseph Galloway, *Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion* (London, 1780), 70.

“ If we sincerely mean to accommodate the difference between the two countries, . . . we must take into consideration a number of facts which led the Parliament to pass the acts complained of. . . . [You will recall] the dangerous situation of the Colonies from the intrigues of France, and the incursions of the Canadians and their Indian allies, at the commencement of the last war. . . . Great-Britain sent over her fleets and armies for their protection. . . .

In this state of the Colonies, it was not unreasonable to expect that Parliament would have levied a tax on them proportionate to their wealth, . . . Parliament was naturally led to exercise the power which had been, by its predecessors, so often exercised over the Colonies, and to pass the Stamp Act. Against this act, the Colonies petitioned Parliament, and denied its authority . . . [declaring] that the Colonies could not be represented in that body. This justly alarmed the British Senate. It was thought and called by the ablest men [in] Britain, a clear and explicit declaration of the American Independence, and compelled the Parliament to pass the Declaratory Act, in order to save its ancient and incontrovertible right of supremacy over all the parts of the empire. . . .

Having thus briefly stated the arguments in favour of parliamentary authority, . . . I am free to confess that the exercise of that authority is not perfectly constitutional in respect to the Colonies. We know that the whole landed interest of Britain is represented in that body, while neither the land nor the people of America hold the least participation in the legislative authority of the State. . . . Representation, or a participation in the supreme councils of the State, is the great principle upon which the freedom of the British Government is established and secured.

I wish to see . . . the right to participate in the supreme councils of the State extended, in some form . . . to America . . . [and therefore] have prepared the draught of a plan for uniting America more intimately, in constitutional policy, with Great-Britain. . . . I am certain when dispassionately considered, it will be found to be the most perfect union in power and liberty with the Parent State, next to a representation in Parliament, and I trust it will be approved of by both countries.

The Plan

That the several [colonial] assemblies shall [form an American union and] choose members for the grand council. . . .

That the Grand Council . . . shall hold and exercise all the like rights, liberties and privileges, as are held and exercised by and in the House of Commons of Great-Britain. . . .

That the President-General shall hold his office during the pleasure of the King, and his assent shall be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and it shall be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution. . . .

That the President-General, by and with the advice and consent of the Grand-Council, hold and exercise all the legislative rights, powers, and authorities, necessary for regulating and administering all the general police and affairs of the colonies. . . .

That the said President-General and the Grand Council, be an inferior and distinct branch of the British legislature, united and incorporated with it, . . . and that the assent of both [Parliament and the Grand Council] shall be requisite to the validity of all such general acts or statutes [that affect the colonies]. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Ingersoll, what were the main arguments of those in Parliament who opposed the Stamp Act? Did those opposing the Stamp Act agree with the act's supporters that Parliament had the right to tax the colonies?
2. How did Galloway's plan solve the problem of colonial representation in Parliament? How would the British ministers who advocated parliamentary supremacy have reacted to the plan?
3. The framers of the U.S. Constitution addressed the problem of dividing authority between state governments and the national government by allowing the states to retain legal authority over most matters and delegating limited powers to the national government. Could such a solution have been implemented in the British Empire? Why or why not?

A few British leaders still hoped for compromise. In January 1775, William Pitt, now sitting in the House of Lords as the Earl of Chatham, asked Parliament to renounce its power to tax the colonies and to recognize the Continental Congress as a lawful body. In return, he suggested, the Congress should acknowledge parliamentary supremacy and provide a permanent source of revenue to help defray the national debt.

Lord North Frederick North, the second earl of Guilford, served as George III's prime minister from 1770 until the end of the American Revolution. He began his term of service by seeking reconciliation with the colonies. In that spirit, he championed the repeal of most of the Townshend duties. After the destruction of the East India Company tea in Boston, however, Lord North pursued a hard line, sponsoring the Coercive Acts and insisting that Boston should pay for the tea it destroyed. In taking this approach, North had the full support of the king, who was appalled by the destruction of the tea and believed that the colonies had to be pressed to acknowledge British authority. The Granger Collection, New York

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

Why did Parliament prefer North's solution to the Boston Tea Party to William Pitt's?

The British ministry rejected Pitt's plan. Twice it had backed down in the face of colonial resistance; a third retreat was impossible. Branding the Continental Congress an illegal assembly, the ministry rejected Lord Dartmouth's proposal to send commissioners to negotiate a settlement. Instead, Lord North set **stringent** terms: Americans must pay for their own defense and administration and acknowledge Parliament's authority to tax them. To put teeth in these demands, North imposed a naval blockade on American trade with foreign nations and ordered General Gage to suppress dissent in Massachusetts. "Now the case seemed desperate," the prime minister told Thomas Hutchinson, whom the Patriots had forced into exile in London. "Parliament would not — could not — concede." North predicted that the crisis "must come to violence."

The Rising of the Countryside

The fate of the urban-led Patriot movement would depend on the colonies' large rural population. Most farmers had little interest in imperial affairs. Their lives were deeply rooted in the soil, and their prime allegiance was to family and community. But imperial policies had increasingly intruded into the lives of farm families by sending their sons to war and raising their taxes. In 1754, farmers on Long Island, New York, had paid an average tax of 10 shillings; by 1756, thanks to the Great War for Empire, their taxes had jumped to 30 shillings.

The Continental Association The boycotts of 1765 and 1768 raised the political consciousness of rural Americans. When the First Continental Congress established the **Continental Association** in 1774 to enforce a third boycott of British goods, it quickly set up a rural network of committees to do its work. In Concord, Massachusetts, 80 percent of the male heads of families and a number of single women signed a "Solemn League and Covenant" supporting nonimportation. In other farm towns, men blacked their faces, disguised themselves in blankets "like Indians," and threatened violence against shopkeepers who traded "in rum, molasses, & Sugar, &c." in violation of the boycott.

Patriots likewise warned that British measures threatened the yeoman tradition of landownership. In Petersham, Massachusetts, the town meeting worried that new British taxes would drain "this People of the Fruits of their Toil." Arable land was now scarce and expensive in older communities, and in new settlements merchants were seizing farmsteads for delinquent debts. By the 1770s, many northern yeomen felt personally threatened by British policies, which, a Patriot pamphlet warned, were "paving the way for reducing the country to lordships" (Table 5.2).

Southern Planters Fear Dependency Despite their higher standard of living, southern slave owners had similar fears. Many Chesapeake planters were deeply in debt to British merchants. Accustomed to being absolute masters on their slave-labor plantations and seeing themselves as guardians of English liberties, planters resented their financial dependence on British creditors and dreaded the prospect of political subservience to British officials.

That danger now seemed real. If Parliament used the Coercive Acts to subdue Massachusetts, then it might turn next to Virginia, dissolving its representative assembly and assisting British merchants to seize debt-burdened properties. Consequently, the Virginia gentry supported demands by indebted yeomen farmers to close the law courts so that they could bargain with merchants over debts without the threat of legal action. "The spark of liberty is not yet extinct among our people," declared one planter, "and if properly fanned by the Gentlemen of influence will, I make no doubt, burst out again into a flame."

Loyalists and Neutrals

Yet in many places, the Patriot movement was a hard sell. In Virginia, Patriot leaders were nearly all wealthy planters, and many of their poorer neighbors regarded the

TABLE 5.2

Patriot Resistance, 1762–1776

Date	British Action	Patriot Response
1762	Revenue Act	Merchants complain privately
1763	Proclamation Line	Land speculators voice discontent
1764	Sugar Act	Merchants and Massachusetts legislature protest
1765	Stamp Act	Sons of Liberty riot; Stamp Act Congress; first boycott of British goods
1765	Quartering Act	New York assembly refuses to fund until 1767
1767–1768	Townshend Act; military occupation of Boston	Second boycott of British goods; harassment of pro-British merchants
1772	Royal commission to investigate *Gaspée* affair	Committees of correspondence form
1773	Tea Act	Widespread resistance; Boston Tea Party
1774	Coercive Acts; Quebec Act	First Continental Congress; third boycott of British goods
1775	British raids near Boston; king's Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition	Armed resistance; Second Continental Congress; invasion of Canada; cutoff of colonial exports
1776	Military attacks led by royal governors in South	Paine's *Common Sense*; Declaration of Independence

movement with suspicion. In regions where great landowners became Patriots — the Hudson River Valley of New York, for example — many tenant farmers supported the king because they hated their landlords. Similar social conflicts prompted some Regulators in the North Carolina backcountry and many farmers in eastern Maryland to oppose the Patriots there.

There were many reasons to resist the Patriot movement. Skeptics believed that Patriot leaders were subverting British rule only to advance their own selfish interests. Peter Oliver wrote of Samuel Adams, for example, "He was so thorough a Machiavilian, that he divested himself of every worthy Principle, & would stick at no Crime to accomplish his Ends." Some "Gentlemen of influence" worried that resistance to Britain would undermine all political institutions and "introduce Anarchy and disorder and render life and property here precarious." Their fears increased when the Sons of Liberty used intimidation and violence to uphold the boycotts. One well-to-do New Yorker complained, "No man can be in a more abject state of bondage than he whose Reputation, Property and Life are exposed to the discretionary violence . . . of the community." As the crisis deepened, such men became Loyalists — so called because they remained loyal to the British crown.

Many other colonists simply hoped to stay out of the fray. Some did so on principle: in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, thousands of pacifist Quakers and Germans resisted conscription and violence out of religious conviction. Others were ambivalent or confused about the political crisis unfolding around them. The delegate elected to New York's Provincial Congress from Queen's County, on Long Island, chose not to attend since "the people [he represented] seemed to be much inclined to remain peaceable and quiet." More than three-fourths of Queen's County voters, in fact, opposed sending any delegate at all. Many loyal or neutral colonists hoped, above all, to preserve their families' property and independence, whatever the outcome of the imperial crisis.

Historians estimate that some 15 to 20 percent of the white population — perhaps as many as 400,000 colonists — were loyal to the crown. Some managed to avoid persecution, but many were pressured by their neighbors to join the boycotts and subjected to violence and humiliation if they refused. As Patriots took over the reins of local government throughout the colonies, Loyalists were driven out of their homes or forced into

silence. At this crucial juncture, Patriots commanded the allegiance, or at least the acquiescence, of the majority of white Americans.

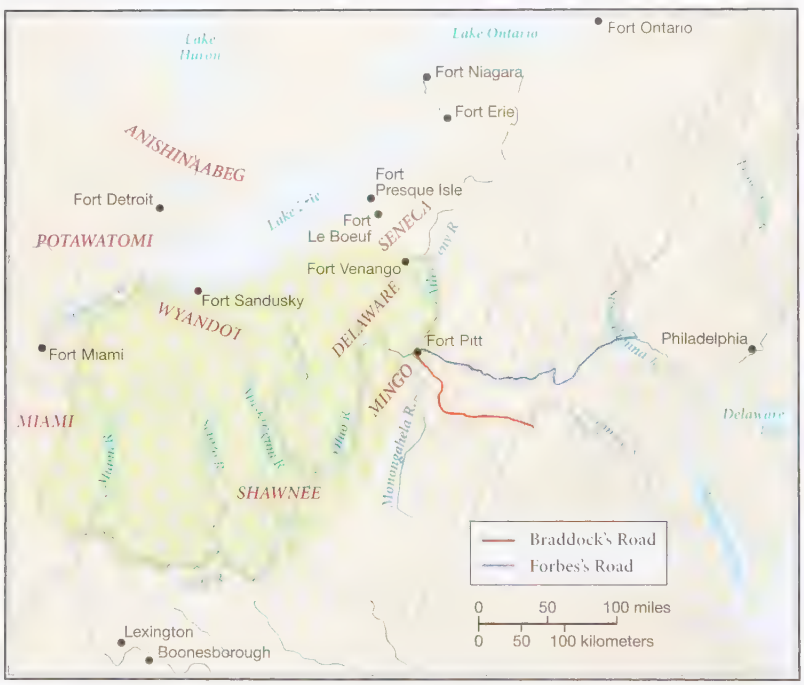
IN YOUR OWN WORDS What actions did the Continental Association take to support the efforts of the Continental Congress?

Violence East and West

By 1774, British authority was wavering. At the headwaters of the Ohio, the abandonment of Fort Pitt left a power vacuum that was filled by opportunistic men, led by a royally appointed governor acting in defiance of his commission. In Massachusetts, the attempt to isolate and punish Boston and the surrounding countryside backfired as Patriots resisted military coercion. Violence resulted in both places, and with it the collapse of imperial control.

Lord Dunmore's War

In the years since the end of Pontiac's Rebellion, at least 10,000 people had traveled along Braddock's and Forbes's Roads to the headwaters of the Ohio River, where Fort Pitt had replaced Fort Duquesne during the Great War for Empire, and staked claims to land around Pittsburgh (Map 5.5). They relied for protection on Fort Pitt, which remained one of Britain's most important frontier outposts. But the revenue crisis forced General Gage to cut expenses, and in October 1772, the army pulled down the fort's log walls and left the site to the local population. Settler relations with the neighboring Ohio Indians were tenuous and ill-defined, and the fort's abandonment left them exposed and vulnerable.



MAP 5.5 The Ohio Country, 1774–1775
The erosion of British imperial authority caused chaos in the Ohio country. Pennsylvania and Virginia each claimed Pittsburgh and the surrounding countryside, while the Indian communities on the upper Ohio increasingly feared colonist aggression. Their fears were realized in the summer of 1774, when Lord Dunmore led a force of Virginia militia into the valley. After defeating a Shawnee force in the Battle of Point Pleasant, many Virginians began surveying and staking claims to land in the Kentucky bluegrass. In the summer of 1775, perhaps a dozen new towns were settled there, in violation of the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774.

In the ensuing power vacuum, Pennsylvania and Virginia both claimed the region. Pennsylvania had the better claim on paper. It had organized county governments, established courts, and collected taxes there. But — in keeping with its pacifist Quaker roots — it did not organize a militia. In this omission, Virginia's royal governor, the Earl of Dunmore, recognized an opportunity. Appointed to his post in 1771, Dunmore was an irascible and unscrupulous man who clashed repeatedly with the House of Burgesses. But when it suited him, he was just as willing to defy the crown. In 1773, he traveled to Pittsburgh, where, he later wrote, "the people flocked about me and beseeched me . . . to appoint magistrates and officers of militia." He organized a local militia; soon, men armed by Virginia were drilling near the ruins of Fort Pitt.

In the summer of 1774, Dunmore took the next step. In defiance of both his royal instructions and the House of Burgesses, he called out Virginia's militia and led a force of 2,400 men against the Ohio Shawnees, who had a long-standing claim to Kentucky as a hunting

ground. They fought a single battle, at Point Pleasant; the Shawnees were defeated, and Dunmore and his militia forces claimed Kentucky as their own. A participant justified his actions shortly afterward: "When without a king," he wrote, "[one] doeth according to the freedom of his own will." Years of neglect left many colonists in the backcountry feeling abandoned by the crown. **Dunmore's War** was their declaration of independence.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What led to Dunmore's War, and why did western settlers support it?

Armed Resistance in Massachusetts

Meanwhile, as the Continental Congress gathered in Philadelphia in September 1774, Massachusetts was also defying British authority. In August, a Middlesex County Congress had urged Patriots to close the existing royal courts and to transfer their political allegiance to the popularly elected House of Representatives. Subsequently, armed crowds harassed Loyalists and ensured Patriot rule in most of New England.

In response, General Thomas Gage, now the military governor of Massachusetts, ordered British troops in Boston in September 1774 to seize Patriot armories in nearby Charlestown and Cambridge. An army of 20,000 militiamen quickly mobilized to safeguard other Massachusetts military depots. The Concord town meeting raised a defensive force, the famous **Minutemen**, to "Stand at a minutes warning in Case of alarm." Increasingly, Gage's authority was limited to Boston, where it rested on the bayonets of his 3,500 troops. Meanwhile, the Patriot-controlled Massachusetts assembly met in nearby Salem in open defiance of Parliament, collecting taxes, bolstering the militia, and assuming the responsibilities of government.

In London, the colonial secretary, Lord Dartmouth, proclaimed Massachusetts to be in "open rebellion" and ordered Gage to march against the "rude rabble." On the night of April 18, 1775, Gage dispatched 700 soldiers to capture colonial leaders and supplies at Concord. However, Paul Revere and a series of other riders warned Patriots in many towns, and at dawn, militiamen confronted the British regulars first at Lexington and then at Concord. Those first skirmishes took a handful of lives, but as the British retreated to Boston, militia from neighboring towns repeatedly ambushed them. By the end of the day, 73 British soldiers were dead, 174 wounded, and 26 missing. British fire had killed 49 Massachusetts militiamen and wounded 39. Twelve years of economic and constitutional conflict had ended in violence.

The Second Continental Congress Organizes for War

A month later, in May 1775, Patriot leaders gathered in Philadelphia for the **Second Continental Congress**. As the Congress opened, 3,000 British troops attacked American fortifications on Breed's Hill and Bunker Hill overlooking Boston. After three assaults and 1,000 casualties, they finally dislodged the Patriot militia. Inspired by his countrymen's valor, John Adams exhorted the Congress to rise to the "defense of American liberty" by creating a continental army. He nominated George Washington to lead it. After bitter debate, the Congress approved the proposals, but, Adams lamented, only "by bare majorities."

Congress Versus King George Despite the bloodshed in Massachusetts, a majority in the Congress still hoped for reconciliation. Led by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, these moderates won approval of a petition expressing loyalty to George III and asking for repeal of oppressive parliamentary legislation. But Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and other zealous Patriots drummed up support for a Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms. Americans dreaded the "calamities of civil war," the declaration asserted, but were "resolved to die Freemen rather than to live [as] slaves." George III failed to exploit the divisions among the Patriots; instead, in August 1775, he issued a Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the violence around Boston in the spring of 1775 affect proceedings in the Second Continental Congress?

Before the king's proclamation reached America, the radicals in the Congress had won support for an invasion of Canada to prevent a British attack from the north. Patriot forces easily defeated the British at Montreal; but in December 1775, they failed to capture Quebec City and withdrew. Meanwhile, American merchants waged the financial warfare promised at the First Continental Congress by cutting off exports to Britain and its West Indian sugar islands. Parliament retaliated with the Prohibitory Act, which outlawed all trade with the rebellious colonies.

Fighting in the South Skirmishes between Patriot and Loyalist forces now broke out in the southern colonies. In Virginia, Patriots ousted Governor Dunmore and forced him to take refuge on a British warship in Chesapeake Bay. Branding the rebels "traitors," the governor organized two military forces: one white, the Queen's Own Loyal Virginians; and one black, the Ethiopian Regiment, which enlisted 1,000 slaves who had fled their Patriot owners. In November 1775, Dunmore issued a controversial proclamation promising freedom to black slaves and white indentured servants who joined the Loyalist cause. White planters denounced this "Diabolical scheme," claiming it "point[ed] a dagger to their Throats." A new rising of the black and white underclasses, as in Bacon's Rebellion in the 1670s, seemed a possibility. In Fincastle County in southwestern Virginia, Loyalist planter John Hiell urged workers to support the king, promising "a Servant man" that soon "he and all the negroes would get their freedom." Frightened by Dunmore's aggressive tactics, Patriot yeomen and tenants called for a final break with Britain.

In North Carolina, too, military clashes prompted demands for independence. Early in 1776, Josiah Martin, the colony's royal governor, raised a Loyalist force of 1,500 Scottish Highlanders in the backcountry. In response, Patriots mobilized the lowcountry militia and, in February, defeated Martin's army at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, capturing more than 800 Highlanders. Following this victory, radical Patriots in the North Carolina assembly told its representatives to the Continental Congress to join with "other Colonies in declaring Independence, and forming foreign alliances." In May, the Virginia gentry followed suit: led by James Madison, Edmund Pendleton, and Patrick Henry, the Patriots met in convention and resolved unanimously to support independence.

Daniel Boone Escorting Settlers Through the Cumberland Gap In 1775 Daniel Boone led a group of prospective settlers into Kentucky on behalf of Richard Henderson, a North Carolina judge and self-appointed proprietor of a land speculation venture called the Transylvania Colony. Henderson's venture soon collapsed, but Boonesborough was one of perhaps a dozen towns founded in Kentucky in violation of crown policy that summer. Boone became a folk hero, and in the mid-nineteenth century George Caleb Bingham painted this memorable scene. Using biblical imagery (the woman on horseback recalls Mary riding into Bethlehem on a donkey) and dramatic lighting, Bingham portrays Boone as an agent of progress bringing civilization to a howling and dangerous wilderness.

Occupying Kentucky Beginning in the spring of 1775, in the wake of Dunmore's War, independent parties of adventurers began to occupy the newly won lands of Kentucky. Daniel Boone led one group to the banks of the Kentucky River, where they established the town of Boonesborough; nearby was Lexington, named in honor of the Massachusetts town that had resisted British troops a few months earlier. The Shawnees and other Ohio Indians opposed the settlers, and colonists built their tiny towns in the form of stations to protect themselves—groups of cabins connected by **palisades** to form small forts.

These western settlers had complex political loyalties. Many had marched under Dunmore and hoped to receive recognition for their claims from the crown. But as the rebellion unfolded, most recognized that the Patriots' emphasis on liberty and equality

squared with their view of the world. They soon petitioned Virginia's rebel government, asking it to create a new county that would include the Kentucky settlements. They had "Fought and bled" for the land in Dunmore's War and now wanted to fight against the crown and its Indian allies in the Ohio country. Virginia agreed: in 1776, it organized six new frontier counties and sent arms and ammunition to Kentucky. In July, the Continental Congress followed suit, dispatching troops and arms to the Ohio River as well.

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*

As military conflicts escalated, Americans were divided in their opinions of King George III. Many blamed him for supporting oppressive legislation and ordering armed retaliation, but other influential colonists held out the hope that he might mediate their conflict with Parliament. John Dickinson, whose *Letters* did so much to arouse Patriot resistance in 1768, nevertheless believed that war with Great Britain would be folly. In July 1775, he persuaded Congress to send George III the Olive Branch Petition, which pleaded with the king to negotiate. John Adams, a staunch supporter of independence, was infuriated by Dickinson's waffling. But Dickinson had many supporters, both inside and outside of Congress. For example, many of Philadelphia's Quaker and Anglican merchants were neutrals or Loyalists. In response to their passivity, Patriot artisans in the city organized a Mechanics' Association to protect America's "just Rights and Privileges."

With popular sentiment in flux, a single brief pamphlet helped tip the balance. In January 1776, Thomas Paine published *Common Sense*, a rousing call for independence and a republican form of government. Paine had served as a minor customs official in England until he was fired for joining a protest against low wages. In 1774, Paine migrated to Philadelphia, where he met Benjamin Rush and other Patriots who shared his republican sentiments.

In *Common Sense*, Paine assaulted the traditional monarchical order in stirring language. "Monarchy and hereditary succession have laid the world in blood and ashes," Paine proclaimed, leveling a personal attack at George III, "the hard hearted sullen Pharaoh of England." Mixing insults with biblical quotations, Paine blasted the British system of "mixed government" that balanced power among the three estates of king, lords, and commoners. Paine granted that the system "was noble for the dark and slavish times" of the past, but now it yielded only "monarchical tyranny in the person of the king" and "aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers."

Paine argued for American independence by turning the traditional metaphor of patriarchal authority on its head: "Is it the interest of a man to be a boy all his life?" he asked. Within six months, *Common Sense* had gone through twenty-five editions and reached hundreds of thousands of people. "There is great talk of independence," a worried New York Loyalist noted, "the unthinking multitude are mad for it. . . . A pamphlet called Common Sense has carried off . . . thousands." Paine urged Americans to create independent republican states: "A government of our own is our natural right, 'tis time to part."

Independence Declared

Inspired by Paine's arguments and beset by armed Loyalists, Patriot conventions urged a break from Britain. In June 1776, Richard Henry Lee presented Virginia's resolution to the Continental Congress: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." Faced with certain defeat, staunch Loyalists and anti-independence moderates withdrew from the Congress, leaving committed Patriots to take the fateful step. On July 4, 1776, the Congress approved the **Declaration of Independence** (see Documents, p. D-1).

AP® EXAM TIP

Outline the ideals expressed in Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and the Declaration of Independence.

The Declaration's main author, Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, had mobilized resistance to the Coercive Acts with the pamphlet *A Summary View of the Rights of British America* (1774). Now, in the Declaration, he justified independence and republicanism to Americans and the world by **vilifying** George III: "He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people." Such a prince

La Destruction de la Statue Royale, Paris On July 9, 1776 — just days after the Continental Congress approved the Declaration of Independence — a New York crowd removed symbols of the monarchy from buildings throughout the city and smashed or burned them. The crowd then proceeded to Bowling Green on the southern end of Manhattan and pulled down a statue of King George III on horseback. Constructed of gilded lead, the two-ton statue was beheaded. The horse and its headless rider were melted down to make bullets. Patriots intended to place the king's head on a spike, but British soldiers recovered it and shipped it to England. In this engraving, printed in Paris, the work is being done by slaves, suggesting how Europeans imagined life in the American colonies. Libr

was a "tyrant," Jefferson concluded, and "is unfit to be the ruler of a free people."

Employing the ideas of the European Enlightenment, Jefferson proclaimed a series of "self-evident" truths: "that all men are created equal"; that they possess the "unalienable rights" of "Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness"; that government derives its "just powers from the consent of the governed" and can rightly be overthrown if it "becomes destructive of these ends." By linking these doctrines of individual liberty, **popular sovereignty** (the principle that ultimate power lies in the hands of the electorate), and republican government with American independence, Jefferson established them as the defining political values of the new nation.

For Jefferson, as for Paine, the pen proved mightier than the sword. The Declaration won wide support in France and Germany; at home, it sparked celebrations in rural hamlets and seaport cities, as crowds burned effigies and toppled statues of the king. On July 8, 1776, in Easton, Pennsylvania, a "great number of spectators" heard a reading of the Declaration, "gave their hearty assent with three loud huzzahs, and cried out, 'May God long preserve and unite the Free and Independent States of America.' "

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **How did the colonies' long controversy with Parliament influence the ideals that shaped the independence movement?**

SUMMARY

Chapter 5 has focused on a short span of time — little more than a decade — and outlined the plot of a political drama. Act I of that drama resulted from the Great War for Empire, which prompted British political leaders to implement a program of imperial reform and taxation. Act II is full of dramatic action, as colonial mobs riot, colonists chafe against restrictions on western lands, Patriot pamphleteers articulate ideologies of resistance, and British ministers search for compromise between claims of parliamentary sovereignty and assertions of colonial autonomy. Act III takes the form of tragedy: the once-proud British Empire dissolves into civil war, an imminent nightmare of death and destruction.

Why did this happen? More than two centuries later, the answers still are not clear. Certainly, the lack of astute leadership in Britain was a major factor. But British leaders faced circumstances that limited their actions: a huge national debt and deep commitments to both a powerful fiscal-military state and the absolute supremacy of Parliament. Moreover, in America, decades of salutary neglect strengthened Patriots' demands for political autonomy and economic opportunity. Artisans, farmers, and aspiring western settlers all feared an oppressive new era in imperial relations. The trajectories of their conflicting intentions and ideas placed Britain and its American possessions on course for a disastrous and fatal collision.

CHAPTER 5 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What changes in Britain's imperial policy were triggered by its victory in the Great War for Empire?
2. What was the relationship between formal protests against Parliament and popular resistance in the years between 1765 and 1770?
3. What actions did the Continental Association take to support the efforts of the Continental Congress?
4. How did the colonies' long controversy with Parliament influence the ideals that shaped the independence movement?
5. Consider the events listed under "Politics and Power" and "Work, Exchange, and Technology" for the period 1763–1776 on the thematic timeline on page 138. How important were the linkages between economic developments and political ones in these years?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Sugar Act of 1764 (p. 145)
vice-admiralty courts (p. 145)
Stamp Act of 1765 (p. 146)
virtual representation (p. 147)
Quartering Act of 1765 (p. 147)
Stamp Act Congress (p. 148)
Sons of Liberty (p. 148)
English common law (p. 149)
natural rights (p. 149)
Declaratory Act of 1766 (p. 150)
Townshend Act of 1767 (p. 151)
nonimportation movement (p. 151)
committees of correspondence (p. 158)
Tea Act of May 1773 (p. 158)
Coercive Acts (p. 158)
Continental Congress (p. 159)
Continental Association (p. 162)
Dunmore's War (p. 165)
Minutemen (p. 165)
Second Continental Congress (p. 165)
Declaration of Independence (p. 167)
popular sovereignty (p. 168)

Key People

George Grenville (p. 145)
John Dickinson (p. 149)
Charles Townshend (p. 150)
Lord North (p. 153)
Samuel Adams (p. 158)
Lord Dunmore (p. 164)
Thomas Paine (p. 167)
Thomas Jefferson (p. 167)

Key Academic Terms

specter (p. 145)
incursion (p. 145)
effigy (p. 148)
veneration (p. 149)
explicit (p. 150)
exchequer (p. 150)
stringent (p. 162)
palisade (p. 166)
vilify (p. 167)

AP® MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Chapter 4 presented a turbulent era, marked by social and cultural conflict and imperial warfare, during which the regions of British North America were disparate and without unity. Yet by 1776 — only thirteen years after the Treaty of Paris ending the Great War for Empire — thirteen of Britain's mainland colonies were prepared to unite in a Declaration of Independence. What happened in that intervening time to strengthen and deepen colonists' sense of common cause? As they drew together to resist imperial authority, what political and cultural resources did they have in common?
2. Return to the Paul Revere engraving of the Boston Massacre on page 157. This image was an instrument of political propaganda. What features of the image are most important to its political purpose? Consider his depiction of both the soldiers and the townspeople. Look, too, at the buildings surrounding the crowd, especially the Custom House on the right. List the ways in which Revere invokes the idea of tyranny in this image.

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 142 for help in answering the questions below.

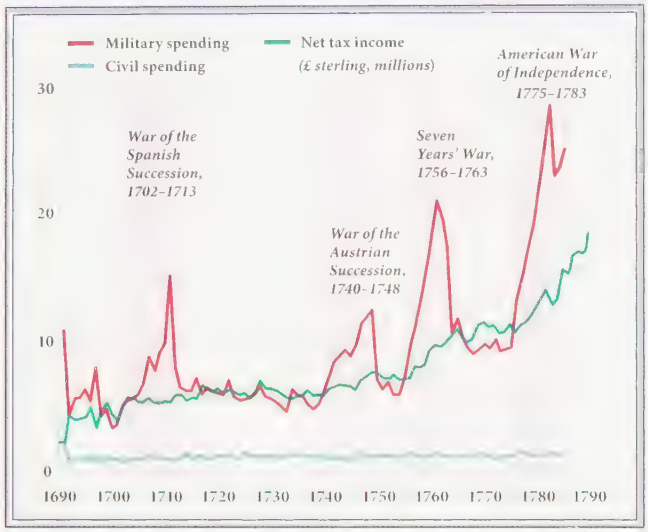
The Boston Tea Party (1773), the Coercive Acts (1774), and the First Continental Congress (1774): What did Parliament hope to achieve with the Coercive Acts? How did the decision to convene a continent-wide congress demonstrate the failure of Parliament's efforts?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the graph below.



The Cost of Empire, 1690–1790

1. Which of the following most directly contributed to the trends seen in the graph between 1740 and 1765?
   a. Inability of the British navy to secure trade on the high seas
   b. Failure of the British government to recognize colonial dissatisfaction with imperial policy
   c. Decreased British imperial interest in governing its North American colonies
   d. Intensifying rivalries in North America between European powers seeking to expand
2. The graph would be most useful as a source of information about which of the following?
   a. European and American Indian alliances during the Seven Years' War
   b. British attempts to consolidate control over its American colonies
   c. American colonists' increasing demands for self-rule
   d. British efforts to collect taxes without direct colonial consent
3. Which of the following pieces of evidence would best support the graph's depiction of economic changes during this era?
   a. Ship logs recording the goods carried between the colonies and the Caribbean
   b. Political pamphlets calling for increased resistance to British imperial policies
   c. Parliamentary records detailing the cost of stationing troops in the colonies
   d. The diary of an American merchant describing the collection of customs duties

Questions 4–6 refer to the below engraving depicting events of the 1760s.

Protesting the Stamp Act in Portsmouth, New Hampshire

Illustration from "Interesting Events in the History of the U.S." by J. W. Barber, 1829/Picture Research Consultants & Archives

4. The activities of the colonists in the 1760s depicted in the engraving could best be used as evidence to support which of the following arguments?
   a. Colonial elites feared the dangers of self-rule and popular sovereignty.
   b. Commoners sought to preserve policies favoring Protestantism in the colonies.
   c. Colonists of all classes protested Britain's pro-expansion policies.
   d. British efforts to raise revenue from the colonies sparked major resistance.
5. Political protests of the 1760s, such as the one depicted in the engraving, flourished for all of the following reasons EXCEPT
   a. parliament's adoption of a policy of salutary neglect after the Seven Years' War.
   b. colonial leaders such as Benjamin Franklin organized resistance to British imperial policy.
   c. the spread of a transatlantic print literature across the colonies.
   d. British efforts to restrict colonists' westward expansion into unsecured areas.

6. In response to events in the 1760s, American colonists most commonly
   a. embraced ideas of hereditary privilege.
   b. argued for natural rights and republicanism.
   c. demanded abolition of slavery.
   d. departed from ideas popularized by the Enlightenment.

Questions 7–8 refer to the excerpt below.

> "This widespread ownership of property is perhaps the most important single fact about the Americans of the Revolutionary period. It meant that they were not divided so widely between rich and poor as the people of the Old World. Most of the men and women who settled the colonies had come with expectations of a better life for themselves and their children, and most had achieved it . . . [T]here was as yet no professed belief in social equality . . . in every colony there were aristocrats . . . , [but] there were no peasants for them to lord it over — except always the slaves."
>
> Edmund Morgan, *The Birth of the Republic: 1763–1789*, 1992

7. Which of the following most likely resulted in the period from 1754 to 1776 from the trend described in the excerpt?
   a. The colonies began to unite after perceived constraints on their political and economic activities.
   b. Colonists provided financial and material support for the Revolution despite economic hardships.
   c. The American Revolution was energized by laborers, and women, as well as elites and intellectuals.
   d. The Patriots succeeded in overthrowing Britain because of their overwhelming financial advantages.
8. The passage would be most useful as a source of information about which of the following?
   a. The impact of Enlightenment ideas on colonial society
   b. Radical agitators and extralegal violence
   c. Changing notions of family and gender roles
   d. Growing sectionalism and regional specialization

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "Officers of empire and Indian leaders had consistently sought, through long years of association, to create patterns of leadership and diplomacy that would mute conflict and encourage accommodation. . . . The collapse of British authority in the Ohio Valley dealt the final blow to the already badly weakened principles of accommodation and mediation."
>
> Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800*, 1997

> "Official policy, highly confused though it was, tended to place Indians far beyond the rule of law, and it intended, even in the long run, to keep them there by pushing them away from any civil jurisdiction in the colonies. . . . During the war . . . officers urged, ordered, and approved the indiscriminate slaughter of Indians."
>
> Gregory Evans Dowd, *War Under Heaven: Pontiac, the Indian Nations, & the British Empire*, 2002

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Hinderaker's and Dowd's historical interpretations of British policies toward Native American Indians.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development during the period 1754 to 1776 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Hinderaker's argument.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development during the period 1754 to 1776 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Dowd's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause of British participation in the Seven Years' War (1754–1763).
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that resulted from British participation in the Seven Years' War (1754–1763).
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific British imperial policy resulting from the Seven Years' War (1754–1763) changed relations between Britain and its North American colonies.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between the goals of the First Continental Congress (1774) and the Second Continental Congress (1775).
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between a policy or action undertaken by the First Continental Congress and a policy or action undertaken by the Second Continental Congress.
   c. Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for the difference in the goals between the First and Second Continental Congress you explained in (a) OR ONE important historical factor that accounts for the difference in a policy or action between the First and Second Continental Congress you explained in (b).

CHAPTER 6

Making War and Republican Governments

1776–1789

The Trials of War, 1776–1778

War in the North

Armies and Strategies

Victory at Saratoga

The Perils of War

Financial Crisis

Valley Forge

The Path to Victory, 1778–1783

The French Alliance

War in the South

The Patriot Advantage

Diplomatic Triumph

Creating Republican Institutions, 1776–1787

The State Constitutions: How Much Democracy?

Women Seek a Public Voice

The War's Losers: Loyalists, Native Americans, and Slaves

The Articles of Confederation

Shays's Rebellion

The Constitution of 1787

The Rise of a Nationalist Faction

The Philadelphia Convention

The People Debate Ratification

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How revolutionary was the American Revolution? What political, social, and economic changes did it produce, and what stayed the same?

When Patriots in Frederick County, Maryland, demanded his allegiance to their cause in 1776, Robert Gassaway would have none of it. "It was better for the poor people to lay down their arms and pay the duties and taxes laid upon them by King and Parliament than to be brought into slavery and commanded and ordered about [by you]," he told them. The story was much the same in Farmington, Connecticut, where Patriot officials imprisoned Nathaniel Jones and seventeen other men for "remaining neutral." In Pennsylvania, Quakers accused of Loyalism were rounded up, jailed, and charged with treason, and some were hanged for aiding the British cause. Everywhere, the outbreak of fighting in 1776 forced families to choose the Loyalist or the Patriot side.

The Patriots' control of most local governments gave them an edge in this battle. Patriot leaders organized militia units and recruited volunteers for the Continental army, a ragtag force that surprisingly held its own on the battlefield. "I admire the American troops tremendously!" exclaimed a French officer. "It is incredible that soldiers composed of every age, even children of fifteen, of whites and blacks, almost naked, unpaid, and rather poorly fed, can march so well and withstand fire so steadfastly."

Military service created political commitment, and vice versa. Many Patriot leaders encouraged Americans not only to support the war but also to take an active role in government. As more people did so, their political identities changed. Previously, Americans had lived within a social world dominated by the links of family, **kinship**, and locality. Now, the abstract bonds of citizenship connected them directly to more distant institutions of government. "From subjects to citizens the difference is immense," remarked South Carolina Patriot David Ramsay. By repudiating monarchical rule and raising a democratic army, the Patriots launched the age of republican revolutions.

Soon republicanism would throw France into turmoil and inspire revolutionaries in Spain's American colonies. The independence of the Anglo-American colonies, remarked the Venezuelan political leader Francisco de Miranda, who had been in New York and Philadelphia at the end of the American Revolution, "was bound to be . . . the infallible preliminary to our own [independence movement]." The Patriot uprising of 1776 set in motion a process that gradually replaced an Atlantic colonial system that spanned the Americas with an American system of new nations.

General Washington, 1781 By war's end, George Washington was a hero on both sides of the Atlantic. This engraving, printed in Paris in 1781, shows him with various British bills and declarations in tatters at his feet while he holds copies of the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Alliance with France. In the background of this vaguely Orientalized scene, a black slave — presumably William Lee, Washington's valet and constant companion during the Revolution — saddles his horse.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1776
- Second Continental Congress declares independence
- Howe forces Washington to retreat from New York and New Jersey
- Pennsylvania approves democratic state constitution
- John Adams publishes *Thoughts on Government*

1777
- Articles of Confederation create central government
- Howe occupies Philadelphia (September)
- Gates defeats Burgoyne at Saratoga (October)

1778
- Franco-American alliance (February)
- Lord North seeks political settlement
- Congress rejects negotiations
- British adopt southern strategy
- British capture Savannah (December)

1778–1781
- Severe inflation of Continental currency

1779
- British and American forces battle in Georgia

1780
- Clinton seizes Charleston (May)
- French troops land in Rhode Island

1781
- Cornwallis invades Virginia (April), surrenders at Yorktown (October)
- States finally ratify Articles of Confederation

1783
- Treaty of Paris (September 3) officially ends war

1784–1785
- Congress enacts political and land ordinances for new states

1786
- Nationalists hold convention in Annapolis, Maryland
- Shays's Rebellion roils Massachusetts

1787
- Congress passes Northwest Ordinance
- Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia

1787–1788
- Jay, Madison, and Hamilton write *The Federalist*
- Eleven states ratify U.S. Constitution

Joseph Brant Mohawk chief Thayendanegea, known to whites as Joseph Brant, was a devout member of the Church of England and helped to translate the Bible into the Mohawk language. Brant persuaded four of the six Iroquois nations to support Britain in the war. He received a captain's commission in the British army and led Iroquois warriors and Tory rangers in devastating attacks on American settlements in the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania and Cherry Valley in New York. After the war, he was instrumental in resettling Mohawks and other British-allied Indians on the Grand River in Ontario, Canada. Brant was depicted many times by painters and sculptors. In this 1786 portrait, painted during one of his trips to England, Gilbert Stuart depicts his hybrid identity and captures a haunting sense of melancholy. [illegible]

The Trials of War, 1776–1778

The Declaration of Independence appeared just as the British launched a full-scale military assault. For two years, British troops manhandled the Continental army. A few inspiring American victories kept the rebellion alive, but during the winters of 1776 and 1777, the Patriot cause hung in the balance.

War in the North

Once the British resorted to military force, few Europeans gave the rebels a chance. The population of Great Britain was 11 million; the colonies, 2.5 million, 20 percent of whom were enslaved Africans. Moreover, the British government had access to the immense wealth generated by the South Atlantic System and the emerging Industrial Revolution. Britain also had the most powerful navy in the world, a standing army of 48,000 Britons plus thousands of German (Hessian) soldiers, and the support of thousands of American Loyalists and powerful Indian coalitions. In the Carolinas, the Cherokees resisted colonists' demands for their lands by allying with the British, as did four of the six Iroquois nations of New York (Map 6.1). In the Ohio country, Shawnees and their allies, armed by the British, attacked the new Kentucky settlements.

By contrast, the Americans were economically and militarily weak. They lacked a strong central government and a reliable source of tax revenue. Their new Continental army, commanded by General George Washington, consisted of 18,000 poorly trained and inexperienced recruits.

To demonstrate Britain's military superiority, Prime Minister Lord North ordered General William Howe to capture New York City. His strategy was to seize control of the Hudson River and thereby isolate the radical Patriots in New England from the colonies to the south. As the Second Continental Congress declared independence in Philadelphia in July 1776, Howe landed 32,000 troops — British regulars and German **mercenaries** — outside New York City. In August 1776, Howe defeated the Americans in the **Battle of Long Island** and forced their retreat to Manhattan Island. There, Howe outflanked Washington's troops and nearly trapped them. Outgunned and outmaneuvered, the Continental army again retreated, eventually crossing the Hudson River to New Jersey. By December, the British army had pushed the rebels across New Jersey and over the Delaware River into Pennsylvania.

From the Patriots' perspective, winter came just in time. Following eighteenth-century custom, the British halted their military campaign for the cold months, allowing the Americans to catch them off guard. On Christmas night 1776, Washington crossed the Delaware River and staged a successful surprise attack on Trenton, New Jersey, where he forced the surrender of 1,000 German soldiers. In early January 1777, the Continental army won a small victory at nearby Princeton (Map 6.2). But these minor triumphs could not mask British military superiority. "These are the times," wrote Thomas Paine, "that try men's souls."

Armies and Strategies

Thanks in part to General Howe, the rebellion survived. Howe had opposed the Coercive Acts of 1774 and still hoped for a political compromise. So he did not try to destroy the American army but instead tried to show its weakness and persuade the Continental Congress to give up the struggle. Howe's restrained tactics cost Britain the opportunity to nip the rebellion in the bud. For his part, Washington acted cautiously to avoid a major defeat: "On our Side the War should be defensive," he told Congress. His strategy was to draw the British away from the seacoast, extend their lines of supply, and sap their morale.

Congress had promised Washington a regular force of 75,000 men, but the Continental army never reached even a third of that number. Yeomen, refusing to be "Haras'd with callouts" that took them away from their families and farms, would serve only in local militias. When the Virginia gentry imposed a military draft and three years of service on propertyless men — the "Lazy fellows who lurk about and are pests to Society" — they resisted so fiercely that the legislature had to pay them substantial bounties and agree to shorter terms of service. The Continental soldiers recruited in Maryland by General William Smallwood were poor American youths and older foreign-born men, often British ex-convicts and former indentured servants. Most enlisted for the $20 cash bonus (about $2,000 today) and the promise of 100 acres of land.

MAP 6.1 Patriot and Loyalist Strongholds
Patriots were in the majority in most of the thirteen mainland colonies and used their control of local governments to funnel men, money, and supplies to the rebel cause. Although Loyalists could be found in every colony, their strongholds were limited to Nova Scotia, eastern New York, New Jersey, and certain areas in the South. However, most Native American peoples favored the British cause and bolstered the power of Loyalist militias in central New York (see Map 6.3) and in the Carolina backcountry.

Molding such recruits into an effective fighting force was nearly impossible. Inexperienced soldiers panicked in the face of British attacks; thousands deserted, unwilling to submit to the discipline of military life. The soldiers who stayed resented the contempt their officers had for the "camp followers," the women who made do with the meager supplies provided to feed and care for the troops. General Philip Schuyler of New York complained that his troops were "destitute of provisions, without camp equipage, with little ammunition, and not a single piece of cannon."

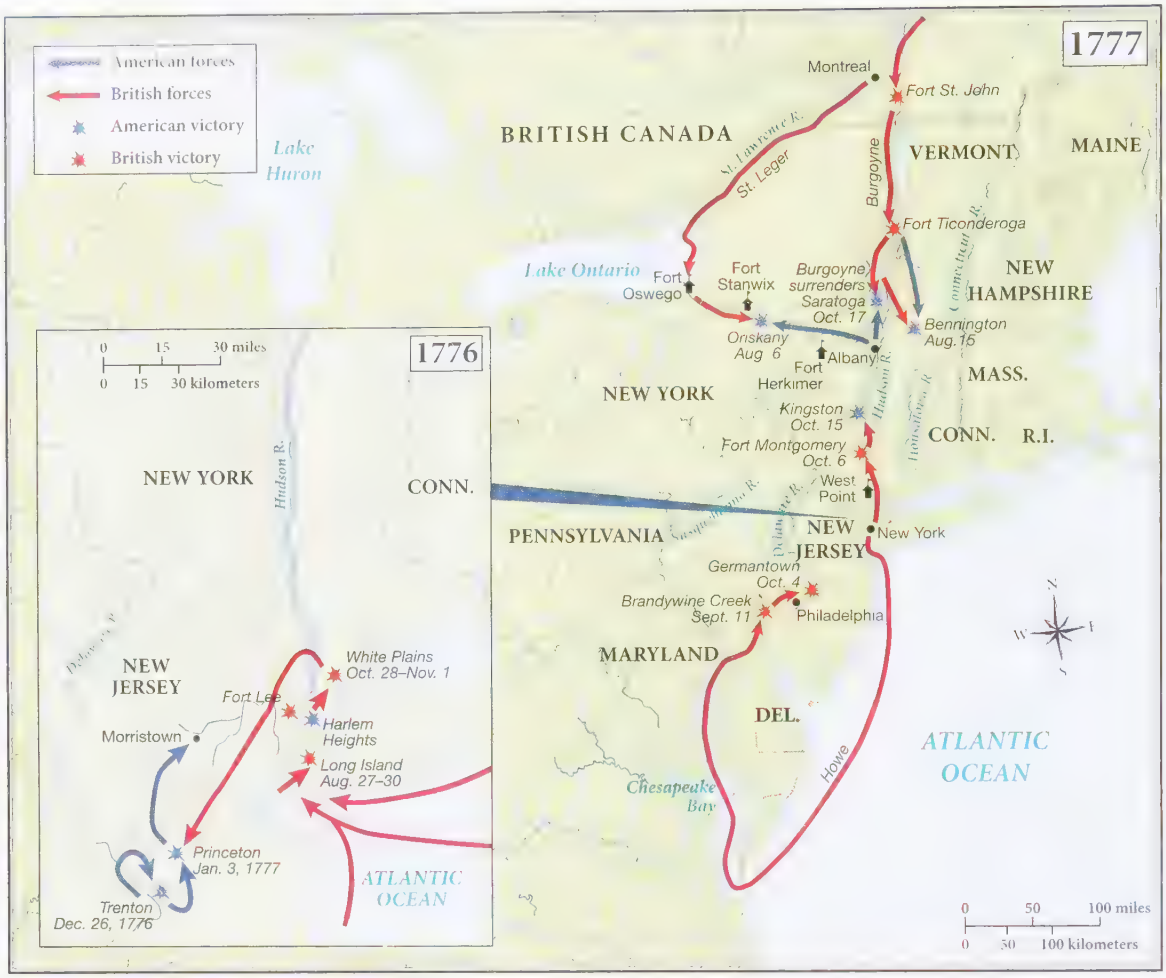
The Continental army was not only poorly supplied but was also held in suspicion by Radical Whig Patriots, who believed that a standing army was a threat to liberty. Even in wartime, they preferred militias to a professional fighting force. Given these handicaps, Washington and his army were fortunate to have escaped an overwhelming defeat.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS
POINT OF VIEW
Why was control of New York City Britain's first military objective in the emerging war?

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
What factors made it difficult for the Continental Congress to create an effective army?

Victory at Saratoga

After Howe failed to achieve an overwhelming victory, Lord North and his colonial secretary, Lord George Germain, launched another major military campaign in 1777.



MAP 6.2 The War in the North, 1776–1777
In 1776, the British army drove Washington's forces across New Jersey into Pennsylvania. The Americans counterattacked successfully at Trenton and Princeton and then set up winter headquarters in Morristown. In 1777, British forces stayed on the offensive. General Howe attacked the Patriot capital, Philadelphia, from the south and captured it in early October. Meanwhile, General Burgoyne and Colonel St. Leger launched simultaneous invasions from Canada. With the help of thousands of New England militiamen, American troops commanded by General Horatio Gates defeated Burgoyne in August at Bennington, Vermont, and in October at Saratoga, New York, the military turning point in the war.

Isolating New England remained the primary goal. To achieve it, Germain planned a three-pronged attack converging on Albany, New York. General John Burgoyne would lead a large contingent of regulars south from Quebec, Colonel Barry St. Leger and a force of Iroquois would attack from the west, and General Howe would lead troops north from New York City.

Howe instead decided to attack Philadelphia, the home of the Continental Congress, hoping to end the rebellion with a single decisive blow. Howe's troops easily outflanked the American positions along Brandywine Creek in Delaware and, in late September, marched triumphantly into Philadelphia. However, the capture of the rebels' capital did not end the uprising; the Continental Congress, determined to continue the struggle, fled to the countryside.

In the north, Burgoyne's troops had at first advanced quickly, overwhelming the American defenses at Fort Ticonderoga in early July and driving south toward the Hudson River. Then they stalled. Burgoyne — nicknamed "Gentleman Johnny" — was used to high living and had fought in Europe in a leisurely fashion; underestimating the extent of popular support for the rebels, he stopped early each day to pitch comfortable

tents and eat elaborate dinners with his officers. The American troops led by General Horatio Gates also slowed Burgoyne's progress by felling huge trees in his path and raiding British supply lines to Canada.

At summer's end, Burgoyne's army of 6,000 British and German troops and 600 Loyalists and Indians was stuck near Saratoga, New York. Desperate for food and horses, in August the British raided nearby Bennington, Vermont, but were beaten back by 2,000 American militiamen. Patriot forces in the Mohawk Valley also threw St. Leger and the Iroquois into retreat. Making matters worse, the British commander in New York City recalled 4,000 troops he had sent toward Albany and ordered them to Philadelphia to bolster Howe's force. While Burgoyne waited in vain for help, thousands of Patriot militiamen from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New York joined Gates. The Patriots "swarmed around the army like birds of prey," reported an English sergeant, and in October 1777, they forced Burgoyne to surrender.

Victory at Saratoga The surrender of General John Burgoyne to American forces at Saratoga, New York, in October 1777 was the most important Patriot victory in the early years of the war. General Horatio Gates, wearing the blue and buff officers' uniform of the Continental army, stands at the center of this painting by John Trumbull, which hangs in the U.S. Capitol. Burgoyne, in the scarlet uniform of the British army, forlornly offers Gates his sword as Gates invites him into his tent. The Patriots' victory at Saratoga, which unfolded over several weeks in a complex set of military maneuvers, proved to their allies and enemies alike that they could defeat a British army in the field. Architect of the Capitol

The victory at the **Battle of Saratoga** was the turning point of the war. The Patriots captured more than 5,000 British troops and ensured the diplomatic success of American representatives in Paris, who won a military alliance with France.

The Perils of War

The Patriots' triumph at Saratoga was tempered by wartime difficulties. A British naval blockade cut off supplies of European manufactures and disrupted the New England fishing industry; meanwhile, the British occupation of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia reduced trade. As Patriots, along with unemployed artisans and laborers, moved to the countryside, New York City's population declined from 21,000 to 10,000. The British blockade cut tobacco exports in the Chesapeake, so planters grew grain to sell to the contending armies. All across the land, farmers and artisans adapted to a war economy.

With goods now scarce, governments requisitioned military supplies directly from the people. In 1776, Connecticut officials asked the citizens of Hartford to provide 1,000 coats and 1,600 shirts, and soldiers echoed their pleas. After losing all his shirts "except the one on my back" in the Battle of Long Island, Captain Edward Rogers told his wife that "the making of Cloath . . . must go on." Patriot women responded; in Elizabeth, New Jersey, they promised "upwards of 100,000 yards of linnen and woolen cloth." Other women assumed the burdens of farmwork while their men were away at war and acquired a taste for decision making. "We have sow'd our oats as you desired," Sarah Cobb Paine wrote to her absent husband. "Had I been master I should have planted it to

American Militiamen Beset by continuing shortages of cloth, the Patriot army dressed in a variety of uniforms and fabrics. This German engraving, taken from a drawing by a Hessian officer, shows two American militiamen (one of them barefoot) wearing hunting shirts and trousers made of ticking, the strong linen fabric often used to cover mattresses and pillows. Anne S. K. Brown M... ollection, Brown University Library

AP® EXAM TIP

Identify the ways that men and women mobilized resources in support of the Patriot movement in the American Revolution.

Corn." Their self-esteem boosted by wartime activities, some women expected greater legal rights in the new republican society.

Still, goods remained scarce and pricey. Hard-pressed consumers assailed shopkeepers as "enemies, **extortioners**, and monopolizers" and called for government regulation. But when the New England states imposed price ceilings in 1777, many farmers and artisans refused to sell their goods Ultimately, a government official admitted, consumers had to pay the higher market prices "or submit to starving."

The fighting endangered tens of thousands of civilians. A British officer, Lord Rawdon, favored giving "free liberty to the soldiers to ravage [the country] at will, that these infatuated creatures may feel what a calamity war is." As British and American armies marched back and forth across New Jersey, they forced Patriot and Loyalist families to flee their homes to escape arrest — or worse. Soldiers and **partisans** looted farms, and disorderly troops harassed and raped women and girls. "An army, even a friendly one, are a dreadful scourge to any people," wrote one Connecticut soldier. "You cannot imagine what devastation and distress mark their steps."

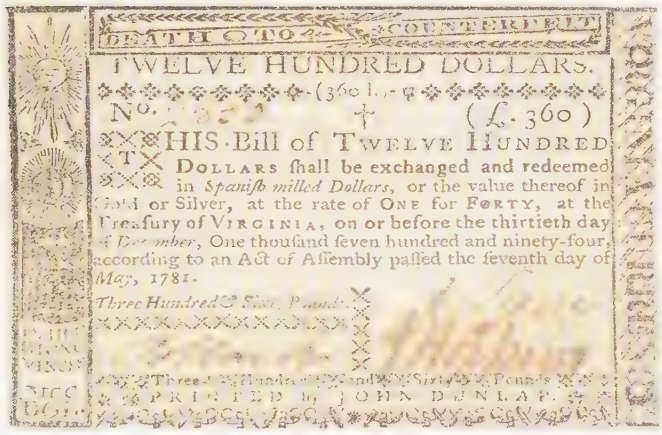
Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

The war divided many farm communities. Patriots formed committees of safety to collect taxes and seized the property of those who refused to pay. "Every Body submitted to our Sovereign Lord the Mob," lamented a Loyalist preacher. In parts of Maryland, the number of "nonassociators" — those who refused to join either side — was so large that they successfully defied Patriot mobs. "Stand off you dammed rebel sons of bitches," shouted Robert Davis of Anne Arundel County, "I will shoot you if you come any nearer."

Financial Crisis

Such defiance exposed the weakness of Patriot governments. Most states were afraid to raise taxes, so officials issued bonds to secure gold or silver from wealthy individuals. When those funds ran out, individual states financed the war by issuing so much paper money — some $260 million all told — that it lost worth, and most people refused to accept it at face value. In North Carolina, even tax collectors eventually rejected the state's currency.

The finances of the Continental Congress collapsed, too, despite the efforts of Philadelphia merchant Robert Morris, the government's chief treasury official. Because the Congress lacked the authority to impose taxes, Morris relied on funds requisitioned from the states, but the states paid late or not at all. So Morris secured loans from France and Holland and sold Continental loan certificates to some thirteen thousand firms and individuals. All the while, the Congress was issuing paper money — some $200 million between 1776 and 1779 — which, like state currencies, quickly fell in value. In 1778, a family needed $7 in Continental bills to buy goods worth $1 in gold or silver. As the exchange rate deteriorated — to 42 to 1 in 1779, 100 to 1 in 1780, and 146 to 1 in 1781 — it sparked social upheaval. In Boston, a mob of women accosted merchant Thomas Boyleston, "seazd him by his Neck," and forced him to sell his wares at traditional prices. In rural Ulster County, New York, women told the committee of safety to lower food prices or "their husbands and sons shall fight no more." As morale crumbled, Patriot leaders feared the rebellion would collapse.


DEATH TO COUNTERFEITS

TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS.

No. (£.360)

THIS Bill of TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS shall be exchanged and redeemed in *Spaniſh milled Dollars*, or the value thereof in Gold or Silver, at the rate of ONE for FORTY, at the Treaſury of VIRGINIA, on or before the thirtieth day of *December*, One thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four, according to an Act of Aſſembly paſſed the ſeventh day of *May*, 1781.

Three Hundred & Sixty Pounds

PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

Paper Currency Testifying to their independent status, the new state governments printed their own currencies. Rejecting the English system of pounds and shillings, Virginia used the Spanish gold dollar as its basic unit of currency, although the equivalent in English pounds is also shown. Initially, $1,200 was equal to £360 — a ratio of 3.3 to 1. By 1781, Virginia had printed so much paper money to pay its soldiers and wartime expenses that the value of its currency had depreciated. It now took $40 in Virginia currency to buy the same amount of goods as £1 sterling. Courtesy of the American Numismatic Society

Valley Forge

Fears reached their peak during the winter of 1777. While Howe's army lived comfortably in Philadelphia, Washington's army retreated 20 miles to **Valley Forge**, where

12,000 soldiers and hundreds of camp followers suffered horribly. "The army . . . now begins to grow sickly," a surgeon confided to his diary. "Poor food — hard lodging — cold weather — fatigue — nasty clothes — nasty cookery. . . . Why are we sent here to starve and freeze?" Nearby farmers refused to help. Some were pacifists, Quakers and German sectarians unwilling to support either side. Others looked out for their own families, selling grain for gold from British quartermasters but refusing depreciated Continental currency. "Such a dearth of public spirit, and want of public virtue," lamented Washington. By spring, more than 200 officers had resigned, 1,000 hungry soldiers had deserted, and another 3,000 had died from malnutrition and disease. That winter at Valley Forge took as many American lives as had two years of fighting.

In this dark hour, Baron von Steuben raised the readiness of the American army. A former Prussian military officer, von Steuben was one of a handful of republican-minded foreign aristocrats who joined the American cause. Appointed as inspector general of the Continental army, he instituted a strict drill system and encouraged officers to become more professional. Thanks to von Steuben, the smaller army that emerged from Valley Forge in the spring of 1778 was a much tougher and better-disciplined force.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What challenges did Patriot forces confront in the first two years of the war, and what were their key achievements?**

The Path to Victory, 1778–1783

Wars are often won by astute diplomacy, and so it was with the War of Independence. The Patriots' prospects improved dramatically in 1778, when the Continental Congress concluded a military alliance with France, the most powerful nation in Europe. The alliance gave the Americans desperately needed money, supplies, and, eventually, troops. And it confronted Britain with an international war that challenged its domination of the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

The French Alliance

AP® EXAM TIP

Explaining the importance of European allies in the Patriot victory over the superior British army is essential for success on the AP® exam.

France and America were unlikely partners. France was Catholic and a monarchy; the United States was Protestant and a federation of republics. From 1689 to 1763, the two peoples had been enemies: New Englanders had brutally uprooted the French population from Acadia (Nova Scotia) in 1755, and the French and their Indian allies had raided British settlements. But the Comte de Vergennes, the French foreign minister, was determined to avenge the loss of Canada during the Great War for Empire (see Chapter 4) and persuaded King Louis XVI to provide the rebellious colonies with a secret loan and much-needed gunpowder. When news of the rebel victory at Saratoga reached Paris in December 1777, Vergennes sought a formal alliance.

Benjamin Franklin and other American diplomats craftily exploited France's rivalry with Britain to win an explicit commitment to American independence. The Treaty of Alliance of February 1778 specified that once France entered the war, neither partner would sign a separate peace without the "liberty, sovereignty, and independence" of the United States. In return, the Continental Congress agreed to recognize any French conquests in the West Indies. "France and America," warned Britain's Lord Stormont, were "indissolubly leagued for our destruction."

The alliance gave new life to the Patriots' cause. "There has been a great change in this state since the news from France," a Patriot soldier reported from Pennsylvania. Farmers — "mercenary wretches," he called them — were "as eager for Continental Money now as they were a few weeks ago for British gold." Its confidence bolstered, the

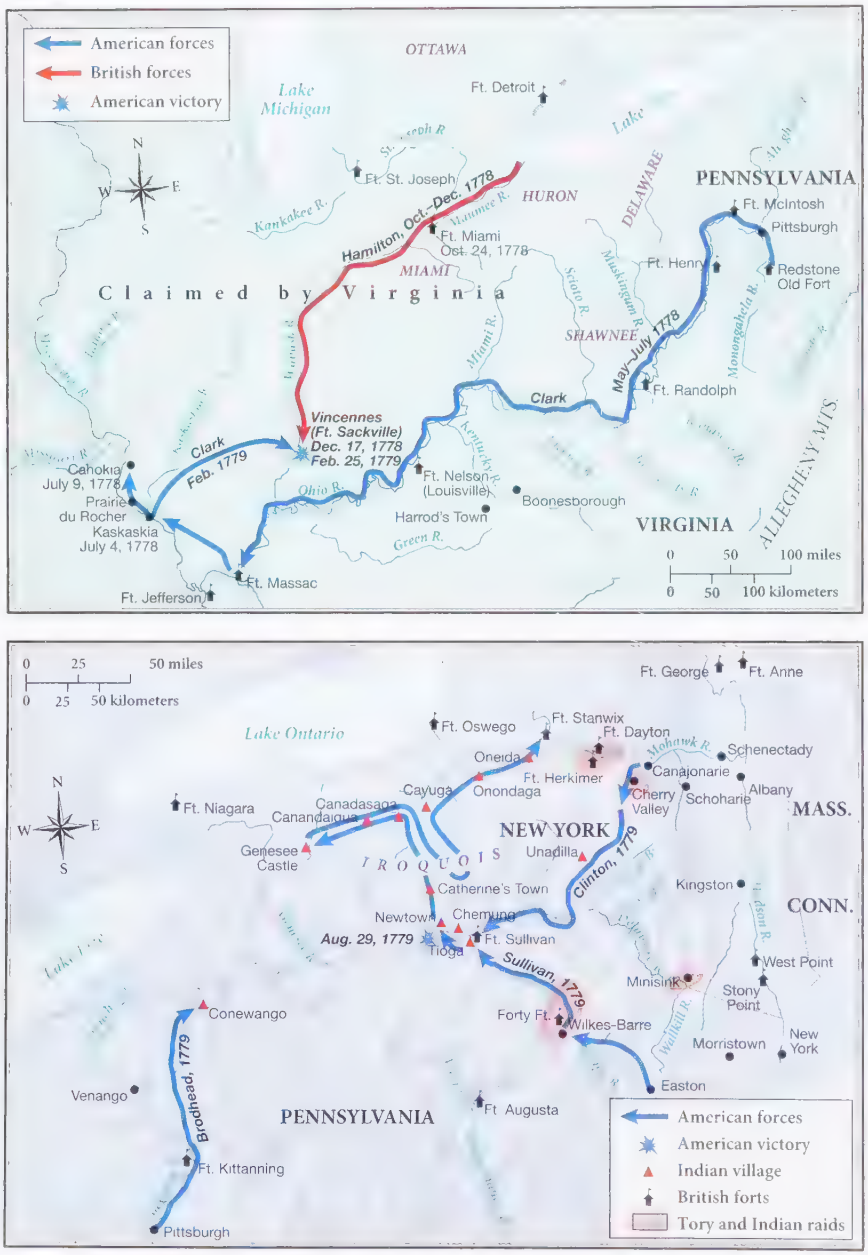
AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the most important results of the Patriot victory at Saratoga?

Continental Congress addressed the demands of the officer corps. Most officers were gentlemen who equipped themselves and raised volunteers; in return, they insisted on lifetime military **pensions** at half pay. John Adams condemned the officers for "scrambling for rank and pay like apes for nuts," but General Washington urged the Congress to grant the pensions: "The salvation of the cause depends upon it." The Congress reluctantly granted the officers half pay, but only for seven years.

Meanwhile, the war had become unpopular in Britain. At first, George III was determined to crush the rebellion. If America won independence, he warned Lord North, "the West Indies must follow them. Ireland would soon follow the same plan and be a separate state, then this island would be reduced to itself, and soon would be a poor island indeed." Stunned by the defeat at Saratoga, however, the king changed his mind. To thwart an American alliance with France, he authorized North to seek a negotiated settlement. In February 1778, North persuaded Parliament to repeal the Tea and Prohibitory Acts and, amazingly, to renounce its power to tax the colonies. But the Patriots, now allied with France and committed to independence, rejected North's overture.



MAP 6.3 Native Americans and the War in the West, 1778–1779

Many Indian peoples remained neutral, but others, fearing land-hungry Patriot farmers, used British-supplied guns to raid American settlements. To thwart attacks by militant Shawnees, Cherokees, and Delawares, a Patriot militia led by George Rogers Clark captured the British fort and supply depot at Vincennes on the Wabash River in February 1779. To the north, Patriot generals John Sullivan and James Clinton defeated pro-British Indian forces near Tioga (on the New York–Pennsylvania border) in August 1779 and then systematically destroyed villages and crops throughout the lands of the Iroquois.

War in the South

The French alliance did not bring a rapid end to the war. When France entered the conflict in June 1778, it hoped to seize all of Britain's sugar islands. Spain, which joined the war against Britain in 1779, aimed to regain Florida and the fortress of Gibraltar at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea.

Britain's Southern Strategy For its part, the British government revised its military strategy to defend the West Indies and capture the rich tobacco- and rice-growing colonies: Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Once conquered, the ministry planned to use the Scottish Highlanders in the Carolinas and other Loyalists to hold them. It had already mobilized the Cherokees and Delawares against the land-hungry Americans and knew that the Patriots' fears of slave uprisings weakened them militarily (Map 6.3). As South Carolina Patriots admitted to the Continental Congress, they could raise only a few recruits "by reason of the great proportion of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the Negroes."

The large number of slaves in the South made the Revolution a "triangular war," in which African Americans constituted a strategic problem for Patriots and a tempting, if dangerous, opportunity for the British. Britain actively recruited slaves to its cause. The effort began with Dunmore's controversial proclamation in November 1775 recruiting slaves to his Ethiopian Regiment (see Chapter 5). In 1779, the **Philipsburg Proclamation** declared that any slave who deserted a rebel master would receive protection, freedom, and land from Great Britain. Together, these proclamations led some 30,000 African Americans to take refuge behind British lines. George Washington initially barred blacks from the Continental army, but he relented in 1777. By war's end, African Americans could enlist in every state but South Carolina and Georgia, and some 5,000 — slave and free — fought for the Patriot cause (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

It fell to Sir Henry Clinton — acutely aware of the role slaves might play — to implement Britain's southern strategy. From the British army's main base in New York City, Clinton launched a seaborne attack on Savannah, Georgia. Troops commanded by Colonel Archibald Campbell captured the town in December 1778. Mobilizing hundreds of blacks to transport supplies, Campbell moved inland and captured Augusta early in 1779. By year's end, Clinton's forces and local Loyalists controlled coastal Georgia and had 10,000 troops poised for an assault on South Carolina.

In 1780, British forces marched from victory to victory (Map 6.4). In May, Clinton forced the surrender of Charleston, South Carolina, and its garrison of 5,000 troops. Then Lord Charles Cornwallis assumed control of the British forces and, at Camden, defeated an American force commanded by General Horatio Gates, the hero of Saratoga. Only 1,200 Patriot militiamen joined Gates at Camden, a fifth of the number at Saratoga. Cornwallis took control of South Carolina, and hundreds of African Americans fled to freedom behind British lines. The southern strategy was working.

Then the tide of battle turned. Thanks to another republican-minded European aristocrat, the Marquis de Lafayette, France finally dispatched troops to the American mainland. A longtime supporter of the American cause, Lafayette persuaded King Louis XVI to send General Comte de Rochambeau and 5,500 men to Newport, Rhode Island, in 1780. There, they threatened the British forces holding New York City.

Guerrilla Warfare in the Carolinas Meanwhile, Washington dispatched General Nathanael Greene to recapture the Carolinas, where he found "a country that has been ravaged and plundered by both friends and enemies." Greene put local militiamen, who had been "without discipline and addicted to plundering," under strong leaders and unleashed them on less mobile British forces. In October 1780, Patriot militia defeated a regiment of Loyalists at King's Mountain, South Carolina, taking about one thousand prisoners. American **guerrillas** commanded by the "Swamp Fox," General Francis Marion, also won a series of small but fierce battles. Then, in January 1781, General Daniel Morgan led an American

Francis Marion Crossing the Pedee River Francis Marion was a master of the ferocious guerrilla fighting that characterized the war in South Carolina. Though Patriot general Horatio Gates had little confidence in him, Marion led an irregular militia brigade in several successful attacks. After chasing Marion into a swamp, British general Banastre Tarleton declared, "As for this damned old fox, the Devil himself could not catch him." Soon Patriots began calling Marion the Swamp Fox. In 1851, William T. Ranney painted Marion (on horseback in a white shirt and blue coat) and his men crossing the Pedee River in flatboats. Ranney included an unidentified (and possibly fictionalized) black oarsman. William T. Ranney, *Marion Crossing the Pedee*, 1850, oil on canvas, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas, 1983.1.2

The Black Soldier's Dilemma

For African American slaves, the Revolution offered no clear path to freedom. Some slaves agreed to fight for Britain because of its promise to liberate slaves who fought against their masters. While some were freed, many others died fighting, were forced into servitude in the army, or even sold into slavery in the West Indies. Patriots at first refused the service of black soldiers, then enlisted them in small numbers, but always upheld the property rights of masters.

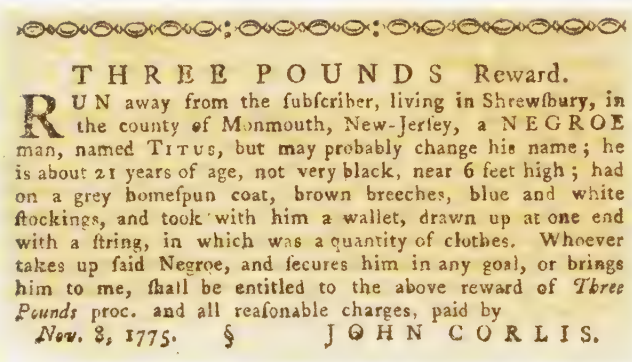
1. **Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775.** *Virginia's Governor Dunmore issued this proclamation in response to the emerging rebellion and formed his recruits into the so-called Ethiopian Regiment.*

   To defeat such unreasonable Purposes . . . that the Peace, and good Order of this Colony may be again restored . . . I have thought fit to issue this my Proclamation, hereby declaring, that until the aforesaid good Purposes can be obtained, I do in Virtue of the Power and Authority to me given, by His majesty, determine to execute Martial Law, and cause the same to be executed throughout this Colony: and to the end that Peace and good Order may the sooner be [effected], I do require every Person capable of bearing Arms, to [resort] to His majesty's standard, or be looked upon as Traitors to His [majesty] . . . I do hereby further declare all indentured Servants, Negroes, or others, (appertaining to Rebels,) free that are able and willing to bear Arms, they joining His majesty's Troops as soon as may be, for the more speedily reducing this Colony to a proper Sense of their Duty.

2. **Virginia's response to Dunmore's Proclamation, 1775.** *A month later, Virginia's General Assembly issued the following response.*

   WHEREAS lord Dunmore, by his proclamation, dated on board the ship William, off Norfolk, the 7th day of November 1775, hath offered freedom to such able-bodied slaves as are willing to join him, and take up arms, against the good people of this colony, giving thereby encouragement to a general insurrection . . . it is enacted, that all negro or other slaves, conspiring to rebel or make insurrection, shall suffer death. . . . We think it proper to declare, that all slaves who have been, or shall be seduced, by his lordship's proclamation, or other arts, to desert their masters' service, and take up arms against the inhabitants of this colony, shall be liable to such punishment as shall hereafter be directed by the General Convention. . . . [A]ll such, who have taken this unlawful and wicked step, may return in safety to their duty, and escape the punishment due their crimes. . . . And we do farther earnestly recommend it to all humane and benevolent persons in this colony to explain and make known this our offer of mercy to those unfortunate people.

3. **Runaway advertisement, 1775.** *Titus — or, as he was later known, Captain Tye of the Ethiopian Regiment — abandoned his Delaware master in response to Dunmore's Proclamation.*



THREE POUNDS Reward.

RUN away from the ſubſcriber, living in Shrewſbury, in the county of Monmouth, New-Jerſey, a NEGROE man, named TITUS, but may probably change his name; he is about 21 years of age, not very black, near 6 feet high; had on a grey homeſpun coat, brown breeches, blue and white ſtockings, and took with him a wallet, drawn up at one end with a ſtring, in which was a quantity of clothes. Whoever takes up ſaid Negroe, and ſecures him in any goal, or brings him to me, ſhall be entitled to the above reward of *Three Pounds* proc. and all reaſonable charges, paid by

Nov. 8, 1775. § JOHN CORLIS.

SOURCE: American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, USA/Bridgeman Images

4. **Report of Bernardo de Gálvez, 1780.** *Fighting against the British in support of the Patriots, Louisiana governor Bernardo de Gálvez raised a mixed regiment, almost half of whom were slaves and free people of color from New Orleans. He praised their efforts in this report of his campaign.*

   No less deserving of eulogy are the companies of Negroes and free Mulattoes who were continually occupied in the outposts, in false attacks, and discoveries,

force to a bloody victory at Cowpens, South Carolina. In March, Greene's soldiers fought Cornwallis's seasoned army to a draw at North Carolina's Guilford Court House. Weakened by this war of **attrition**, the British general decided to concede the Carolinas to Greene and seek a decisive victory in Virginia. There, many Patriot militiamen had refused to take up arms, claiming that "the Rich wanted the Poor to fight for them."

Exploiting these social divisions, Cornwallis moved easily through the Tidewater region of Virginia in the early summer of 1781. Reinforcements sent from New York

exchanging shots with the enemy . . . conduct[ing] themselves with as much valor and generosity as the whites.

5. **Boston King gains his freedom, 1783.** *In 1780, Boston King, like many other southern slaves, escaped to the British army. Here he describes his experiences at war's end.*

About this time, peace was restored between America and Great Britain which diffused universal joy among all parties except us, who had escaped slavery and taken refuge in the English army; for a report prevailed at New-York that all the slaves, in number two thousand, were to be delivered up to their masters, altho' some of them had been three or four years among the English. This dreadful rumour filled us with inexpressible anguish and terror, especially when we saw our old masters coming from Virginia, North-Carolina and other parts and seizing upon slaves in the streets of New-York, or even dragging them out of their beds. Many of the slaves had very cruel masters, so that the thought of returning home with them embittered life to us. For some days we lost our appetite for food, and sleep departed from our eyes. The English had compassion upon us in the day of our distress, and issued out a Proclamation importing "That all slaves should be free who had taken refuge in the British lines and claimed the sanction and privileges of the Proclamations respecting the security and protection of Negroes." In consequence of this, each of us received a certificate from the commanding officer at New-York, which dispelled our fears and filled us with joy and gratitude.

6. **Jehu Grant is re-enslaved, 1778.** *Jehu Grant of Narragansett, Rhode Island, was owned by a Loyalist. In August 1777 he escaped and joined the Patriot side; ten months later, his master tracked him down and reclaimed him. In 1837 Grant applied for a pension from the U.S. government and supplied the following narrative of his experience. His application was denied.*

[I] enlisted as a soldier but was put to the service of a teamster in the summer and a waiter in the winter . . . I was then grown to manhood, in the full vigor and strength of life, and heard much about the cruel and arbitrary things done by the British. Their ships lay within a few miles of my master's house, which stood near the shore, and I was confident that my master traded with them, and I suffered much from fear that I should be sent aboard a ship of war. This I disliked. But when I saw liberty poles and the people all engaged for the support of freedom, I could not but like and be pleased with such thing (God forgive me if I sinned in so feeling). And living on the borders of Rhode Island, where whole companies of colored people enlisted, it added to my fears and dread of being sold to the British. These considerations induced me to enlist into the American army, where I served faithful about ten months, when my master found and took me home. Had I been taught to read or understand the precepts of the Gospel, "Servants obey your master," I might have done otherwise, notwithstanding the songs of liberty that saluted my ear, thrilled through my heart.

SOURCES: (1) Lord Dunmore's Proclamation, Learn NC, North Carolina Digital History "Revolutionary North Carolina," www.learnnc.org; (2) J. N. Brenaman, *A History of Virginia Conventions* (Richmond: J. L. Hill Printing Company, 1902), p. 30; (4) Thomas Truxtun Moebs, *Black Soldiers-Black Sailors-Black Ink: Research Guide on African-Americans in U. S. Military History, 1526–1900* (Chesapeake Bay, Paris: Moebs Publishing Company, 1994), 1125; (5) Boston King, *Book of Negroes* (New York, 1783), in Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 107, 150; (6) Jehu Grant, To Hon. J. L. Edwards, Commissioner of Pension, 1836, in *The Revolution Remembered: Eyewitness Accounts of the War for Independence*, ed. John C. Dann (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 27–28.

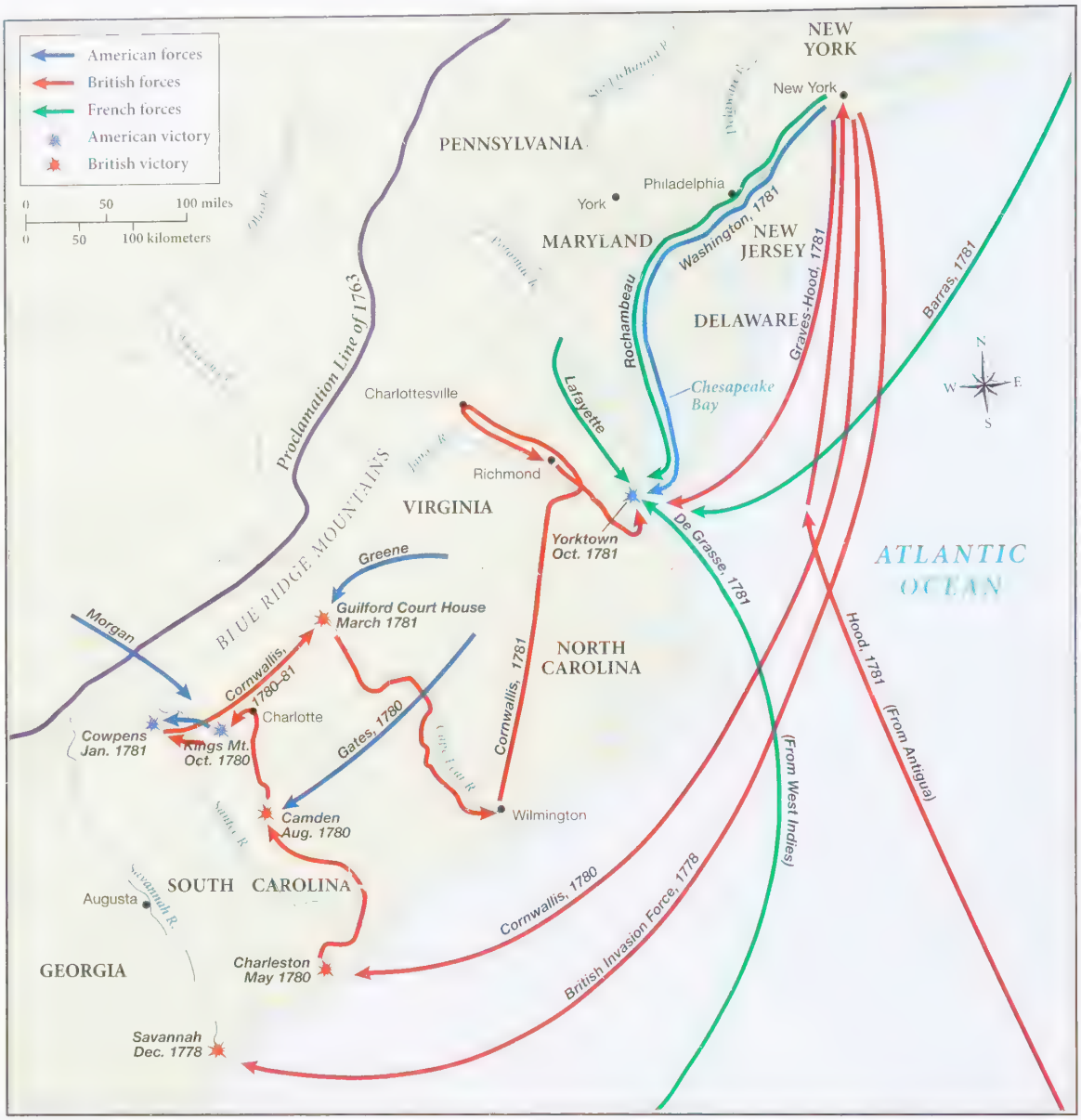
ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Why was Dunmore willing to offer freedom to slaves (source 1) when they were a recognized form of property under the British Empire? What assumptions about the loyalties of slaves underlie the response of the Virginia assembly (source 2)?
2. Why might Louisiana governor Bernardo de Gálvez (source 4) have made a point of praising the contributions of black soldiers to the Patriot cause?
3. Compare the runaway ad for Titus (source 3) and the narratives of Boston King and Jehu Grant (sources 5 and 6). What goals did British officers hope to achieve in their relations with slaves? What Patriot values trumped slaves' individual liberties during and after the war?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Considering these sources along with the chapter contents and what you've learned in class, write a short essay that explains how the presence of slaves created a "triangular war" in the South, assesses the choices that individual slaves had to make during the Revolution, and considers how the differences in the institution of slavery between northern and southern colonies shaped slaves' experiences in the war.

and commanded ~~by~~ General Benedict Arnold, the infamous Patriot traitor, bolstered his ranks. As Arnold and Cornwallis sparred with an American force led by Lafayette near the York Peninsula, Washington was informed that France had finally sent its powerful West Indian fleet to North America, and he devised an audacious plan. Feigning an assault on New York City, he secretly marched General Rochambeau's army from Rhode Island to Virginia. Simultaneously, the French fleet took control of Chesapeake Bay. By the time the British discovered Washington's scheme, Cornwallis was surrounded, his 9,500-man army outnumbered 2 to 1 on land and cut off from



MAP 6.4 The War in the South, 1778–1781

Britain's southern military strategy started well. British forces captured Savannah in December 1778, took control of Georgia during 1779, and vanquished Charleston in May 1780. Over the next eighteen months, brutal warfare between the British troops and Loyalist units and the Continental army and militia raged in the interior of the Carolinas and ended in a stalemate. Hoping to break the deadlock, British general Charles Cornwallis carried the battle into Virginia in 1781. A Franco-American army led by Washington and Lafayette, with the help of the French fleet under Admiral de Grasse, surrounded Cornwallis's forces on the Yorktown Peninsula and forced their surrender.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the keys to the Patriot victory in the South?

reinforcement or retreat by sea. In a hopeless position, at the conclusion of the **Battle of Yorktown** Cornwallis surrendered in October 1781.

The Franco-American victory broke the resolve of the British government. "Oh God! It is all over!" Lord North exclaimed. Isolated diplomatically in Europe, **stymied** militarily in America, and lacking public support at home, the British ministry gave up active prosecution of the war on the American mainland.

The Patriot Advantage

How could mighty Britain, victorious in the Great War for Empire, lose to a motley rebel army? The British ministry pointed to a series of blunders by the military

leadership. Why had Howe not ruthlessly pursued Washington's army in 1776? Why had Howe and Burgoyne failed to coordinate their attacks in 1777? Why had Cornwallis marched deep into the Patriot-dominated state of Virginia in 1781?

Historians acknowledge British mistakes, but they also attribute the rebels' victory to French aid and the inspired leadership of George Washington. Astutely deferring to elected officials, Washington won the support of the Continental Congress and the state governments. Confident of his military abilities, he pursued a defensive strategy that minimized casualties and maintained the morale of his officers and soldiers through five difficult years of war. Moreover, the Patriots' control of local governments gave Washington a greater margin for error than the British generals had. Local militiamen provided the edge in the 1777 victory at Saratoga and forced Cornwallis from the Carolinas in 1781.

In the end, it was the American people who decided the outcome, especially the one-third of the white colonists who were zealous Patriots. Tens of thousands of these farmers and artisans accepted Continental bills in payment for supplies, and thousands of soldiers took them as pay, even as the currency literally depreciated in their pockets. Rampant inflation meant that every paper dollar held for a week lost value, imposing a hidden "**currency tax**" on those who accepted the paper currency. Each individual tax was small—a few pennies on each dollar. But as millions of dollars changed hands multiple times, the currency taxes paid by ordinary citizens financed the American military victory.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the degree to which allies, George Washington's leadership, and popular support led to Patriot victory in the American Revolution.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

Despite being at a clear disadvantage at the start of the war, the American Patriots won. Why?

Diplomatic Triumph

After Yorktown, diplomats took two years to conclude a peace treaty. Talks began in Paris in April 1782, but the French and Spanish, still hoping to seize a West Indian island or Gibraltar, stalled for time. Their tactics infuriated American diplomats Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay. So the Americans negotiated secretly with the British, prepared if necessary to ignore the Treaty of Alliance and sign a separate peace. British ministers were equally eager: Parliament wanted peace, and they feared the loss of a rich sugar island.

Consequently, the American diplomats secured extremely favorable terms. In the **Treaty of Paris of 1783**, signed in September, Great Britain formally recognized American independence and relinquished its claims to lands south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River. The British negotiators did not insist on a separate territory for their Indian allies. "In endeavouring to assist you," a Wea Indian complained to a British general, "it seems we have wrought our own ruin." The Cherokees were forced to relinquish claims to 5 million acres—three-quarters of their territory—in treaties with Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia, while New York and the Continental Congress pressed the Iroquois and Ohio Indians to cede much of their land as well. British officials, like those of other early modern empires, found it easy to abandon allies they had never really understood (AP® America in the World).

The Paris treaty also granted Americans fishing rights off Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, prohibited the British from "carrying away any negroes or other property," and guaranteed freedom of navigation on the Mississippi to American citizens "forever." In return, the American government allowed British merchants to pursue legal claims for prewar debts and encouraged the state legislatures to return confiscated property to Loyalists and grant them citizenship.

In the Treaty of Versailles, signed simultaneously, Britain made peace with France and Spain. Neither American ally gained very much. Spain reclaimed Florida from Britain, but not the strategic fortress at Gibraltar. France received the Caribbean island of Tobago, small consolation for a war that had sharply raised taxes and quadrupled France's national debt. Just six years later, cries for tax relief and political liberty would spark the French Revolution. Only Americans profited handsomely; the treaties gave them independence and access to the trans-Appalachian west.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the keys to Patriot victory in the American Revolution?

China's Growing Empire

As Britain was losing control of its multiethnic empire in North America, China's Qing [pronounced Ching] dynasty was consolidating its authority over borderlands peoples during the eighteenth century. And just as Europeans relied on ethnographic descriptions of Native Americans to understand the peoples and territories they hoped to control, Chinese authorities used ethnographic manuals that included prose, poetry, and illustrations to make sense of their new subjects. These excerpts from a set of "Miao albums" illustrate the cultural characteristics they observed in, or ascribed to, one such group of these non-Chinese (or non-Han) peoples.

BULONG (BASKET-REPAIRING) ZHONGJIA

The Bulong Zhongjia are located in Dinfan and Guangshun Districts. Their customs are similar to those of the Kayou. For them, the New Year begins in the twelfth month. They greet it by striking a bronze drum. When they dig in the ground and find a drum, they consider it to be the legacy of Zhuge Liang [an ancient Chinese hero claimed as a forebear]. The rich must pay a high price to buy the drum. At funerals, cattle are butchered and dressed, and relatives and friends are invited. Drinking from the "ox horn of happiness," the guests often get drunk and sometimes even wind up killing each other. The host does not usually eat meat but only fish and shrimp. After burial, the grave is covered by an umbrella. By nature the Bulong are alert and fierce. When coming and going they carry sharp knives. They will avenge even an angry look.

NONG (AGRICULTURAL) MIAO

The Nong Miao are located in the Zhenfeng District, which once belonged to Guangxi. . . . Men shave their heads and dress just like Han people. Women wear short tunics and long skirts, and cover their heads with colorful scarves. They still follow Miao customs. Their nature is fierce and cruel; they enjoy killing.

GEDOU MIAO

The Gedou Miao are found in Zhenyuan, Shibing, and Huangping. They are as good at hunting as the Turen. Women wear their hair up, inclined toward one side, with a comb inserted. Their short tunics are collarless, and their skirts do not reach beyond the knee. They embroider in five colors on the bust and the sleeves, and ornament themselves with seashells [shaped] like silkworm cocoons, stringing them together like real pearls. If a man is injured by one of their poisoned arrows he will die immediately. They are not, however, given to thievery.

SOURCE: Deal, David, and Laura Hostetler. Introduction by Laura Hostetler. Preface by Charles F. McKhann. *The Art of Ethnography: A Chinese "Miao Album"* © 2006. Reprinted with permission of the University of Washington Press.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What attributes seemed especially meaningful to the authors of these descriptions?
2. Why would the authors have singled out the particular qualities that are remarked upon here? How does this compare to the ways in which the British viewed the Native Americans?

Creating Republican Institutions, 1776–1787

When the Patriots declared independence, they confronted the issue of political authority. "Which of us shall be the rulers?" asked a Philadelphia newspaper. The question was multifaceted. Would power reside in the national government or the states? Who would control the new republican institutions: traditional elites or average citizens? Would women have greater political and legal rights? What would be the status of slaves in the new republic?

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the impact of state constitutions on the development of the Constitution of the United States is essential for success on the AP® exam.

The State Constitutions: How Much Democracy?

In May 1776, the Second Continental Congress urged Americans to reject royal authority and establish republican governments. Most states quickly complied. "Constitutions employ every pen," an observer noted. Within six months, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania had all ratified new constitutions,

and Connecticut and Rhode Island had revised their colonial charters to delete references to the king.

Republicanism meant more than ousting the king. The Declaration of Independence stated the principle of popular sovereignty: governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." In the heat of revolution, many Patriots gave this clause a further democratic twist. In North Carolina, the backcountry farmers of Mecklenburg County told their delegates to the state's constitutional convention to "oppose everything that leans to aristocracy or power in the hands of the rich." In Virginia, voters elected a new assembly in 1776 that, an eyewitness remarked, "was composed of men not quite so well dressed, nor so politely educated, nor so highly born" as colonial-era legislatures (Figure 6.1).

To see a longer excerpt of the Mecklenburg delegates' document, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Pennsylvania's Controversial Constitution This democratic impulse flowered in Pennsylvania, thanks to a coalition of Scots-Irish farmers, Philadelphia artisans, and Enlightenment-influenced intellectuals. In 1776, these insurgents ousted every officeholder of the Penn family's proprietary government, abolished property ownership as a qualification for voting, and granted all taxpaying men the right to vote and hold office. The **Pennsylvania constitution of 1776** also created a unicameral (one-house) legislature with complete power; there was no governor to exercise a veto. Other provisions mandated a system of elementary education and protected citizens from imprisonment for debt.

Pennsylvania's democratic constitution alarmed many leading Patriots. From Boston, John Adams denounced the unicameral legislature as "so democratical that it must produce confusion and every evil work." Along with other conservative Patriots, Adams wanted to restrict office holding to "men of learning, leisure and easy circumstances" and warned of oppression under majority rule: "If you give [ordinary citizens] the command or preponderance in the . . . legislature, they will vote all property out of the hands of you aristocrats."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

What aspects of the Pennsylvania constitution were most objectionable to Adams, and what did he advocate instead?

Tempering Democracy To counter the appeal of the Pennsylvania constitution, Adams published *Thoughts on Government* (1776). In that treatise, he adapted the British Whig theory of **mixed government** (a sharing of power among the monarch, the House of Lords, and the Commons) to a republican society. To disperse authority and preserve liberty, he insisted on separate institutions: legislatures would make laws, the executive would administer them, and the judiciary would enforce them. Adams also demanded a bicameral (two-house) legislature with an upper house of substantial property owners to offset the popular majorities in the lower one. As further curbs on democracy, he proposed an elected governor with veto power and an appointed — not elected — judiciary.

Conservative Patriots endorsed Adams's governmental system. In New York's constitution of 1777, property qualifications for voting excluded 20 percent of white men from assembly elections and 60 percent from casting ballots for the governor and the upper house. In South Carolina, elite planters used property rules to disqualify about 90 percent of white men from office holding. The 1778 constitution required candidates for governor to have a debt-free estate of £10,000 (about $700,000 today), senators to be worth £2,000, and assemblymen to own property valued at £1,000. Even in

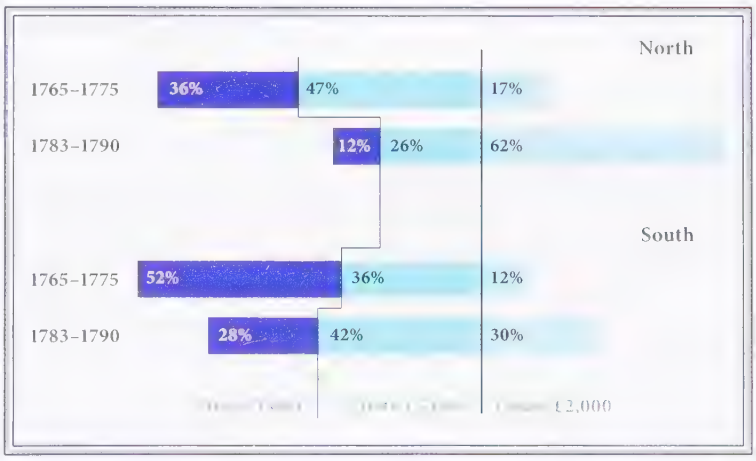
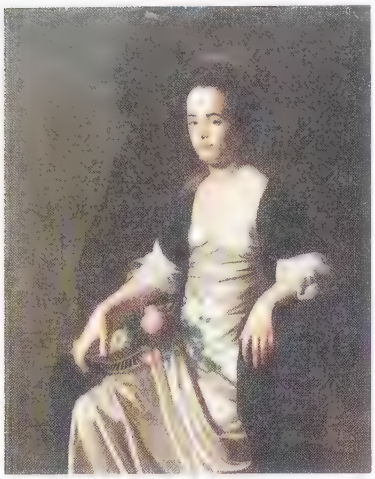


FIGURE 6.1 Middling Men Enter the Halls of Government, 1765–1790
Before the Revolution, wealthy men (with assets of £2,000 or more, as measured by tax lists and probate records) dominated most colonial assemblies. The power of money was especially apparent in the southern colonies, where representatives worth at least £5,000 formed a majority of the legislators. However, in the new American republic, the proportion of middling legislators (yeomen farmers and others worth less than £2,000) increased dramatically, especially in the northern states. Adapted from Jackson T. Main, "Government by the People: The American Revolution and the Democratization of the Legislatures," *William and Mary Quarterly*, series 3, 23 (1966), adapted by permission of



Judith Sargent Murray Judith Sargent Murray was perhaps the most accomplished female essayist of the Revolutionary era. Publishing under various pen names, she advocated for economic independence and better educational opportunities for women. Two years before Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), she published "On the Equality of the Sexes" in the *Massachusetts Magazine*. Her letter books, which run to twenty volumes, were discovered only in 1984; the Judith Sargent Murray Society (http://www.jsmsociety.com/Home.html) is now transcribing and indexing them for publication. This striking portrait by John Singleton Copley hints at her intelligence and sardonic wit. John Singleton Copley *Portrait of Judith Sargent (later Mrs. John Murray)*, Dane J. Terra Art Acquisition Endowment Fund 2000.6, Terra Foundation for American Art, Chicago / Art Resource, NY

traditionally democratic Massachusetts, the 1780 constitution, authored primarily by Adams, raised property qualifications for voting and office holding and skewed the lower house toward eastern, mercantile interests.

The political legacy of the Revolution was complex. Only in Pennsylvania and Vermont were radical Patriots able to create truly democratic institutions. Yet in all the new states, representative legislatures had acquired more power, and average citizens now had greater power at the polls and greater influence in the halls of government.

Women Seek a Public Voice

The extraordinary excitement of the Revolutionary era tested the dictum that only men could engage in politics. Men controlled all public institutions — legislatures, juries, government offices — but upper-class women engaged in political debate and, defying men's scorn, filled their letters, diaries, and conversations with opinions on public issues. "The men say we have no business [with politics]," Eliza Wilkinson of South Carolina complained in 1783. "They won't even allow us liberty of thought, and that is all I want."

As Wilkinson's remark suggests, most women did not insist on civic equality with men; many sought only an end to restrictive customs and laws. Abigail Adams demanded equal legal rights for married women, who under common law could not own property, enter into contracts, or initiate lawsuits. The war bonds she purchased had to be held in a trust run by a male relative. "Men would be tyrants" if they continued to hold such power over women, Adams declared to her husband, John, criticizing him and other Patriots for "emancipating all nations" from monarchical despotism while "retaining absolute power over Wives."

Most politicians ignored women's requests, and most men insisted on traditional sexual and political **prerogatives**. Long-married husbands remained patriarchs who dominated their households, and even young men who embraced the republican ideal of "companionate marriage" did not support legal equality for their wives and daughters. Except in New Jersey, which until 1807 allowed unmarried and widowed female property holders to vote, women remained disenfranchised. In the new American republic, only white men enjoyed full citizenship.

Nevertheless, the republican belief in an educated citizenry created opportunities for some women. In her 1779 essay "On the Equality of the Sexes," Judith Sargent Murray argued that men and women had equal capacities for memory and that women had superior imaginations. She conceded that most women were inferior to men in judgment and reasoning, but only from lack of training: "We can only reason from what we know," she argued, and most women had been denied "the opportunity of acquiring knowledge." That situation changed in the 1790s, when the attorney general of Massachusetts declared that girls had an equal right to schooling under the state constitution. By 1850, the literacy rates of women and men in the northeastern states were equal, and educated women again challenged their subordinate legal and political status.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What impact did republican ideals have on gender roles and expectations during the Revolutionary era?

The War's Losers: Loyalists, Native Americans, and Slaves

The success of republican institutions was assisted by the departure of as many as 100,000 Loyalists, many of whom suffered severe financial losses. Some Patriots demanded revolutionary justice: the seizure of all Loyalist property and its distribution to needy Americans. But most officials were unwilling to go so far. When state governments did seize Loyalist property, they often auctioned it to the highest bidders; only rarely did small-scale farmers benefit. In the cities, Patriot merchants replaced Loyalists at the top of the economic ladder, supplanting a traditional economic elite — who often invested profits from trade in real estate — with republican entrepreneurs who tended

to promote new trading ventures and domestic manufacturing. This shift facilitated America's economic development in the years to come.

Though the Revolution did not result in widespread property redistribution, it did encourage yeomen, middling planters, and small-time entrepreneurs to believe that their new republican governments would protect their property and ensure widespread access to land. In western counties, former Regulators demanded that the new governments be more responsive to their needs; beyond the Appalachians, thousands of squatters who had occupied lands in Kentucky and Tennessee expected their claims to be recognized and lands to be made available on easy terms. If the United States were to secure the loyalty of westerners, it would have to meet their needs more effectively than the British Empire had.

AP® EXAM TIP

Debating the degree to which the American Revolution brought political, economic, and social change is a key idea for the AP® exam.

This meant, among other things, extinguishing Native American claims to land as quickly as possible. At war's end, George Washington commented on the "rage for speculating" in Ohio Valley lands: "Men in these times, talk with as much facility of fifty, a hundred, and even 500,000 Acres as a Gentleman formerly would do of 1000 acres." "If we make a right use of our natural advantages," a Fourth of July orator observed, "we soon must be a truly great and happy people." Native American land claims stood as a conspicuous barrier to the "natural advantages" he imagined.

For southern slaveholders, the Revolution was fought to protect property rights, and any sentiment favoring slave emancipation met with violent objections. When Virginia Methodists called for general emancipation in 1785, slaveholders used Revolutionary principles to defend their right to human property. They "risked [their] Lives and Fortunes, and waded through Seas of Blood" to secure "the Possession of [their] Rights of Liberty and Property," only to hear of "a very subtle and daring Attempt" to "dispossess us of a very important Part of our Property." Emancipation would bring "Want, Poverty, Distress, and Ruin to the Free Citizen." The liberties coveted by ordinary white Americans bore hard on the interests of Native Americans and slaves.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the Revolutionary commitment to liberty and the protection of property affect enslaved African Americans and western Indians?

The Articles of Confederation

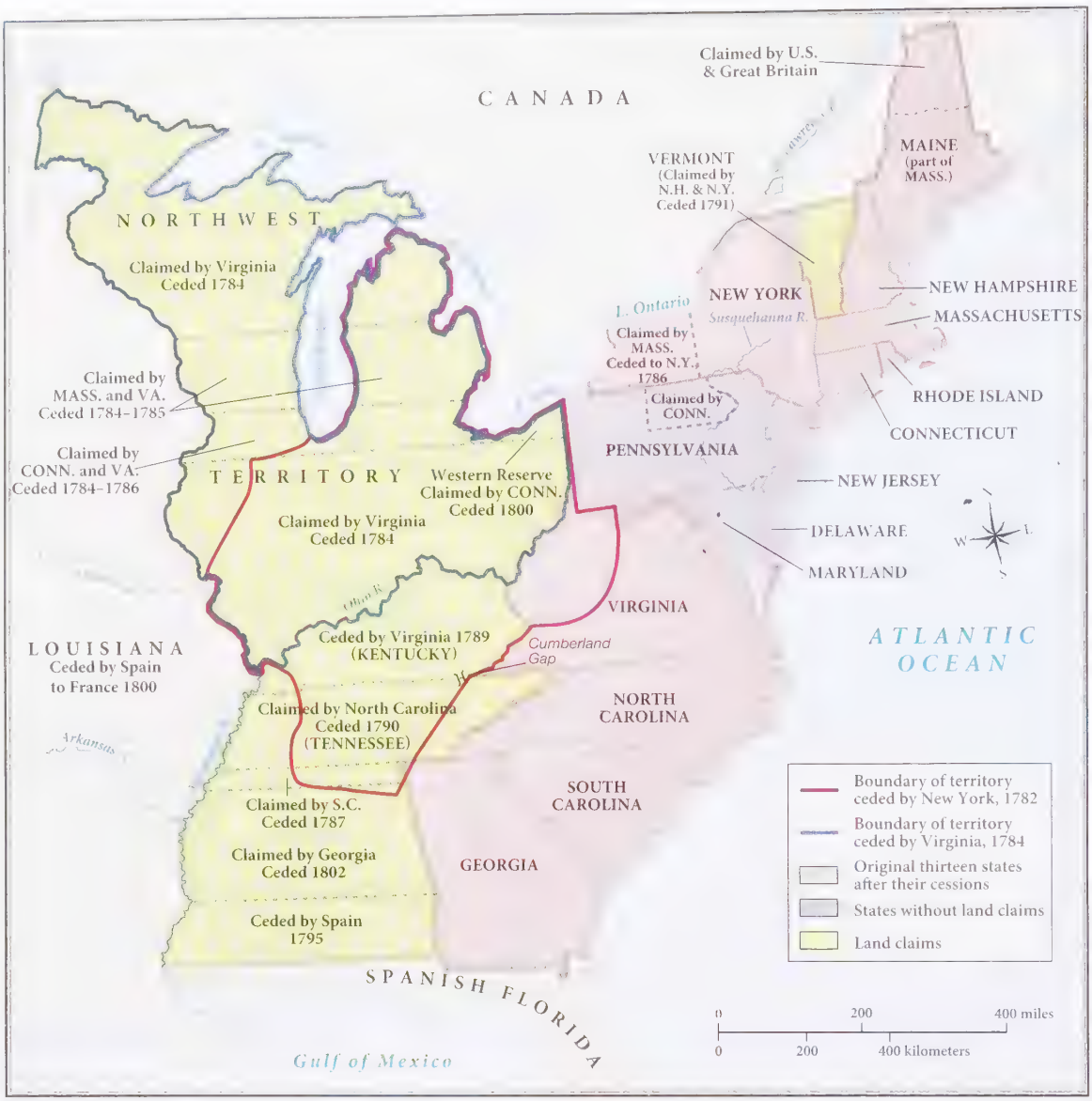
As Patriots embraced independence in 1776, they envisioned a central government with limited powers. Carter Braxton of Virginia thought the Continental Congress should "regulate the affairs of trade, war, peace, alliances, &c." but "should by no means have authority to interfere with the internal police [governance] or domestic concerns of any Colony."

That idea informed the **Articles of Confederation**, which were approved by the Continental Congress in November 1777. The Articles provided for a loose union in which "each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence." As an association of equals, each state had one vote regardless of its size, population, or wealth. Important laws needed the approval of nine of the thirteen states, and changes in the Articles required unanimous consent. Though the Confederation had significant powers on paper — it could declare war, make treaties with foreign nations, **adjudicate** disputes between the states, borrow and print money, and requisition funds from the states "for the common defense or general welfare" — it had major weaknesses as well. It had neither a chief executive nor a judiciary. Though it could make treaties, it could not enforce their provisions, since the states remained sovereign. Most important, it lacked the power to tax either the states or the people.

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to be able to explain the ways that the Articles of Confederation led to the writing of the Constitution while also encouraging migration to the West.

Although the Congress exercised authority from 1776 — raising the Continental army, negotiating the treaty with France, and financing the war — the Articles won formal ratification only in 1781. The delay stemmed from conflicts over western lands. The royal charters of Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other states set boundaries stretching to the Pacific Ocean. States without western lands — Maryland and Pennsylvania — refused to accept the Articles until the land-rich states relinquished these claims to the Confederation. Threatened by Cornwallis's army in 1781, Virginia gave up its claims, and Maryland, the last holdout, finally ratified the Articles (Map 6.5).



MAP 6.5 The Confederation and Western Land Claims, 1781–1802
The Congress formed by the Articles of Confederation had to resolve conflicting state claims to western lands. For example, the territories claimed by New York and Virginia on the basis of their royal charters overlapped extensively. Beginning in 1781, the Confederation Congress and, after 1789, the U.S. Congress persuaded all of the states to cede their western claims, creating a "national domain" open to all citizens. In the Northwest Ordinance (1787), the Congress divided the domain north of the Ohio River into territories and set up democratic procedures by which they could eventually join the Union as states. South of the Ohio River, the Congress allowed the existing southern states to play a substantial role in settling the ceded lands.

Continuing Fiscal Crisis By 1780, the central government was nearly bankrupt, and General Washington called urgently for a national tax system; without one, he warned, "our cause is lost." Led by Robert Morris, who became superintendent of finance in 1781, nationalist-minded Patriots tried to expand the Confederation's authority. They persuaded Congress to charter the Bank of North America, a private institution in Philadelphia, arguing that its notes would stabilize the inflated Continental currency. Morris also created a central bureaucracy to manage the Confederation's finances and urged Congress to enact a 5 percent import tax. Rhode Island and New York rejected the tax proposal. His state had opposed British import duties, New York's representative declared, and it would not accept them from Congress. To raise revenue, Congress

looked to the sale of western lands. In 1783, it asserted that the recently signed Treaty of Paris had extinguished the Indians' rights to those lands and made them the property of the United States.

The Northwest Ordinance By 1784, more than 30,000 settlers had already moved to Kentucky and Tennessee, despite the uncertainties of frontier warfare, and after the war their numbers grew rapidly. In that year, the residents of what is now eastern Tennessee organized a new state, called it Franklin, and sought admission to the Confederation. To preserve its authority over the West, Congress refused to recognize Franklin. Subsequently, Congress created the Southwest and Mississippi Territories (the future states of Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi) from lands ceded by North Carolina and Georgia. Because these cessions carried the stipulation that "no regulation . . . shall tend to emancipate slaves," these states and all those south of the Ohio River allowed human bondage.

However, the Confederation Congress banned slavery north of the Ohio River. Between 1784 and 1787, it issued three important ordinances organizing the "Old Northwest." The Ordinance of 1784, written by Thomas Jefferson, established the principle that territories could become states as their populations grew. The Land Ordinance of 1785 mandated a rectangular-grid system of surveying and specified a minimum price of $1 an acre. It also required that half of the townships be sold in single blocks of 23,040 acres each, which only large-scale speculators could afford, and the rest in parcels of 640 acres each, which restricted their sale to well-to-do farmers (Map 6.6).

Finally, the **Northwest Ordinance of 1787** created the territories that would eventually become the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The ordinance prohibited slavery and earmarked funds from land sales for the support of schools. It also specified that Congress would appoint a governor and judges to administer each new territory until the population reached 5,000 free adult men, at which point the citizens could elect a territorial legislature. When the population reached 60,000, the legislature could devise a republican constitution and apply to join the Confederation.

The land ordinances of the 1780s were a great and enduring achievement of the Confederation Congress. They provided for orderly settlement and the admission of new states on the basis of equality; there would be no politically dependent "colonies" in the West. But they also extended the geographical division between slave and free areas that would haunt the nation in the coming decades. And they implicitly invalidated Native American claims to an enormous swath of territory—a corollary that would soon lead the newly independent nation, once again, into war.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

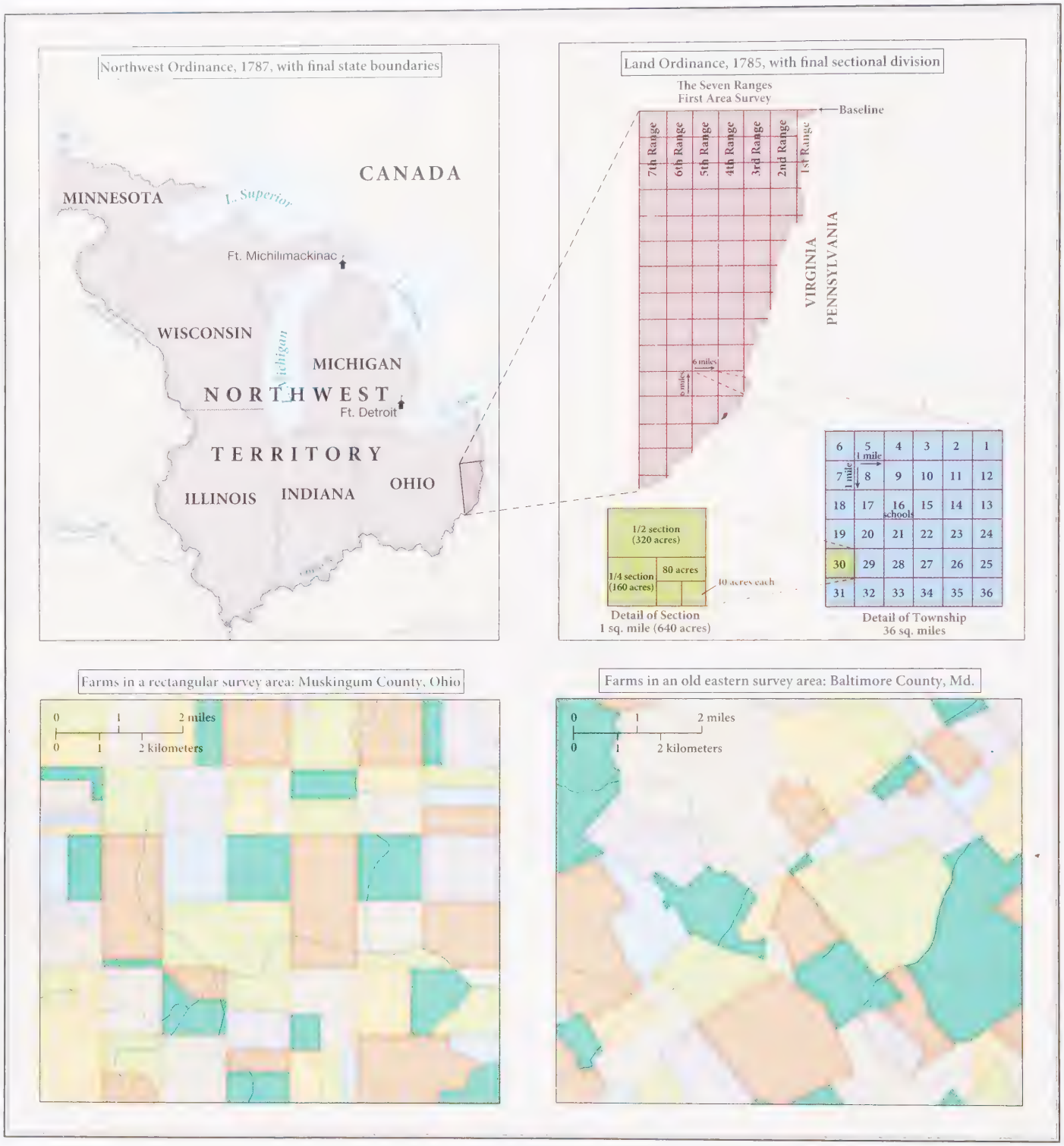
COMPARE & CONTRAST

In what ways did the Confederation function effectively, and what were its greatest failings?

Shays's Rebellion

Though many national leaders were optimistic about the long-term prospects of the United States, postwar economic conditions were grim. The Revolution had crippled American shipping and cut exports of tobacco, rice, and wheat. The British Navigation Acts, which had nurtured colonial commerce, now barred Americans from legal trade with the British West Indies. Moreover, low-priced British manufactures (and some from India as well) were flooding American markets, driving urban artisans and wartime textile firms out of business.

The fiscal condition of the state governments was dire, primarily because of war debts. Well-to-do merchants and landowners (including Abigail Adams) had invested in state bonds during the war; others had speculated in debt certificates, buying them on the cheap from hard-pressed farmers and soldiers. Now creditors and speculators demanded that the state governments redeem the bonds and certificates quickly and at full value, a policy that would require tax increases and a decrease in the amount of paper currency. Most legislatures—now including substantial numbers of middling farmers and artisans—refused. Instead they authorized new issues of paper currency



MAP 6.6 Land Division in the Northwest Territory

Throughout the Northwest Territory, government surveyors imposed a rectangular grid on the landscape, regardless of the local topography, so that farmers bought neatly defined tracts of land. The right-angled property lines in Muskingum County, Ohio (lower left), contrasted sharply with those in Baltimore County, Maryland (lower right), where — as in most of the eastern and southern states — boundaries followed the contours of the land.

and allowed debtors to pay private creditors in installments. Although wealthy men deplored these measures as "intoxicating Draughts of Liberty" that destroyed "the just rights of creditors," such political intervention prevented social upheaval.

In Massachusetts, however, the new constitution placed power in the hands of a mercantile elite that owned the bulk of the state's war bonds. Ignoring the interests of ordinary citizens, the legislature increased taxes fivefold to pay off wartime debts — and it stipulated that they be paid in hard currency. Even for substantial farmers, this was a crushing burden. When cash-strapped farmers could not pay both their taxes and their debts, creditors threatened lawsuits. Debtor Ephraim Wetmore heard a rumor that merchant Stephan Salisbury "would have my Body Dead or Alive in case I did not pay." To protect their livelihoods, farmers called extralegal conventions to protest high taxes and property seizures. Then mobs of angry farmers, including men of high status, closed the courts by force. "[I] had no Intensions to Destroy the Publick Government," declared Captain Adam Wheeler, a former town selectman; his goal was simply to prevent "Valuable and Industrious members of Society [being] dragged from their families to prison" because of their debts. These crowd actions grew into a full-scale revolt led by Captain Daniel Shays, a Continental army veteran.

As a revolt against taxes imposed by an unresponsive government, **Shays's Rebellion** resembled American resistance to the British Stamp Act. Consciously linking themselves to the Patriot movement, Shays's men placed pine twigs in their hats just as Continental troops had done. "The people have turned against their teachers the doctrines which were inculcated to effect the late revolution," complained Fisher Ames, a conservative Massachusetts lawmaker. Some of the radical Patriots of 1776 likewise condemned the Shaysites: "[Men who] would lessen the Weight of Government lawfully exercised must be Enemies to our happy Revolution and Common Liberty," charged Samuel Adams. To put down the rebellion, the Massachusetts legislature passed the Riot Act, and wealthy bondholders equipped a formidable fighting force, which Governor James Bowdoin used to disperse Shays's ragtag army during the winter of 1786–1787.

Although Shays's Rebellion failed, it showed that many middling Patriot families felt that American oppressors had replaced British tyrants. Massachusetts voters turned Governor Bowdoin out of office, and debt-ridden farmers in New York, northern Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New Hampshire closed courthouses and forced their governments to provide economic relief. British officials in Canada predicted the imminent demise of the United States; and American leaders urged purposeful action to save their republican experiment. Events in Massachusetts, declared nationalist Henry Knox, formed "the strongest arguments possible" for the creation of "a strong general government."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did the Shaysites draw on the Revolution for inspiration?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the most important challenges facing governments in the 1780s?

The Constitution of 1787

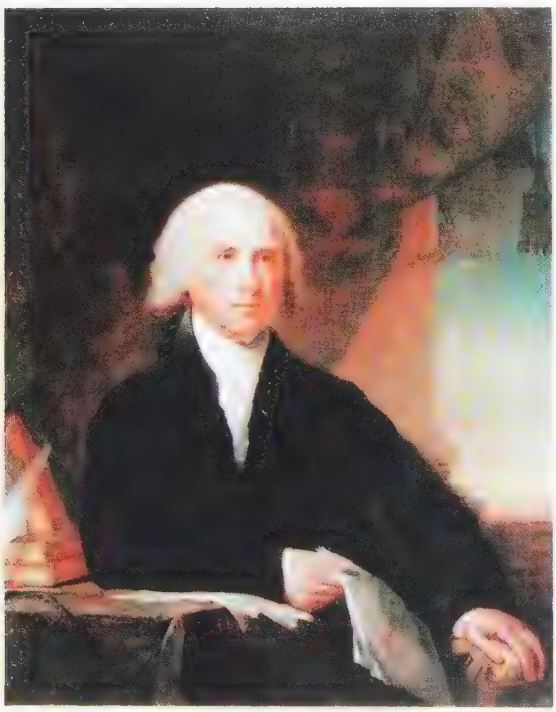
These issues ultimately led to the drafting of a national constitution. From its creation, the U.S. Constitution was a controversial document, both acclaimed for solving the nation's woes and condemned for perverting its republican principles. Critics charged that republican institutions worked only in small political units — the states. Advocates replied that the Constitution extended republicanism by adding another level of government elected by the people. In the new two-level political federation created by the Constitution, the national government would exercise limited, delegated powers, and the existing state governments would retain authority over all other matters.

The Rise of a Nationalist Faction

Money questions — debts, taxes, and tariffs — dominated the postwar political agenda. Americans who had served the Confederation as military officers, officials, and diplomats viewed these issues from a national perspective and advocated a stronger central government. George Washington, Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams wanted Congress to control foreign and interstate trade and tariff policy. However, lawmakers in Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania — states with strong commercial traditions — insisted on controlling their own tariffs, both to protect their artisans from low-cost imports and to assist their merchants. Most southern states opposed tariffs because planters wanted to import British textiles and ironware at the lowest possible prices.

Nonetheless, some southern leaders became nationalists because their state legislatures had cut taxes and refused to redeem state war bonds. Such policies, lamented wealthy bondholder Charles Lee of Virginia, led taxpayers to believe they would "never be compelled to pay" the public debt. Creditors also condemned state laws that "stayed" (delayed) the payment of mortgages and other private debts. "While men are madly accumulating enormous debts, their legislators are making provisions for their nonpayment," complained a South Carolina merchant. To undercut the democratic majorities in the state legislatures, creditors joined the movement for a stronger central government.

Delegates from five states met in Annapolis, Maryland, in September 1786 to consider solutions to the confederation's economic problems. They recommended that another convention, with representatives from all the states, meet in Philadelphia in 1787. Spurred on by Shays's Rebellion, nationalists in Congress secured a resolution calling for such a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation. Only an "efficient plan from the Convention," a fellow nationalist wrote to James Madison, "can prevent anarchy first & civil convulsions afterwards."



James Madison, Statesman Throughout his long public life, Madison kept the details of his private life to himself. His biography, he believed, should be a record of his public accomplishments, not his private affairs. Future generations celebrated him not as a great man (like Hamilton or Jefferson) or as a great president (like Washington), but as an original and incisive political thinker. The chief architect of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights, Madison was the preeminent republican political theorist of his generation. Mead Art Mus. amh. Amherst College, MA, USA. Bequest of

The Philadelphia Convention

In May 1787, fifty-five delegates arrived in Philadelphia. They came from every state except Rhode Island, where the legislature opposed increasing central authority. Most were strong nationalists; forty-two had served in the Confederation Congress. They were also educated and propertied: merchants, slaveholding planters, and "monied men." There were no artisans, backcountry settlers, or tenants, and only a single yeoman farmer.

Some influential Patriots missed the convention. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were serving as American ministers to Britain and France, respectively. The Massachusetts General Court rejected Samuel Adams as a delegate because he opposed a stronger national government, and his fellow firebrand from Virginia, Patrick Henry, refused to attend because he "smelt a rat." Just as politically engaged citizens disagreed in 1787 whether a new form of government was needed, historians have argued ever since about whether the Constitution was necessary (AP® Interpreting the Past).

The absence of experienced leaders and contrary-minded delegates allowed capable younger nationalists to set the agenda. Declaring that the convention would "decide for ever the fate of Republican Government," James Madison insisted on increased national authority. Alexander Hamilton of New York likewise demanded a strong central government to protect the republic from "the imprudence of democracy."

Was the Constitution Necessary?

Political debate during the 1780s focused on the efficacy of the Articles of Confederation, ratified in 1781. For those leery of a strong central government, the Confederation placed authority properly with the states and safeguarded the rights of the people against tyranny. To others, the national Congress lacked the authority and power to restrain popular excesses, maintain order, and establish sound financial policies. Commercial growth convinced some Americans that the young country was thriving, but others saw the chase for money as a sign of moral weakness. These divergent views came to a head in May 1787 when representatives from the states met in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation. Instead they drafted an entirely new form of government. Two historians — Merrill Jensen and Gordon S. Wood — offer interpretations of the 1780s from differing points of view, highlighting factors pushing some to support and others to reject the Articles of Confederation.

MERRILL JENSEN

SOURCE: Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States During the Confederation, 1781–1789* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), 423–424.

[T]he often violent expression of such discontents in politics should not blind us to the fact that the period was one of extraordinary economic growth. Merchants owned more ships at the end of the 1780s than they had at the beginning of the Revolution . . . [and] the export of agricultural produce was double. . . . American cities grew rapidly. . . . There can be no question but that freedom from the British Empire resulted in a surge of activity in all phases of American life . . . [T]here is no evidence of stagnation and decay in the 1780s. Instead the story is one of a newly free people who seized upon every means to improve and enrich themselves in a nation which they believed had a golden destiny.

GORDON S. WOOD

SOURCE: Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1969), 415–417.

Viewing the state as analogous to the human body, Americans saw their country stricken by a serious sickness. The 1780s seemed to mark the point in the life of the young nation where a decisive change had to occur, leading either to recovery or death. . . . The signs of disease spread everywhere. Merchants and farmers were seeking their own selfish ends; hucksters were engrossing products to raise prices. Even government officials . . . were using their public positions to fill their own pockets. The fluctuation in the value of money . . . was putting a premium on selfishness. . . . Instead of bringing about the moral reformation they had anticipated from victory, the Revolution had only aggravated America's corruption and sin.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify and explain two differences between these historians' interpretations of America during the 1780s.
2. Using the two historians' descriptions of the 1780s, identify the factors that might have led some Americans to support — and others to reject — the Articles of Confederation.
3. Explain how this chapter's sections on "The Articles of Confederation" and "The Constitution of 1787" support one or the other historian's interpretation of the 1780s.

The Virginia and New Jersey Plans The delegates elected George Washington as their presiding officer and voted to meet behind closed doors. Then — momentously — they decided not to revise the Articles of Confederation but rather to consider the so-called **Virginia Plan**, a scheme for a powerful national government devised by James Madison. Just thirty-six years old, Madison was determined to fashion national political institutions run by men of high character. A graduate of Princeton, he had read classical and modern political theory and served in both the Confederation Congress and the Virginia assembly. Once an optimistic Patriot, Madison had grown discouraged because of the "narrow ambition" and outlook of state legislators.

Madison's Virginia Plan differed from the Articles of Confederation in three crucial respects. First, the plan rejected state sovereignty in favor of the "supremacy of national authority," including the power to overturn state laws. Second, it called for the national

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the arguments that led to the call for revising the Articles of Confederation.

government to be established by the people (not the states) and for national laws to operate directly on citizens of the various states. Third, the plan proposed a three-tier election system in which ordinary voters would elect only the lower house of the national legislature. This lower house would then select the upper house, and both houses would appoint the executive and judiciary.

From a political perspective, Madison's plan had two fatal flaws. First, most state politicians and citizens resolutely opposed allowing the national government to veto state laws. Second, the plan based representation in the lower house on population; this provision, a Delaware delegate warned, would allow the populous states to "crush the small ones whenever they stand in the way of their ambitious or interested views."

So delegates from Delaware and other small states rallied behind a plan devised by William Paterson of New Jersey. The **New Jersey Plan** gave the Confederation the power to raise revenue, control commerce, and make binding requisitions on the states. But it preserved the states' control of their own laws and guaranteed their equality: as in the Confederation Congress, each state would have one vote in a unicameral legislature. Delegates from the more populous states vigorously opposed this provision. After a month-long debate on the two plans, a bare majority of the states agreed to use Madison's Virginia Plan as the basis of discussion.

This decision raised the odds that the convention would create a more powerful national government. Outraged by this prospect, two New York delegates, Robert Yates and John Lansing, accused their colleagues of exceeding their mandate to revise the Articles and left the convention. The remaining delegates met six days a week during the summer of 1787, debating both high principles and practical details. Experienced politicians, they looked for a plan that would be acceptable to most citizens and existing political interests. Pierce Butler of South Carolina invoked a classical Greek precedent: "We must follow the example of Solon, who gave the Athenians not the best government he could devise but the best they would receive."

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the ways that negotiation and compromise led to the establishment of federalism and a system of checks and balances in U.S. government.

The Great Compromise As the convention grappled with the central problem of the representation of large and small states, the Connecticut delegates suggested a possible solution. They proposed that the national legislature's upper chamber (the Senate) have two members from each state, while seats in the lower chamber (the House of Representatives) be apportioned by population (determined every ten years by a national census). After bitter debate, delegates from the populous states reluctantly accepted this "Great Compromise."

Other state-related issues were quickly settled by restricting (or leaving ambiguous) the extent of central authority. Some delegates opposed a national system of courts, predicting that "the states will revolt at such encroachments" on their judicial authority. This danger led the convention to vest the judicial power "in one supreme Court" and allow the new national legislature to decide whether to establish lower courts within the states. The convention also refused to set a property requirement for voting in national elections. "Eight or nine states have extended the right of suffrage beyond the freeholders," George Mason of Virginia pointed out. "What will people there say if they should be disfranchised?" Finally, the convention specified that state legislatures would elect members of the upper house, or Senate, and the states would select the electors who would choose the president. By allowing states to have important roles in the new constitutional system, the delegates hoped that their citizens would accept limits on state sovereignty.

Negotiations over Slavery The shadow of slavery hovered over many debates, and Gouverneur Morris of New York brought it into view. To safeguard property rights, Morris wanted life terms for senators, a property qualification for voting in national elections, and a strong president with veto power. Nonetheless, he rejected the legitimacy of two traditional types of property: the feudal dues claimed by aristocratic landowners and the ownership of slaves. An advocate of free markets and personal liberty, Morris condemned slavery as "a nefarious institution."

Many slave-owning delegates from the Chesapeake region, including Madison and George Mason, recognized that slavery contradicted republican principles and hoped for its eventual demise. They supported an end to American participation in the Atlantic slave trade, a proposal the South Carolina and Georgia delegates angrily rejected. Unless the importation of African slaves continued, these rice planters and merchants declared, their states "shall not be parties to the Union." At their insistence, the convention denied Congress the power to regulate immigration — and so the slave trade — until 1808 (AP® Analyzing Voices).

The delegates devised other slavery-related compromises. To mollify southern planters, they wrote a "fugitive clause" that allowed masters to reclaim enslaved blacks (or white indentured servants) who fled to other states. But in acknowledgment of the antislavery sentiments of Morris and other northerners, the delegates excluded the words *slavery* and *slave* from the Constitution; it spoke only of citizens and "all other Persons." Because slaves lacked the vote, antislavery delegates wanted their census numbers excluded when apportioning seats in Congress. Southerners — ironically, given that they considered slaves property — demanded that slaves be counted in the census the same as full citizens, to increase the South's representation. Ultimately, the delegates agreed that each slave would count as three-fifths of a free person for purposes of representation and taxation, a compromise that helped southern planters dominate the national government until 1860.

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to explain the way that slavery was included in the U.S. Constitution is critical to success on the AP® exam.

National Authority Having addressed the concerns of small states and slave states, the convention created a powerful national government. The Constitution declared that congressional legislation was the "supreme" law of the land. It gave the new government the power to tax, raise an army and a navy, and regulate foreign and interstate commerce, with the authority to make all laws "necessary and proper" to implement those and other provisions. To assist creditors and establish the new government's fiscal integrity, the Constitution required the United States to honor the existing national debt and prohibited the states from issuing paper money or enacting "any Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did the Constitution, in its final form, differ from the plan that James Madison originally proposed?

The proposed constitution was not a "perfect production," Benjamin Franklin admitted, as he urged the delegates to sign it in September 1787. But the great statesman confessed his astonishment at finding "this system approaching so near to perfection." His colleagues apparently agreed; all but three signed the document.

The People Debate Ratification

The procedure for ratifying the new constitution was as controversial as its contents. Knowing that Rhode Island (and perhaps other states) would reject it, the delegates did not submit the Constitution to the state legislatures for their unanimous consent, as required by the Articles of Confederation. Instead, they arbitrarily — and cleverly — declared that it would take effect when ratified by conventions in nine of the thirteen states. Moreover, they insisted that the conventions could only approve or disapprove the plan; they could not suggest alterations. As George Mason put it, the conventions would "take this or take nothing."

As the constitutional debate began in early 1788, the nationalists seized the initiative with two bold moves. First, they called themselves **Federalists**, suggesting that they supported a federal union — a loose, decentralized system — and obscuring their commitment to a strong national government. Second, they launched a coordinated campaign in pamphlets and newspapers to explain and justify the Philadelphia constitution.

The Antifederalists The opponents of the Constitution, called by default the **Antifederalists**, had diverse backgrounds and motives. Some, like Governor George Clinton of New York, feared that state governments would lose power. Rural

The First National Debate over Slavery

In this part of the text, we trace the impact of republican ideology on American politics and society. What happened when republicanism collided head-on with the well-established practice of slavery? After the Revolution, the Massachusetts courts abolished slavery, but in 1787, slavery was legal in the rest of the Union and was the bedrock of social order and agricultural production in the southern states. A look at the debates on the issue of the African slave trade at the Philadelphia convention and in a state ratifying convention shows that slavery was an extremely divisive issue at the birth of the nation—a dark cloud threatening the bright future of the young republic.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Slavery was not a major topic of discussion at the Philadelphia convention, but it surfaced a number of times, notably in the important debate over representation (which produced the three-fifths clause). A discussion of the Atlantic slave trade began when Luther Martin, a delegate from Maryland, proposed a clause allowing Congress to impose a tax on or prohibit the importation of slaves.

SOURCE: Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1911), 2: 364–365, 369–372.

Mr. Martin proposed to vary article 7, sect. 4 so as to allow a prohibition or tax on the importation of slaves. . . . [He believed] it was inconsistent with the principles of the Revolution, and dishonorable to the American character, to have such a feature [promoting the slave trade] in the Constitution.

Mr. [John] Rutledge [of South Carolina declared that] religion and humanity had nothing to do with this question. Interest alone is the governing principle with nations. The true question at present is whether the Southern states shall or shall not be parties to the Union. . . . Mr. [Oliver] Ellsworth [of Connecticut] was for leaving the clause as it stands. Let every state import what it pleases. The morality or wisdom of slavery are considerations belonging to the states themselves. . . . The old Confederation had not meddled with this point, and he did not see any greater necessity for bringing it within the policy of the new one.

Mr. [Charles C.] Pinckney [said] South Carolina can never receive the plan [for a new constitution] if it prohibits the slave trade. In every proposed extension of the powers of Congress, that state has expressly and watchfully excepted that of meddling with the importation of Negroes. . . .

Mr. [Roger] Sherman [of Connecticut] was for leaving the clause as it stands. He disapproved of the slave trade; yet, as the states were now possessed of the right to import slaves, . . . and as it was expedient to have as few objections as possible to the proposed scheme of government, he thought it best to leave the matter as we find it.

Col. [George] Mason [of Virginia stated that] this infernal trade originated in the avarice of British merchants. The British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it. The present question concerns not the importing states alone, but the whole Union. . . . Maryland and Virginia, he said, had already prohibited the importation of slaves expressly. North Carolina had done the same in substance. All this would be in vain if South Carolina and Georgia be at liberty to import. The Western people are already calling out for slaves for their new lands, and will fill that country with slaves, if they can be got through South Carolina and Georgia. Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the immigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. . . .

Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities. . . . He held it essential, in every point of view, that the general government should have power to prevent the increase of slavery.

democrats protested that the proposed document, unlike most state constitutions, lacked a declaration of individual rights; they also feared that the central government would be run by wealthy men. "Lawyers and men of learning and monied men expect to be managers of this Constitution," worried a Massachusetts farmer. "[T]hey will swallow up all of us little folks . . . just as the whale swallowed up Jonah." Giving political substance to these fears, Melancton Smith of New York argued that the large electoral districts prescribed by the Constitution would restrict office holding to wealthy men, whereas the smaller districts used in state elections usually produced legislatures "composed principally of respectable yeomanry." John Quincy Adams agreed: if only

Mr. Ellsworth, as he had never owned a slave, could not judge of the effects of slavery on character. He said, however, that if it was to be considered in a moral light, we ought to go further, and free those already in the country. . . . Let us not intermeddle. As population increases, poor laborers will be so plenty as to render slaves useless. Slavery, in time, will not be a speck in our country. . . .

Gen. [Charles C.] Pinckney [argued that] South Carolina and Georgia cannot do without slaves. As to Virginia, she will gain by stopping the importations. Her slaves will rise in value, and she has more than she wants. It would be unequal to require South Carolina and Georgia to confederate on such unequal terms. . . . He contended that the importation of slaves would be for the interest of the whole Union. The more slaves, the more produce to employ the carrying trade; the more consumption also; and the more of this, the more revenue for the common treasury. . . . [He] should consider a rejection of the [present] clause as an exclusion of South Carolina from the Union. ❞

THE MASSACHUSETTS RATIFYING CONVENTION

In Philadelphia, the delegates agreed on a compromise: they gave Congress the power to tax or prohibit slave imports, as Luther Martin had proposed, but withheld that power for twenty years. In the Massachusetts convention, the delegates split on this issue and on many others. They ratified the Constitution by a narrow margin, 187 to 168.

SOURCE: Jonathan Elliot, ed., *The Debates . . . on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1836), 1: 103–105, 107, 112, 117.

❝ Mr. Neal (from Kittery) [an Antifederalist] went over the ground of objection to . . . the idea that slave trade was allowed to be continued for 20 years. His profession, he said, obliged him to bear witness against any thing that should favor the making merchandize of the bodies of men, and unless his objection was removed, he could not put his hand to the constitution. Other gentlemen said, in addition to this idea, that there was not even a proposition that the negroes ever shall be free: and Gen. Thompson exclaimed — 'Mr. President, shall it be said, that after we have established our own independence and freedom, we make slaves of others? Oh! Washington . . . he has immortalized himself! but he holds those in slavery who have a good right to be free as he is. . . .'

On the other side, gentlemen said, that the step taken in this article, towards the abolition of slavery, was one of the beauties of the constitution. They observed, that in the confederation there was no provision whatever for its ever being abolished; but this constitution provides, that Congress may after twenty years, totally annihilate the slave trade. . . .

Mr. Heath (Federalist): . . . I apprehend that it is not in our power to do any thing for or against those who are in slavery in the southern states. No gentleman within these walls detests every idea of slavery more than I do: it is generally detested by the people of this commonwealth, and I ardently hope that the time will soon come, when our brethren in the southern states will view it as we do, and put a stop to it; but to this we have no right to compel them.

Two questions naturally arise: if we ratify the Constitution, shall we do any thing by our act to hold the blacks in slavery or shall we become the partakers of other men's sins? I think neither of them: each state is sovereign and independent to a certain degree, and they have a right, and will regulate their own internal affairs, as to themselves appears proper. . . . We are not in this case partakers of other men's sins. . . .

The federal convention went as far as they could; the migration or immigration &c. is confined to the states, now existing only, new states cannot claim it. Congress, by their ordnance for erecting new states, some time since, declared that there shall be no slavery in them. But whether those in slavery in the southern states, will be emancipated after the year 1808, I do not pretend to determine: I rather doubt it. ❞

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, what were the main arguments for and against federal restrictions on the Atlantic slave trade? How do you explain the position taken by the Connecticut delegates in Philadelphia and Mr. Heath in the Massachusetts debate?
2. What argument does George Mason, a Virginia slave owner, make in favor of prohibiting the Atlantic slave trade?
3. What evidence of regional tensions appears in the documents? Several men from different states — Mason from Virginia, Ellsworth from Connecticut, and Heath from Massachusetts — offered predictions about the future of slavery. How accurate were they?

"*eight* men" would represent Massachusetts, "they will infallibly be chosen from the aristocratic part of the community."

Smith summed up the views of Americans who held traditional republican values. To keep government "close to the people," they wanted the states to remain small sovereign republics tied together only for trade and defense — not the "United States" but the "States United." Citing the French political philosopher Montesquieu, Antifederalists argued that republican institutions were best suited to small polities. "No extensive empire can be governed on republican principles," declared James Winthrop of Massachusetts. Patrick Henry worried that the Constitution would re-create British

rule: high taxes, an oppressive bureaucracy, a standing army, and a "great and mighty President . . . supported in extravagant munificence." As another Antifederalist put it, "I had rather be a free citizen of the small republic of Massachusetts than an oppressed subject of the great American Empire." Many Americans found themselves somewhere in the middle, supporting a stronger central government in principle but worried about countless details that made the Constitution appear flawed.

Federalists Respond In New York, where ratification was hotly contested, James Madison, John Jay, and Alexander Hamilton defended the proposed constitution in a series of eighty-five essays written in 1787 and 1788, collectively titled *The Federalist*. This work influenced political leaders throughout the country and subsequently won acclaim as an important treatise of practical republicanism. Its authors denied that a centralized government would lead to domestic tyranny. Drawing on Montesquieu's theories and John Adams's *Thoughts on Government*, Madison, Jay, and Hamilton pointed out that authority would be divided among the president, a bicameral legislature, and a judiciary. Each branch of government would "check and balance" the others and so preserve liberty.

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to recognize the ratification debate as a continuing example of negotiation and compromise on the establishment of the U.S. government.

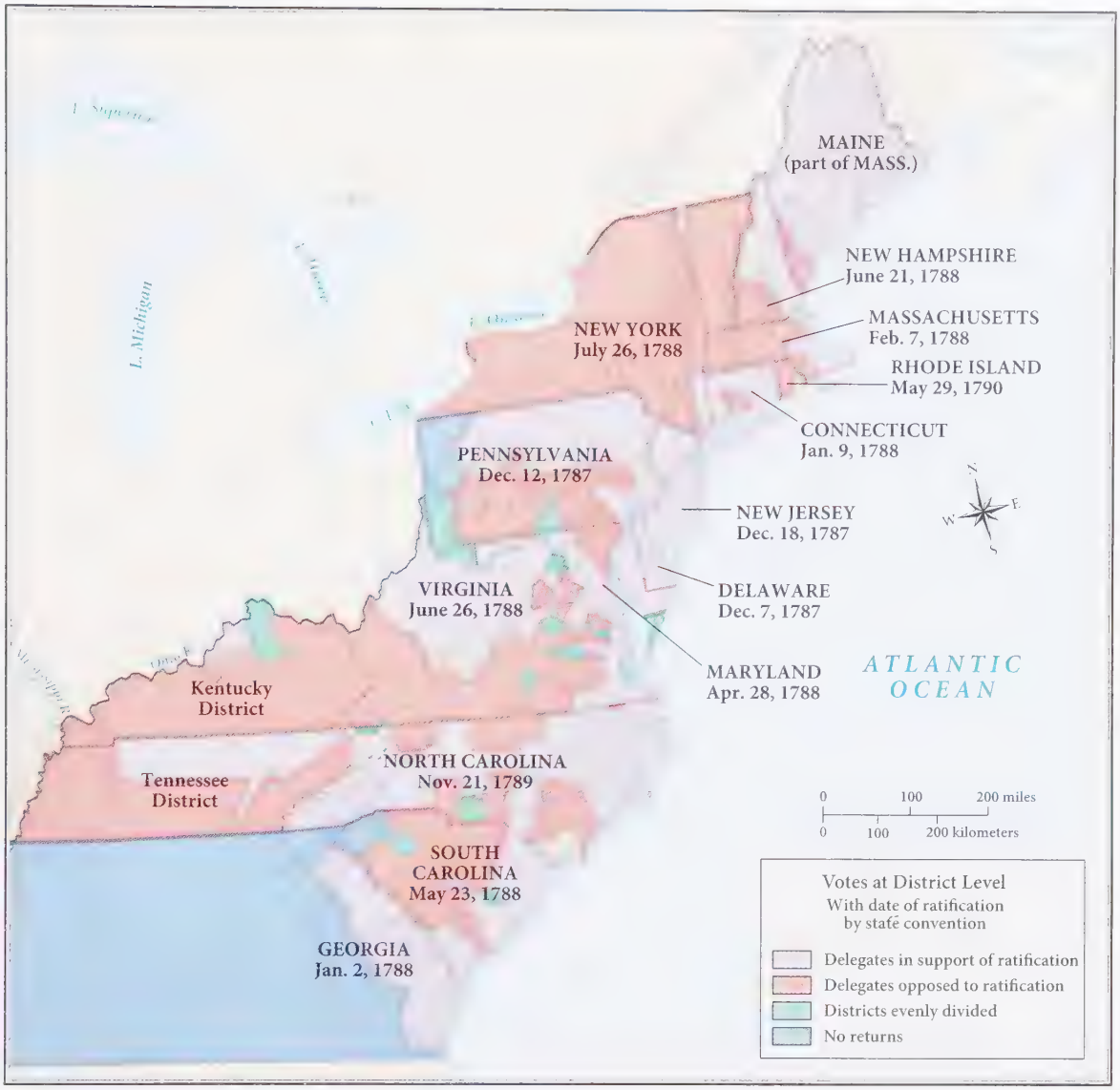
In "**Federalist No. 10**," Madison challenged the view that republican governments only worked in small polities, arguing that a large state would better protect republican liberty. It was "sown in the nature of man," Madison wrote, for individuals to seek power and form **factions**. Indeed, "a landed interest, a manufacturing interest, a mercantile interest, a moneyed interest, with many lesser interests, grow up of necessity in civilized nations." A free society should welcome all factions but keep any one of them from becoming dominant — something best achieved in a large republic. "Extend the sphere and you take in a greater variety of parties and interests," Madison concluded, inhibiting the formation of a majority eager "to invade the rights of other citizens."

The Constitution Ratified The delegates debating these issues in the state ratification conventions included untutored farmers and middling artisans as well as educated gentlemen. Generally, backcountry delegates were especially skeptical, while those from coastal areas were more likely to support the new constitution. In Pennsylvania, a coalition of Philadelphia merchants and artisans and commercial farmers ensured its ratification. Other early Federalist successes came in four less populous states — Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut — where delegates hoped that a strong national government would offset the power of large neighboring states (Map 6.7).

The Constitution's first real test came in January 1788 in Massachusetts, a hotbed of Antifederalist sentiment. Influential Patriots, including Samuel Adams and Governor John Hancock, opposed the new constitution, as did many followers of Daniel Shays. But Boston artisans, who wanted tariff protection from British imports, supported ratification. To win over other delegates, Federalist leaders suggested nine amendments that the Massachusetts delegation would submit to the new Congress for consideration once the Constitution was ratified. By a close vote of 187 to 168, the Federalists carried the day.

Spring brought Federalist victories in Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire, reaching the nine-state quota required for ratification. But it took the powerful arguments advanced in *The Federalist* and more talk of amendments to secure the Constitution's adoption in the essential states of Virginia and New York. The votes were again close: 89 to 79 in Virginia and 30 to 27 in New York.

Testifying to their respect for popular sovereignty and majority rule, most Americans accepted the verdict of the ratifying conventions. "A decided majority" of the New Hampshire assembly had opposed the "new system," reported Joshua Atherton, but now they said, "It is adopted, let us try it." In Virginia, Patrick Henry vowed to "submit as a quiet citizen" and fight for amendments "in a constitutional way." And during the first session of Congress, James Madison set to work drafting a set of amendments to



MAP 6.7 Ratifying the Constitution of 1787

In 1907, geographer Owen Libby mapped the votes of members of the state conventions that ratified the Constitution. His map showed that most delegates from seaboard or commercial farming districts (which sent many delegates to the conventions) supported the Constitution, while those from sparsely represented, subsistence-oriented backcountry areas opposed it. Subsequent research has confirmed Libby's socioeconomic interpretation of the voting patterns in North and South Carolina and in Massachusetts. However, other states' delegates were influenced by different factors. For example, in Georgia, delegates from all regions voted for ratification.

satisfy some of the most pressing concerns that had arisen in the ratification process (see Chapter 7).

Unlike in France, where the Revolution of 1789 divided the society into irreconcilable factions for generations, the American Constitutional Revolution of 1787 created a national republic that enjoyed broad popular support. Federalists celebrated their triumph by organizing great processions in the seaport cities. By marching in an orderly fashion — in conscious contrast to the riotous Revolutionary mobs — Federalist-minded citizens affirmed their allegiance to a self-governing but elite-ruled republican nation.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the most important compromises struck in the Philadelphia convention of 1787?

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we examined the unfolding of two related sets of events. The first was the war between Britain and its rebellious colonies that began in 1776 and ended in 1783. The two great battles of Saratoga (1777) and Yorktown (1781) determined the outcome of that conflict. Surprisingly, given the military might of the British Empire, both were American victories. These triumphs testify to the determination of George Washington, the resilience of the Continental army, and support for the Patriot cause from hundreds of local militias and tens of thousands of taxpaying citizens.

This popular support reflected the Patriots' second success: building effective institutions of republican government. These elected institutions of local and state governance evolved out of colonial-era town meetings and representative assemblies. They were defined in the state constitutions written between 1776 and 1781, and their principles informed the first national constitution, the Articles of Confederation. Despite the challenges posed by conflicts over suffrage, women's rights, and fiscal policy, these self-governing political institutions carried the new republic successfully through the war-torn era and laid the foundation for the Constitution of 1787, the national charter that endures today.

CHAPTER 6 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What challenges did Patriot forces confront in the first two years of the war, and what were their key achievements?
2. What were the keys to Patriot victory in the American Revolution?
3. What were the most important challenges facing governments in the 1780s?
4. What were the most important compromises struck in the Philadelphia convention of 1787?
5. Consider the events listed under "Politics and Power" and "Work, Exchange, and Technology" for the period 1776–1787 on the thematic timeline on page 138. How did war debt and inflation influence the development of political institutions during these years?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Battle of Long Island (1776) (p. 172)
Battle of Saratoga (1777) (p. 175)
Valley Forge (p. 176)
Philipsburg Proclamation (p. 179)
Battle of Yorktown (1781) (p. 182)
currency tax (p. 183)
Treaty of Paris of 1783 (p. 183)
Pennsylvania constitution of 1776 (p. 185)
mixed government (p. 185)
Articles of Confederation (p. 187)
Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (p. 189)
Shays's Rebellion (p. 191)
Virginia Plan (p. 193)
New Jersey Plan (p. 194)
Federalists (p. 195)
Antifederalists (p. 195)
Federalist No. 10 (p. 198)

Key People

General George Washington (p. 172)
General William Howe (p. 172)
General Horatio Gates (p. 175)
Robert Morris (p. 176)
Baron von Steuben (p. 177)
Judith Sargent Murray (p. 186)
James Madison (p. 192)

Key Academic Terms

kinship (p. 170)
mercenary (p. 172)
extortion (p. 176)
partisan (p. 176)
pension (p. 178)
guerilla (p. 179)
attrition (p. 180)
stymied (p. 182)
prerogative (p. 186)
adjudicate (p. 187)
factionalism (p. 198)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. In Chapter 5, we saw the way that protests against imperial policy grew until colonists chose to declare their independence rather than submit to Parliament's authority. By 1787, the problems created by the Revolutionary War forced leaders of the newly independent states to consider plans for their own powerful central government. What problems led nationalists to believe such a step was necessary? How did Antifederalists draw on Revolutionary ideas to make their case against the Constitution? What claims did nationalists make in response to dampen Antifederalist fears?
2. Look again at Map 6.5 on page 188 showing western land claims in the 1780s. If these claims had not been ceded to the Continental Congress, what would have been the likely result? Why was it so important to the survival of the Confederation that individual states give up their claims to these western lands?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 172 for help in answering the questions below.

Gates defeats Burgoyne at Saratoga (1777), the Franco-American alliance (1778), and Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown (1781): How were these three events linked? How important was the French alliance to the Patriot victory?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we esteem too lightly: it is dearness only that gives every thing its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed if so celestial an article as freedom should not be highly rated. Britain, with an army to enforce her tyranny, has declared that she has a right (not only to tax) but to 'bind us in all cases whatsoever,' and if being bound in that manner, is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth. Even the expression is impious; for so unlimited a power can belong only to God."
>
> Thomas Paine, "The American Crisis," December 19, 1776

1. Which of the following best explains the challenge faced by Patriots as described in the excerpt?
   a. Debates between the states over the fate of slavery
   b. Early military struggles against the British army
   c. Criticisms levied in Parliament by those opposed to the colonial war
   d. The Enlightenment ideal of freedom as the highest of all virtues
2. The sentiments expressed in the excerpt are most similar to sentiments expressed by which of the following groups?
   a. Women advocating a greater role in American society
   b. Frontier settlers in favor of seizing American Indian lands
   c. Protestant evangelists during the First Great Awakening
   d. Antifederalists opposed to ratification of the Constitution
3. Which of the following most significantly contributed to the defeat of the British in the Revolutionary War?
   a. The American public's willingness to endure economic shortages and inflation
   b. The technological and military superiority of the Continental Army
   c. The lack of dissent against the war effort in the American colonies
   d. The ingenuity of American mechanics in bolstering industrial output

Questions 4–6 refer to the map below.

Status of Slavery in the United States Following the American Revolution

4. The map could be best used to support a characterization of the dominant national attitude regarding slavery in the United States in the 1780s as
   a. abolitionist seeking emancipation.
   b. free-soil opposing the westward expansion of slavery.
   c. sectional resulting from early federal and state government policies.
   d. perfectionist avoiding compromise in favor of principle.
5. Which of the following most directly contributed to the status of the Indiana and Ohio Territories as shown in the map?
   a. Federal treaty obligations with American Indian tribes
   b. Compromises at the Constitutional Convention
   c. The end of the Seven Years' War
   d. Passage of the Northwest Ordinance
6. In the years immediately following the Revolutionary War, the regional differences depicted in the map posed the greatest threat to
   a. maintaining existing systems of labor.
   b. creating a sense of national identity and unity.
   c. promoting peaceful relations with neighboring countries.
   d. solving the nation's financial crisis.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

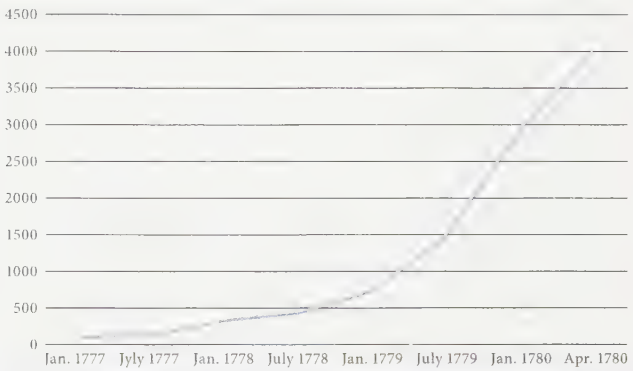
"[T]he often violent expression of such discontents in politics should not blind us to the fact that the period was one of extraordinary economic growth. Merchants owned more ships at the end of the 1780s than they had at the beginning of the Revolution . . . [and] the export of agricultural produce was double. . . . American cities grew rapidly. . . . There can be no question but that freedom from the British Empire resulted in a surge of activity in all phases of American life. . . . [T]here is no evidence of stagnation and decay in the 1780s. Instead the story is one of a newly free people who seized upon every means to improve and enrich themselves in a nation which they believed had a golden destiny."

Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation: A History of the United States During the Confederation, 1781–1789*, 1950

"Viewing the state as analogous to the human body, Americans saw their country stricken by a serious sickness. The 1780s seemed to mark the point in the life of the young nation where a decisive change had to occur, leading either to recovery or death. . . . The signs of disease spread everywhere. Merchants and farmers were seeking their own selfish ends; hucksters were engrossing products to raise prices. Even government officials . . . were using their public positions to fill their own pockets. The fluctuation in the value of money . . . was putting a premium on selfishness. . . . Instead of bringing about the moral reformation they had anticipated from victory, the Revolution had only aggravated America's corruption and sin"

Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787*, 1969

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Jensen's and Wood's historical interpretations of American politics during the 1780s.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the 1780s that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Jensen's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the 1780s that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wood's interpretation.



Graph of Massachusetts Paper Dollars Needed to Equal $100 of Gold

2. Using the graph above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical factor that caused the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE significant historical event or development resulting from the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ANOTHER significant historical event or development resulting from the change illustrated in the graph.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event, development, or circumstance that led to the difference you indicated in (b).

CHAPTER 7

Hammering Out a Federal Republic

1787–1820

The Political Crisis of the 1790s

The Federalists Implement the Constitution

Hamilton's Financial Program

Jefferson's Agrarian Vision

The French Revolution Divides Americans

The Rise of Political Parties

A Republican Empire Is Born

Sham Treaties and Indian Lands

Migration and the Changing Farm Economy

The Jefferson Presidency

Jefferson and the West

The War of 1812 and the Transformation of Politics

Conflict in the Atlantic and the West

The War of 1812

The Federalist Legacy

AP LEARNING FOCUS

What was required to make the United States a viable independent republic, and how did debates over the Constitution shape relations between the national government and the states?

Like an earthquake, the American Revolution shook the European monarchical order, and its aftershocks reverberated for decades. By "creating a new republic based on the rights of the individual, the North Americans introduced a new force into the world," the eminent German historian Leopold von Ranke warned the king of Bavaria in 1854, a force that might cost the monarch his throne. Before 1776, "a king who ruled by the grace of God had been the center around which everything turned. Now the idea emerged that power should come from below [from the people]."

Other republican-inspired upheavals — England's Puritan Revolution of the 1640s and the French Revolution of 1789 — ended in political chaos and military rule. Similar fates befell many Latin American republics that won independence from Spain in the early nineteenth century. But the American states escaped both anarchy and dictatorship. Having been raised in a Radical Whig political culture that viewed standing armies and powerful generals as instruments of tyranny, General George Washington left public life in 1783 to manage his plantation, astonishing European observers but bolstering the authority of elected Patriot leaders. "'Tis a Conduct so novel," American painter John Trumbull reported from London, that it is "inconceivable to People [here]."

The great task of fashioning representative republican governments absorbed the energy and intellect of an entire generation and was rife with conflict. Seeking to perpetuate the elite-led polity of the colonial era, Federalists celebrated "natural aristocrats" such as Washington and condemned the radical republicanism of the French Revolution. In response, Jefferson and his Republican followers claimed the Fourth of July as their holiday and "we the people" as their political language. "There was a grand democrat procession in Town on the 4th of July," came a report from Baltimore: "All the farmers, tanners, black-smiths, shoemakers, etc. were there . . . and afterwards they went to a grand feast."

Many people of high status worried that the new state governments were too attentive to the demands of such ordinary workers and their families. When considering a bill, Connecticut conservative Ezra Stiles grumbled, every elected official "instantly thinks how it will affect his constituents" rather than how it would enhance the general welfare. What Stiles criticized as irresponsible, however, most Americans welcomed. The concerns of ordinary citizens were now paramount, and traditional elites trembled.

An Emblem of America, 1800 In the first years of independence, citizens of the United States searched for a symbolic representation of their new nation. Should the emphasis be on the "liberty" aspect of the symbol? Should it have an ideological meaning, as in the [illegible] to Washington? Or should America's symbol be found in the natural environment (the waterfall in the background) or the presence of Africans and Indians (represented by the [illegible] figure in front of the falls)? Or, finally, should it be a symbol of the national flag?

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1784–1789	Contested Indian treaties: Fort Stanwix (1784), Fort McIntosh (1785), Fort Finney (1786), and Fort Harmar (1789)
1789–1799	French Revolution
1789	Judiciary Act establishes federal courts
1790	Hamilton's public credit system approved
1790–1791	Western Confederacy defeats U.S. armies
1791–1803	Haitian Revolution
1791	Bill of Rights ratified Bank of the United States chartered
1792	Kentucky joins Union
1793	War between Britain and France
1794	Madison and Jefferson found Republican Party Whiskey Rebellion Battle of Fallen Timbers
1795	Jay's Treaty with Great Britain Pinckney's Treaty with Spain Treaty of Greenville accepts Indian land rights
1796	Tennessee joins Union
1798	XYZ Affair Alien, Sedition, and Naturalization Acts Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
1800	Jefferson elected president
1801–1812	Gallatin reduces national debt
1803	Louisiana Purchase *Marbury v. Madison* asserts judicial review
1804–1806	Lewis and Clark explore West
1807	Embargo Act cripples American shipping
1808	Madison elected president
1809	Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa revive Western Confederacy
1812–1815	War of 1812
1817–1825	Era of Good Feeling
1819	Adams-Onís Treaty *McCulloch v. Maryland; Dartmouth College v. Woodward*

The Political Crisis of the 1790s

The final decade of the eighteenth century brought fresh challenges for American politics. The Federalists split into two factions over financial policy and the French Revolution, and their leaders, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson, offered contrasting visions of the future. Would the United States remain an agricultural nation governed by local officials, as Jefferson hoped? Or would Hamilton's vision of a strong national government and an economy based on manufacturing become reality?

The Federalists Implement the Constitution

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the ways that Washington and Adams put the Constitution into practice is essential for success on the AP® exam.

The Constitution expanded the dimensions of political life by allowing voters to choose national leaders as well as local and state officials. The Federalists swept the election of 1788, winning forty-four seats in the House of Representatives; only eight Antifederalists won election. As expected, members of the electoral college chose George Washington as president. John Adams received the second-highest number of electoral votes and became vice president.

Devising the New Government Once the military savior of his country, Washington now became its political father. At age fifty-seven, the first president possessed great personal dignity and a cautious personality. To maintain continuity, he adopted many of the administrative practices of the Confederation and asked Congress to reestablish the existing executive departments: Foreign Affairs (State), Finance (Treasury), and War. To head the Department of State, Washington chose Thomas Jefferson, a fellow Virginian and an experienced diplomat. For secretary of the treasury, he turned to Alexander Hamilton, a lawyer and his former military aide. The president designated Jefferson, Hamilton, and Secretary of War Henry Knox as his cabinet, or advisory body.

The Constitution mandated a supreme court, but the Philadelphia convention gave Congress the task of creating a national court system. The Federalists wanted strong national institutions, and the **Judiciary Act of 1789** reflected their vision. The act established a federal district court in each state and three circuit courts to hear appeals from the districts, with the Supreme Court having the final say. The Judiciary Act also specified that cases arising in state courts that involved federal laws could be appealed to the Supreme Court. This provision ensured that federal judges would determine the meaning of the Constitution.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

The Bill of Rights The Federalists kept their promise to consider amendments to the Constitution. James Madison, now a member of the House of Representatives, submitted nineteen amendments to the First Congress; by 1791, ten had been approved by Congress and ratified by the states. These ten amendments, known as the **Bill of Rights**, safeguard fundamental personal rights, including freedom of speech and religion, and mandate legal procedures, such as trial by jury. By protecting individual citizens, the amendments eased Antifederalists' fears of an oppressive national government and secured the legitimacy of the Constitution. They also addressed the issue of federalism: the proper balance between the authority of the national and state governments. But that question was constantly contested until the Civil War and remains important today.

Hamilton's Financial Program

George Washington's most important decision was choosing Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the treasury. An ambitious self-made man of great intelligence, Hamilton married into the Schuyler family, influential Hudson River Valley landowners, and was a prominent lawyer in New York City. At the Philadelphia convention, he condemned the "democratic spirit" and called for an authoritarian government and a president with near-monarchical powers.

As treasury secretary, Hamilton devised bold policies to enhance national authority and to assist financiers and merchants. He outlined his plans in three pathbreaking reports to Congress: on public credit (January 1790), on a national bank (December 1790), and on manufactures (December 1791). These reports outlined a coherent program of national mercantilism—government-assisted economic development. Hamilton's system was controversial at the time, and historians continue to debate whether the powers they gave the national government were necessary or excessive (AP® Interpreting the Past).

AP® EXAM TIP

Consider the ways that Hamilton's financial plan helped spur the growth of the first political party system in the U.S.

Public Credit: Redemption and Assumption The financial and social implications of Hamilton's "**Report on the Public Credit**" made it instantly controversial. Hamilton asked Congress to redeem at face value the $55 million in Confederation securities held by foreign and domestic investors (Figure 7.1). His reasons were simple: as an underdeveloped nation, the United States needed good credit to secure loans from Dutch and British financiers. However, Hamilton's redemption plan would give enormous profits to speculators, who had bought up depreciated securities. For example, the Massachusetts firm of Burrell & Burrell had paid $600 for Confederation notes with a face value of $2,500; it stood to reap a profit of $1,900. Such windfall gains offended a majority of Americans, who condemned the speculative practices of capitalist financiers. Equally controversial was Hamilton's proposal to pay the Burrells and other note holders with new interest-bearing securities, thereby creating a permanent national debt and tying the interests of wealthy creditors to the survival of the new nation.

Patrick Henry condemned this plan "to erect, and concentrate, and perpetuate a large monied interest" and warned that it would prove "fatal to the existence of American liberty." James Madison demanded that Congress recompense those who originally owned Confederation securities: the thousands of shopkeepers, farmers, and soldiers who had bought or accepted them during the dark days of the war. However, it

Did Hamilton's Economic System Endanger the Legacy of the Revolution?

Alexander Hamilton became the nation's first secretary of the treasury in 1789 and immediately set to work organizing the new government's finances. Detailed in three major reports to Congress on public credit, a national bank, and manufacturing, Hamilton's financial plan corrected for the limitations the national government experienced under the Articles of Confederation. He wanted to establish a stable currency to encourage investment, to impose tariffs on goods imported into the country to stimulate domestic manufacturing, and to repay Revolutionary war debts with revenue from an excise tax on whiskey and other luxuries. His ambitious proposals depended on the power and authority of a strong central government and pointed toward a commercial and manufacturing future for America. While many people embraced Hamilton's vision for America's future, others grew suspicious. Historians Forrest McDonald and Lance Banning offer contrasting assessments of Hamilton's economic system and its political consequences.

FORREST McDONALD

SOURCE: Forrest McDonald, *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 117.

Hamilton's assigned duty, upon becoming minister of the nation's finances, would be to devise a way of managing the Revolutionary War debts so as to place public credit upon firm foundations. . . . Hamilton set for himself "the task of making the citizens in every regard more well-behaved, healthier, wiser, richer, and more secure." Specifically, he proposed to use his administration of the public finances as an instrument for forging the American people into a prosperous, happy, and respected nation.

LANCE BANNING

SOURCE: Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 128.

His [Alexander Hamilton's] plans . . . were not only a catalyst for sectional confrontation. They seemed an excellent confirmation of persistent Antifederalist suspicions of an engulfing federal power. . . . Coming in conjunction with the high style of the new government, the antipopulistic pronouncements of some of its supporters, and measures such as an excise tax and a professional army, the Hamiltonian program might as well have been designed to awaken specific expectations about the course and nature of governmental decay that were never very far beneath the surface of revolutionary minds.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How does each historian characterize the political effects of Hamilton's economic plans?
2. From the two historians' excerpts, what can you infer about the political ideologies of Hamilton's supporters and opponents?
3. Identify two factors from this chapter that either support or refute the idea that Hamilton's economic policies threatened the legacy of the American Revolution.

would have been difficult to trace the original owners; moreover, nearly half the members of the House of Representatives owned Confederation securities and would profit personally from Hamilton's plan. Melding practicality with self-interest, the House rejected Madison's suggestion.

Hamilton then proposed that the national government further enhance public credit by assuming the war debts of the states. This assumption plan, costing $22 million, also favored well-to-do creditors such as Abigail Adams, who had bought depreciated Massachusetts government bonds with a face value of $2,400 for only a few hundred dollars and would reap a windfall profit. Still, Adams was a long-term investor, not a speculator like Assistant Secretary of the Treasury William Duer. Knowing Hamilton's intentions in advance, Duer and his associates secretly bought up $4.6 million of the war bonds of southern states at bargain rates. Congressional critics condemned Duer's speculation. They also pointed out that some states had already paid off their war debts; in response, Hamilton promised to reimburse those states. To win the votes of congressmen from Virginia and Maryland, the treasury chief arranged another deal: he agreed that the permanent national capital would be built along the Potomac River, where

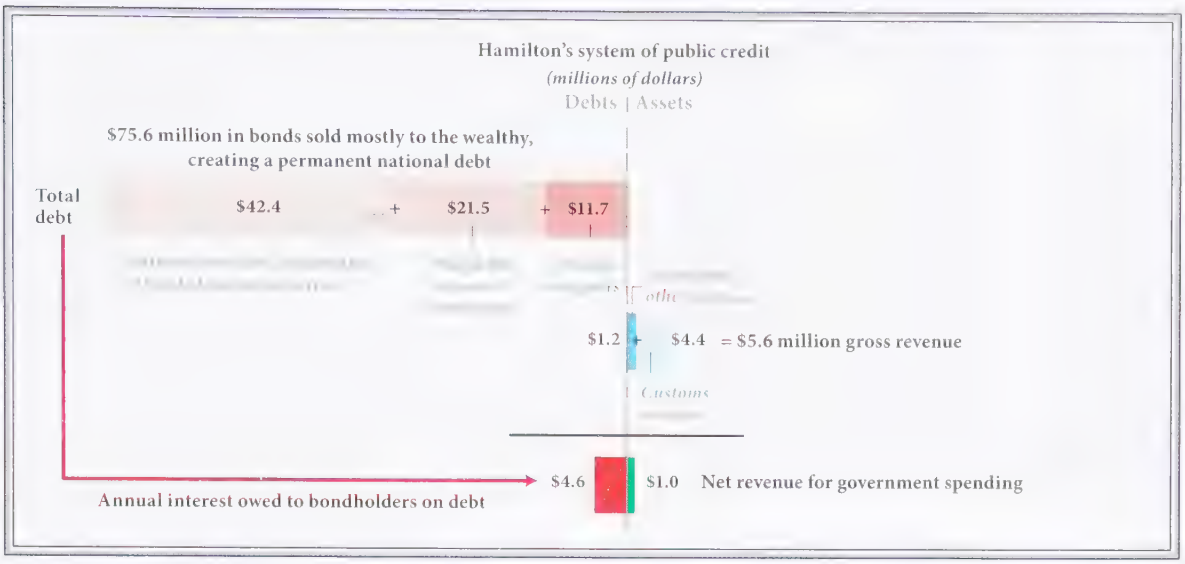


FIGURE 7.1 Hamilton's Fiscal Structure, 1792
As treasury secretary, Alexander Hamilton established a national debt by issuing government bonds and using the proceeds to redeem Confederation securities and assume the war debts of the states. To pay the annual interest due on the bonds, he used the revenue from excise taxes and customs duties. Hamilton deliberately did not attempt to redeem the bonds because he wanted to tie the interests of the wealthy Americans who owned them to the new national government.

suspicious southerners could easily watch its operations. Such astute bargaining gave Hamilton the votes he needed to enact his redemption and assumption plans.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

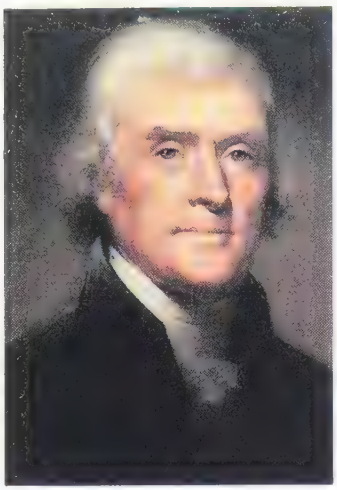
Why did Hamilton believe a national debt would strengthen the United States and help to ensure its survival?

Creating a National Bank In December 1790, Hamilton asked Congress to charter the **Bank of the United States**, which would be jointly owned by private stockholders and the national government. Hamilton argued that the bank would provide stability to the **specie**-starved American economy by making loans to merchants, handling government funds, and issuing bills of credit — much as the Bank of England had done in Great Britain. These potential benefits persuaded Congress to grant Hamilton's bank a twenty-year charter and to send the legislation to the president for his approval.

At this critical juncture, Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson joined with James Madison to oppose Hamilton's financial initiatives. Jefferson charged that Hamilton's national bank was unconstitutional. "The incorporation of a Bank," Jefferson told President Washington, was not a power expressly "delegated to the United States by the Constitution." Jefferson's argument rested on a *strict* interpretation of the Constitution. Hamilton preferred a *loose* interpretation; he told Washington that Article 1, Section 8, empowered Congress to make "all Laws which shall be necessary and proper" to carry out the provisions of the Constitution. Agreeing with Hamilton, the president signed the legislation.

Raising Revenue Through Tariffs Hamilton now sought revenue to pay the annual interest on the national debt. At his insistence, Congress imposed excise taxes, including a duty on whiskey distilled in the United States. These taxes would yield $1 million a year. To raise another $4 million to $5 million, the treasury secretary proposed higher tariffs on foreign imports. Although Hamilton's "**Report on Manufactures**" (1791) urged the expansion of American manufacturing, he did not support high protective tariffs that would exclude foreign products. Rather, he advocated moderate revenue tariffs that would pay the interest on the debt and other government expenses.

Hamilton's scheme worked brilliantly. As American trade increased, customs revenue rose steadily and paid down the national debt. Controversies notwithstanding, the treasury secretary had devised a strikingly modern and successful fiscal system; as entrepreneur Samuel Blodget Jr. declared in 1801, "the country prospered beyond all former example."



Two Visions of America Thomas Jefferson (left) and Alexander Hamilton confront each other in these portraits, as they did in the political battles of the 1790s. Jefferson was pro-French, Hamilton pro-British. Jefferson favored farmers and artisans; Hamilton supported merchants and financiers. Jefferson believed in democracy and rule by legislative majorities; Hamilton argued for strong executives and judges. Still, in the contested presidential election of 1800, Hamilton (who detested candidate Aaron Burr) threw his support to Jefferson and secured the presidency for his longtime political foe.

Jefferson's Agrarian Vision

Hamilton paid a high political price for his success. As Washington began his second four-year term in 1793, Hamilton's financial measures had split the Federalists into bitterly opposed factions. Most northern Federalists supported the treasury secretary, while most southern Federalists joined a group headed by Madison and Jefferson. By 1794, the two factions had acquired names. Hamiltonians remained Federalists; the allies of Madison and Jefferson called themselves Democratic Republicans or simply Republicans.

Thomas Jefferson spoke for southern planters and western farmers. Well-read in architecture, natural history, agricultural science, and political theory, Jefferson embraced the optimism of the Enlightenment. He believed in the "improvability of the human race" and deplored the corruption and social divisions that threatened its progress. Having seen the poverty of laborers in British factories, Jefferson doubted that wageworkers had the economic and political independence needed to sustain a republican polity.

Jefferson therefore set his democratic vision of America in a society of independent yeomen farm families. "Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God," he wrote. The grain and meat from their homesteads would feed European nations, which "would manufacture and send us in exchange our clothes and other comforts." Jefferson's notion of an international division of labor resembled that proposed by Scottish economist Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776).

Turmoil in Europe brought Jefferson's vision closer to reality. The French Revolution began in 1789; four years later, the First French Republic (1792–1804) went to war against a British-led coalition of monarchies. As fighting disrupted European farming, wheat prices leaped from 5 to 8 shillings a bushel and remained high for twenty years, bringing substantial profits to Chesapeake and Middle Atlantic farmers. "Our farmers have never experienced such prosperity," remarked one observer. Simultaneously, a boom in the export of raw cotton, fueled by the invention of the cotton gin and the mechanization of cloth production in Britain, boosted the economies of Georgia and South Carolina. As Jefferson had hoped, European markets brought prosperity to American agriculture.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did Jefferson's idea of an agrarian republic differ from the economic vision put forward by Alexander Hamilton?

To see a longer excerpt of Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

The French Revolution Divides Americans

American merchants profited even more handsomely from the European war. In 1793, President Washington issued a **Proclamation of Neutrality**, allowing U.S. citizens to trade with all **belligerents**. As neutral carriers, American merchant ships claimed a right to pass through Britain's naval blockade of French ports, and American firms quickly took over the lucrative sugar trade between France and its West Indian islands. Commercial earnings rose spectacularly, averaging $20 million annually in the 1790s—twice the value of cotton and tobacco exports. As the American merchant fleet increased from 355,000 tons in 1790 to 1.1 million tons in 1808, northern shipbuilders and merchants provided work for thousands of shipwrights, sailmakers, dockhands, and seamen. Carpenters, masons, and cabinetmakers in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia easily found work building warehouses and fashionable "Federal-style" town houses for newly affluent merchants.

AP® EXAM TIP

Explaining the impact of conflicts in Europe on the U.S. economy, politics, and foreign policy is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Ideological Politics As Americans profited from Europe's struggles, they argued passionately over its ideologies. Most Americans had welcomed the **French Revolution**

(1789–1799) because it abolished feudalism and established a constitutional monarchy. The creation of the First French Republic was more controversial. Many applauded the end of the monarchy and embraced the democratic ideology of the radical **Jacobins**. Like the Jacobins, they formed political clubs and began to address one another as "citizen." However, Americans with strong religious beliefs condemned the new French government for closing Christian churches and promoting a rational religion based on "natural morality." Fearing social revolution at home, wealthy Americans condemned revolutionary leader Robespierre and his followers for executing King Louis XVI and three thousand aristocrats.

Their fears were well founded, because Hamilton's economic policies quickly sparked a domestic insurgency. In 1794, western Pennsylvania farmers mounted the so-called **Whiskey Rebellion** to protest Hamilton's excise tax on spirits (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). This tax had cut demand for the corn whiskey the farmers distilled and bartered for eastern manufactures. Like the Sons of Liberty in 1765 and the Shaysites in 1786, the Whiskey Rebels assailed the tax collectors who sent the farmers' hard-earned money to a distant government. Protesters waved banners proclaiming the French revolutionary slogan "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!" To deter popular rebellion and uphold national authority, President Washington raised a militia force of 12,000 troops and dispersed the Whiskey Rebels.

Jay's Treaty Britain's maritime strategy intensified political divisions in America. Beginning in late 1793, the British navy seized 250 American ships carrying French sugar and other goods. Hoping to protect merchant property through diplomacy,

The Whiskey Rebellion, 1794 This painting of Washington reviewing the militia forces that would march against the Whiskey Rebels in western Pennsylvania expresses a Federalist vision of hierarchy (in the form of officers on horseback) and order (represented by the ranks of troops). The reality was messier: Militias were called up from four states, but when volunteers were too few the states resorted to a draft, which prompted protests and riots. In the end, the militia force of more than 12,000 men was larger than the Continental army itself had been through much of the Revolution. Upon its approach, the rebellion evaporated. Twenty-four men were indicted for treason; two were sentenced to hang, but Washington pardoned them to encourage peaceful reconciliation. The Granger Collection, New York

The Social Life of Alcohol

Alcohol was ubiquitous in post-Revolutionary America. Expensive wines and distilled spirits traveled through the channels of Atlantic trade; molasses was imported from the West Indies and distilled into rum in American port towns; and cider, beer, and whiskey were produced on a small scale everywhere in the countryside. Taverns were centers of social and political activity. Alcohol both mirrored and reinforced the economic and geographical divisions in American life.

1. **James Newport's ad in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1790.**

   JAMES NEWPORT, At his *Wine, Spirit and Cordial Stores*, in Second street, at the upper corner of Carter's alley, has, by Wholesale and Retail, MADEIRA, Sherry, Lisbon, Teneriffe, Malaga, Fayal, and Port Wines, Jamaica spirits, Antigua rum, Philadelphia ditto, Holland gin, Philadelphia ditto, very excellent, in cases, Coniac [sic] brandy, American ditto, good flavor, choice shrub. CORDIALS, &c. Anniseed water, clove water, all-fours, Cinnamon water, prime wine and rum colouring, wine bitters. Spirits of wine. Retail Stores and Tavern-keepers will in particular, find their interest in buying here, the articles being all the best in their kind, and selling at the most reduced prices. Philadelphia, April 30, 1790.

2. **Benjamin Chew on providing alcohol to his slaves, 1794.**
   The instructions of a prominent Philadelphia lawyer and landowner to his overseer about giving rum to his slaves during the harvest.

   I have written . . . to let you have [illegible] Rum & other necessaries for the Harvest. But as these articles are so [illegible] dear I must recommend it to you to be as sparing of them as possible. . . . I must rely on you good man [to conduct] the Business. . . . I would have you let the People have a little Rum — let them be cautious in using too much Spirits during Harvest — it will be well to mix some molasses with water to drink — it is very wholesome & much recommended. . . . I need not caution you that a great deal depends upon your own proper attention to yourself and that you are careful of good Conduct during Harvest.

3. **Anonymous, *The Toast*, c. 1810–1815.**

ohn P. Nugent Collection, Newburgh, Indiana

4. John Lewis Krimmel, *Village Tavern*, 1814. *This painting of a postman arriving at a Pennsylvania tavern with letters and newspapers reminds us that taverns were not merely places to drink.*

SRCE: John Lewis Krimmel (American, 1786–1821), *Village Tavern*, 1813–1814, oil on canvas, 16 7/8 x 22 1/2 inches. Toledo Museum of Art (Toledo, Ohio). Purchased with funds from the Florence Scott Libbey Bequest in Memory of her Father, Maurice A. Scott, 1954.13. Photo credit: Richard Goodbody, New York.

virtuous principles of republican liberty, and shall receive punishment according to the nature of the offense.

And whereas, a certain John Reed, now resident in Washington, and being at his place near Pittsburgh, called Reedsburgh, and having a set of stills employed at said Reedsburgh, entered on the excise docket, contrary to the will and good pleasure of his fellow citizens, and came not forth to assist in the suppression of the execution of said law, by aiding and assisting in the late expedition, have, by delinquency, manifested his approbation to the execution of the aforesaid law, is hereby charged forthwith to cause the contents of this paper, without adding or diminishing, to be published in the Pittsburgh Gazette, the ensuing week, under the no less penalty than the consumption of his distillery.

Given under my hand, this 19th day of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

SOURCES: (1) James Newport, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 5, 1790; (2) Chew Family Papers, Box 773, ff. 25, 10, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; (5) *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 1, 1794; (6) *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd ser., 4:61–62 (Harrisburg: E. K. Meyers, State Printer, 1890).

5. Public notice from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1794. *Here, a tavern serves as the gathering place for citizens interested in nominating candidates for election to office.*

THE INHABITANTS of the County of Chester, are hereby requested to meet at the Centre house, kept by Abraham Marshall, in West Bradford, on FRIDAY the 10th Day of October next, at 10 o'clock, A. M. in order to form a TICKET for the ensuing Election.

6. Tom the Tinker demands compliance, July 23, 1794. *During the Whiskey Rebellion, "Tom the Tinker" pinned this notice to a tree near John Reed's distillery. Reed had it published in a Pittsburgh newspaper.*

In taking a survey of the troops under my direction in the late expedition against that insolent exciseman, John Neville, I find there were a great number of delinquents, even among those who carry on distilling. It will, therefore, be observed that I, Tom the Tinker, will not suffer any certain class or set of men to be excluded [from] the service of this my district, when notified to attend on any expedition carried on in order to obstruct the execution of the excise law, and obtain a repeal thereof.

And I do declare on my solemn word, that if such delinquents do not come forth on the next alarm, with equipments, and give their assistance in opposing the execution and obtaining a repeal of the excise law, he or they will be deemed as enemies and stand opposed to

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Who is the intended audience for an advertisement like James Newport's (source 1)? How many Atlantic ports of call are represented in the products he advertises?
2. The two paintings (sources 3 and 4), set in the interiors of a private home and a tavern, depict mostly men. What have they gathered for in each case? *Village Tavern* is set during the War of 1812. How does that fact influence your interpretation of the scene? What do you think the woman and child are doing in the tavern?
3. *Village Tavern* (source 4) and the ad calling for a political gathering (source 5) both suggest the way that politics and drinking often mixed. How might the fact that taverns were gathering places for political discussion and decision making have influenced outcomes?
4. What concerns does Benjamin Chew express in his correspondence with his overseer (source 2)? Given those worries, why do you think he provides rum to his slaves at all?
5. Tom the Tinker expressed the collective will of whiskey distillers in western Pennsylvania during the Whiskey Rebellion (source 6). Why would it have been important to enforce unanimous action during the uprising?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using the sources here and what you know about the trade and consumption of alcohol, social stratification in the early republic, and differences between urban and rural communities, write a short essay that considers the ways in which taverns and alcohol helped unite people in some ways while differentiating or dividing them in others.

Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haitian Revolutionary and Statesman The American Revolution of 1776 constituted a victory for republicanism; the Haitian revolt of the 1790s represented a triumph of liberty over slavery and a demand for racial equality. After leading the black army that ousted French planters and British invaders from Haiti, Toussaint formed a constitutional government in 1801. A year later, when French troops invaded the island, he negotiated a treaty that halted Haitian resistance in exchange for a pledge that the French would not reinstate slavery. Subsequently, the French seized Toussaint and imprisoned him in France, where he died in 1803. This image, engraved in France in 1802, places Toussaint on horseback to emphasize his military prowess. Photo12/UIG/Getty Images

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did events abroad during the 1790s sharpen political divisions in the United States?

Washington dispatched John Jay to Britain. But Jay returned with a controversial treaty that ignored the American claim that "free ships make free goods" and accepted Britain's right to stop neutral ships. The treaty also required the U.S. government to make "full and complete compensation" to British merchants for pre–Revolutionary War debts owed by American citizens. In return, the agreement allowed Americans to submit claims for illegal seizures and required the British to remove their troops and Indian agents from the Northwest Territory. Despite Republican charges that **Jay's Treaty** was too conciliatory, the Senate ratified it in 1795, but only by the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution. As long as the Federalists were in power, the United States would have a pro-British foreign policy.

The Haitian Revolution The French Revolution inspired a revolution closer to home that would also impact the United States. The wealthy French plantation colony of Saint-Domingue in the West Indies was deeply divided: a small class of elite planters stood atop the population of 40,000 free whites and dominated the island's half million slaves. In between, some 28,000 *gens de couleur* — free men of color — were excluded from most professions, forbidden from taking the names of their white relatives, and prevented from dressing like whites. The French Revolution intensified conflict between planters and free blacks, giving way to a massive slave uprising in 1791 that aimed to abolish slavery. The uprising touched off years of civil war, along with Spanish and British invasions. In 1798, black Haitians led by Toussaint L'Ouverture — himself a former slave-owning planter — seized control of the country. After five more years of fighting, in 1803 Saint-Domingue became the independent nation of Haiti: the first black republic in the Atlantic world.

The **Haitian Revolution** profoundly impacted the United States. In 1793, thousands of refugees — planters, slaves, and free blacks alike — fled the island and traveled to Charleston, Norfolk, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, while newspapers detailed the horrors of the unfolding war. Many slaveholders panicked, fearful that the "contagion" of black liberation would undermine their own slave regimes. U.S. policy toward the rebellion presented a knotty problem. The first instinct of the Washington administration was to supply aid to the island's white population. Adams — strongly antislavery and no friend of France — changed course, aiding the rebels and strengthening commercial ties. Jefferson, though sympathetic to moral arguments against slavery, was himself a southern slaveholder; he was, moreover, an ardent supporter of France. When he became president, he cut off aid to the rebels, imposed a trade **embargo**, and refused to recognize an independent Haiti. For many Americans, an independent nation of liberated citizen-slaves was a horrifying paradox, a perversion of the republican ideal (AP® America in the World).

The Rise of Political Parties

The appearance of Federalists and Republicans marked a new stage in American politics — what historians call the First Party System. Colonial legislatures had factions based on family, ethnicity, or region, but they did not have organized political parties. Nor did the new state and national constitutions make any provision for political societies. Indeed, most Americans believed that parties were dangerous because they looked out for themselves rather than serving the public interest.

But a shared understanding of the public interest collapsed in the face of sharp conflicts over Hamilton's fiscal policies. Most merchants and creditors supported the Federalist Party, as did wheat-exporting slaveholders in the Tidewater districts of the Chesapeake. The emerging Republican coalition included southern tobacco and rice planters, debt-conscious western farmers, Germans and Scots-Irish in the southern backcountry, and subsistence farmers in the Northeast.

Party identity crystallized in 1796. To prepare for the presidential election, Federalist and Republican leaders called caucuses in Congress and conventions in the states. They

The Haitian Revolution and the Problem of Race

The slave uprising on the French island of Saint-Domingue triggered international war, created a refugee crisis, and ended with the creation of a new republic. The American Revolution did all these things as well, yet the United States did not support either the rebellion or the republic of Haiti.

SAVANNAH CITY COUNCIL'S RESOLUTION IN RESPONSE TO THE HAITIAN UPRISING, 1795

Whereas, from the mischiefs which the people of St. Domingo, and other French islands, have experienced, from the insurrection of their Negroes and People of Colour, the precautions taken by the people of South Carolina . . . to prevent the importation or landing of any such Negroes or Mulattoes amongst them, and the information the Citizens now assembled have received, that a vessel is now lying at Cockspur, recently from Kingston, with near one hundred Negroes on board, whose landing may be dangerous to the inhabitants of this state, with the daily expectation of many more; therefore, to prevent the evils that may arise from suffering people of this description, under any pretense whatever, from being introduced amongst us, the Citizens pledge themselves unanimously to support the City Council in any salutary measures they may adopt[.]

SOURCE: Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, Image ID 1243998, digitalgallery.nypl.org.

EXCERPTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF 1801 ESTABLISHED BY THE CENTRAL ASSEMBLY OF SAINT-DOMINGUE

Article 1. – Saint-Domingue in its entire expanse, and Samana, La Tortue, La Gonave, Les Cayemites, L'Ile-a-Vache, La Saone and other adjacent islands form the territory of a single colony, which is part of the French Empire, but ruled under particular laws. . . .

Article 3. – There cannot exist slaves on this territory, servitude is therein forever abolished. All men are born, live and die free and French.

Article 4. – All men, regardless of color, are eligible to all employment.

Article 5. – There shall exist no distinction other than those based on virtue and talent, and other superiority afforded by law in the exercise of a public function.

The law is the same for all whether in punishment or in protection.

SOURCE: *Haitian Constitution of 1801* (English), The Louverture Project, thelouvertureproject.org.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does the first document express the fears of American slaveholders? Why do you suppose the Savannah City Council perceived Haitian refugees to be a danger?
2. How does the excerpt from the 1801 Constitution echo themes of the American Revolution? What differences do you see? Comparing the second document to the first, how would you say that the two revolutions impacted views of race in Georgia and in Haiti?

also mobilized popular support by organizing public festivals and processions: the Federalists held banquets in February to celebrate Washington's birthday, and the Republicans marched through the streets on July 4 to honor the Declaration of Independence.

In the election, voters gave Federalists a majority in Congress and made John Adams president. Jefferson, narrowly defeated, became vice president. Adams continued Hamilton's pro-British foreign policy and strongly criticized French seizures of American merchant ships. When the French foreign minister Talleyrand solicited a loan and a bribe from American diplomats to stop the seizures, Adams charged that Talleyrand's agents, whom he dubbed X, Y, and Z, had insulted America's honor. In response to the **XYZ Affair**, Congress cut off trade with France in 1798 and authorized American privateering (licensing private ships to seize French vessels). This undeclared maritime war curtailed American trade with the French West Indies and resulted in the capture of nearly two hundred French and American merchant vessels.

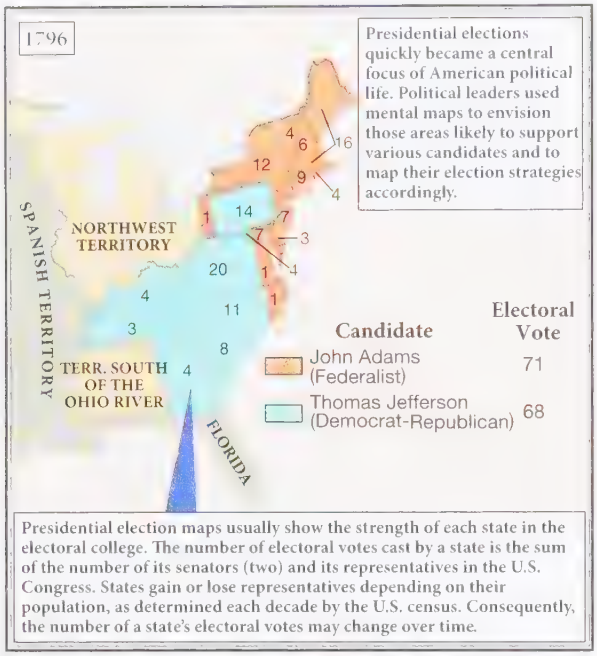
The Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts of 1798 As Federalists became more hostile to the French Republic, they also took a harder line against their Republican critics. When Republican-minded immigrants from Ireland vehemently attacked Adams's policies, a Federalist pamphleteer responded in kind: "Were I president, I would hang them for otherwise they would murder me." To silence the critics, the Federalists enacted three coercive laws limiting individual rights and threatening the fledgling party system. The **Naturalization Act** lengthened the residency requirement for American citizenship from five to fourteen years, the **Alien Act** authorized the deportation of foreigners, and the **Sedition Act** prohibited the publication of insults or malicious attacks on the president or members of Congress. "He that is not for us is against us," thundered the Federalist *Gazette of the United States*. Using the Sedition Act, Federalist prosecutors arrested more than twenty Republican newspaper editors and politicians, accused them of sedition, and convicted and jailed a number of them.

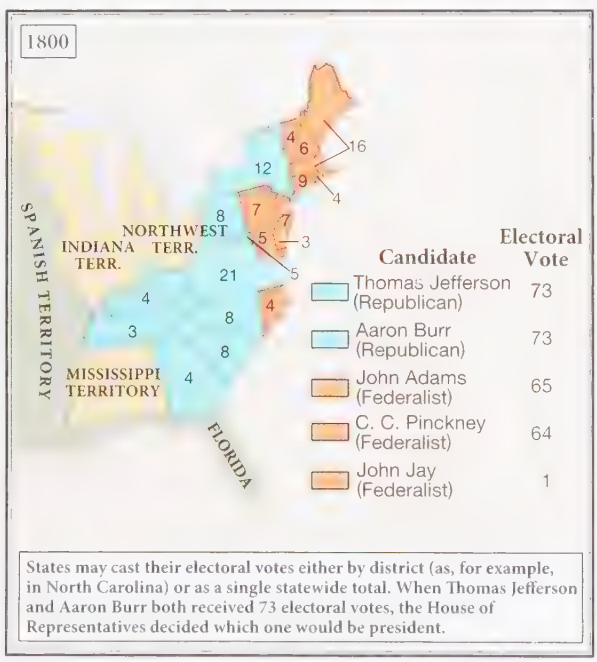
This repression sparked a constitutional crisis. Republicans charged that the Sedition Act violated the First Amendment's prohibition against "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." However, they did not appeal to the Supreme Court because the Court's power to review congressional legislation was uncertain and because most of the justices were Federalists. Instead, Madison and Jefferson looked to the state legislatures. At their urging, the Kentucky and Virginia legislatures issued resolutions in 1798 declaring the Alien and Sedition Acts to be "unauthoritative, void, and of no force." The **Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions** set forth a states' rights interpretation of the Constitution, asserting that the states had a "right to judge" the legitimacy of national laws.

The conflict over the Sedition Act set the stage for the presidential election of 1800. Jefferson, once opposed on principle to political parties, now asserted that they could "watch and relate to the people" the activities of an oppressive government. Meanwhile, John Adams reevaluated his foreign policy. Rejecting Hamilton's advice to declare war against France (and benefit from the resulting upsurge in patriotism), Adams put country ahead of party and used diplomacy to end the maritime conflict.

The "Revolution of 1800" The campaign of 1800 was a bitter, no-holds-barred contest. The Federalists launched personal attacks on Jefferson, branding him an irresponsible pro-French radical and, because he opposed state support of religion in Virginia, "the arch-apostle of irreligion and free thought." Both parties changed state election laws to favor their candidates, and rumors circulated of a Federalist plot to stage a military coup.

The election did not end these worries. Thanks to a surprising Republican victory in New York, low Federalist turnout in Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the three-fifths rule (which boosted electoral votes in the southern states), Jefferson won a narrow 73-to-65 victory over Adams in the electoral college. However, the Republican electors also gave 73 votes to Aaron Burr of New York, who was Jefferson's vice-presidential running mate (Map 7.1). The Constitution specified that in the case of a tie vote, the House of Representatives would choose between the


1796
Presidential elections quickly became a central focus of American political life. Political leaders used mental maps to envision those areas likely to support various candidates and to map their election strategies accordingly.
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
SPANISH TERRITORY
TERR. SOUTH OF THE OHIO RIVER
FLORIDA
Candidate
Electoral Vote
John Adams (Federalist) 71
Thomas Jefferson (Democrat-Republican) 68
Presidential election maps usually show the strength of each state in the electoral college. The number of electoral votes cast by a state is the sum of the number of its senators (two) and its representatives in the U.S. Congress. States gain or lose representatives depending on their population, as determined each decade by the U.S. census. Consequently, the number of a state's electoral votes may change over time.


1800
NORTHWEST TERR.
INDIANA TERR.
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
SPANISH TERRITORY
FLORIDA
Candidate
Electoral Vote
Thomas Jefferson (Republican) 73
Aaron Burr (Republican) 73
John Adams (Federalist) 65
C. C. Pinckney (Federalist) 64
John Jay (Federalist) 1
States may cast their electoral votes either by district (as, for example, in North Carolina) or as a single statewide total. When Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr both received 73 electoral votes, the House of Representatives decided which one would be president.

MAP 7.1 The Presidential Elections of 1796 and 1800
Both elections pitted Federalist John Adams of Massachusetts against Republican Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, and both saw voters split along regional lines. Adams carried every New England state and, reflecting Federalist strength in maritime and commercial areas, the eastern districts of the Middle Atlantic states; Jefferson won most of the agricultural-based states of the South and West (Kentucky and Tennessee). New York was the pivotal swing state. It gave its 12 electoral votes to Adams in 1796 and, thanks to the presence of Aaron Burr on the Republican ticket, bestowed them on Jefferson in 1800.

candidates. For thirty-five rounds of balloting, Federalists in the House blocked Jefferson's election, prompting rumors that Virginia would raise a military force to put him into office.

Ironically, arch-Federalist Alexander Hamilton ushered in a more democratic era by supporting Jefferson. Calling Burr an "embryo Caesar" and the "most unfit man in the United States for the office of president," Hamilton persuaded key Federalists to allow Jefferson's election. The Federalists' concern for political stability also played a role. As Senator James Bayard of Delaware explained, "It was admitted on all hands that we must risk the Constitution and a Civil War or take Mr. Jefferson."

Jefferson called the election the "Revolution of 1800," and so it was. The bloodless transfer of power showed that popularly elected governments could be changed in an orderly way, even in times of bitter partisan conflict. In his inaugural address in 1801, Jefferson praised this achievement, declaring, "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the most important differences between Federalists and Republicans in the 1790s?

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluating the impact of political party actions on the outcome of the election of 1800 is essential for success on the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why did Jefferson consider his election in 1800 to be revolutionary?

A Republican Empire Is Born

In the Treaty of Paris of 1783, Great Britain gave up its claims to the trans-Appalachian region and, said one British diplomat, left the Indian nations "to the care of their [American] neighbours." *Care* was hardly the right word: many white Americans wanted to destroy Native communities. "Cut up every Indian Cornfield and burn every Indian town," proclaimed Congressman William Henry Drayton of South Carolina, so that their "nation be extirpated and the lands become the property of the public." Other leaders, including Henry Knox, Washington's first secretary of war, favored assimilating Native peoples into Euro-American society. Knox proposed the division of tribal lands among individual Indian families, who would become citizens of the various states. Indians resisted both forms of domination and fought to retain control of their lands and cultures. In the ensuing struggle, the United States emerged as an expansive power, determined to control the future of the continent.

Sham Treaties and Indian Lands

As in the past, the major struggle between Natives and Europeans centered on land rights. Invoking the Paris treaty and regarding Britain's Indian allies as conquered peoples, the U.S. government asserted both sovereignty over and ownership of the trans-Appalachian west. Indian nations rejected both claims, pointing out they had not been conquered and had not signed the Paris treaty. "Our lands are our life and our breath," declared Creek chief Hallowing King; "if we part with them, we part with our blood." Brushing aside such objections and threatening military action, U.S. commissioners forced the pro-British Iroquois peoples — Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas — to cede huge tracts in New York and Pennsylvania in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix (1784). New York land speculators used liquor and bribes to take a million more acres, confining the once powerful Iroquois to reservations — essentially colonies of subordinate peoples.

American negotiators used similar tactics to grab Ohio Valley lands. At the Treaties of Fort McIntosh (1785) and Fort Finney (1786), they pushed the Chippewas, Delawares, Ottawas, Wyandots, and Shawnees to cede most of the future state of Ohio. The tribes quickly repudiated the agreements, justifiably claiming they were made under duress. Recognizing the failure of these agreements, American negotiators

AP® EXAM TIP

As you read through this section, compare the relationship between the new U.S. government and Natives to earlier periods of interaction between Europeans and Natives.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

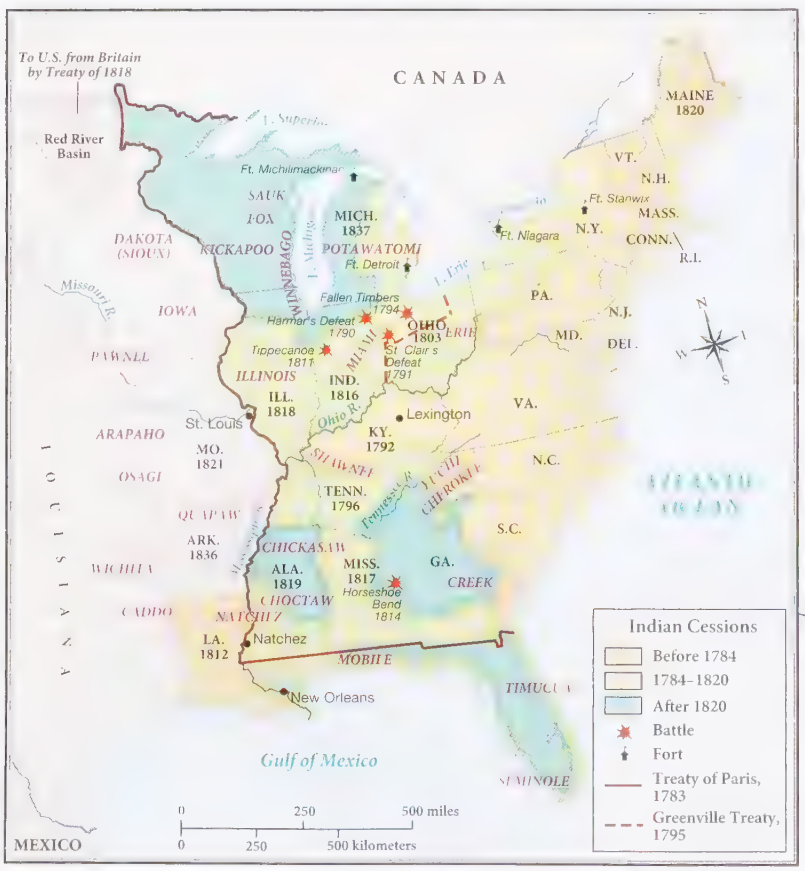
CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why did the United States go to war against western Indians so quickly after the Revolution?

arranged for a comprehensive agreement at Fort Harmar (1789), but it, too, failed. To defend their lands, these tribes joined with the Miami and Potawatomi Indians to form the Western Confederacy. Led by Miami chief Little Turtle, confederacy warriors crushed American expeditionary forces sent by President Washington in 1790 and 1791.

The Treaty of Greenville Fearing an alliance between the Western Confederacy and the British in Canada, Washington doubled the size of the U.S. Army and ordered General "Mad Anthony" Wayne to lead a new expedition. In August 1794, Wayne defeated the confederacy in the Battle of Fallen Timbers (near present-day Toledo, Ohio). However, continuing Indian resistance forced a compromise. In the **Treaty of Greenville** (1795), American negotiators acknowledged Indian ownership of the land, and, in return for various payments, the Western Confederacy ceded most of Ohio (Map 7.2). The Indian peoples also agreed to accept American sovereignty, placing themselves "under the protection of the United States, and no other Power whatever." These American advances caused Britain to agree, in Jay's Treaty (1795), to reduce its trade and military aid to Indians in the trans-Appalachian region.

The Greenville treaty sparked a wave of white migration. Kentucky already had a population of 73,000 in 1790, and in 1792 it was admitted to the Union as the fifteenth state (Vermont entered a year earlier). Tennessee, Kentucky's neighbor to the south, was admitted in 1796. By 1800, more than 375,000 people had moved into the Ohio and Tennessee valleys; in 1805, the new state of Ohio alone had more than 100,000 residents. Thousands more farm families moved into the future states of Indiana and Illinois, sparking new conflicts with Native peoples over land and hunting rights. Between 1790 and 1810, farm families settled as much land as they had during the entire colonial period. The United States "is a country in flux," a visiting French aristocrat observed in 1799, and "that which is true today as regards its population, its establishments, its prices, its commerce will not be true six months from now."



MAP 7.2 Indian Cessions and State Formation, 1776–1840

By virtue of the Treaty of Paris (1783) with Britain, the United States claimed sovereignty over the entire trans-Appalachian west. The Western Confederacy contested this claim, but the U.S. government upheld it with military force. By 1840, armed diplomacy had forced most Native American peoples to move west of the Mississippi River. White settlers occupied their lands, formed territorial governments, and eventually entered the Union as members of separate — and equal — states. By 1860, the trans-Appalachian region constituted an important economic and political force in American national life.

Assimilation Rejected To dampen further conflicts, the U.S. government encouraged Native Americans to assimilate into white society. The goal, as one Kentucky Protestant minister put it, was to make the Indian "a farmer, a citizen of the United States, and a Christian." Most Indians rejected wholesale assimilation; even those who joined Christian churches retained many ancestral values and religious beliefs. To think of themselves as individuals or members of a nuclear family, as white Americans were demanding, meant repudiating the clan, the very essence of Indian life. To preserve "the old Indian way," many Native communities expelled white missionaries and forced Christianized Indians to participate in tribal rites. As a Munsee prophet declared, "There are two ways to God, one for the whites and one for the Indians."

A few Indian leaders sought a middle path in which new beliefs overlapped with old practices. Among the Senecas, the prophet Handsome Lake encouraged traditional animistic rituals that gave thanks to the sun, the earth, water, plants, and animals. But he included Christian elements in his teachings—the concepts of heaven and hell and an emphasis on personal morality—to deter his followers from alcohol, gambling, and witchcraft. Handsome Lake's teachings divided the Senecas into hostile factions. Led by Chief Red Jacket, traditionalists condemned European culture as evil and demanded a complete return to ancestral ways.

Most Indians also rejected the efforts of American missionaries to turn warriors into farmers and women into domestic helpmates. Among eastern woodland peoples, women grew corn, beans, and squash—the mainstays of the Indians' diet—and land cultivation rights passed through the female line. Consequently, women exercised considerable political influence, which they were eager to retain. Nor were Indian men interested in becoming farmers. When war raiding and hunting were no longer possible, many turned to grazing cattle and sheep.

Migration and the Changing Farm Economy

Native American resistance slowed the advance of white settlers but did not stop it. Nothing "short of a Chinese Wall, or a line of Troops," Washington declared, "will restrain . . . the Incroachment of Settlers, upon the Indian Territory." During the 1790s, two great streams of migrants moved out of the southern states.

Southern Migrants One stream, composed primarily of white tenant farmers and struggling yeomen families, flocked through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky and Tennessee. "Boundless settlements open a door for our citizens to run off and leave us," a worried Maryland landlord lamented, "depreciating all our landed property and disabling us from paying taxes." In fact, many migrants were fleeing from this planter-controlled society. They wanted more freedom and hoped to prosper by growing cotton and hemp, which were in great demand.

Many settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee lacked ready cash to buy land. Like the North Carolina Regulators in the 1770s, poorer migrants claimed a customary right to occupy "back waste vacant Lands" sufficient "to provide a subsistence to themselves and their Posterity." Virginia legislators, who administered the Kentucky Territory, had a more elitist vision. Although they allowed poor settlers to buy up to 1,400 acres of land at reduced prices, they sold or granted huge tracts of 100,000 acres to twenty-one groups of speculators and leading men. In 1792, this landed elite owned one-fourth of the state, while half the white men owned no land and lived as quasi-legal squatters or tenant farmers.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the frontier culture of the Federal Period in the U.S. to the frontier culture of the Colonial Era in North America.

Widespread landlessness—and opposition to slavery—prompted a new migration across the Ohio River into the future states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In a free community, thought Peter Cartwright, a Methodist lay preacher from southwestern Kentucky who moved to Illinois, "I would be entirely clear of the evil of slavery . . . [and] could raise my children to work where work was not thought a degradation." Yet land distribution in Ohio was almost exactly as unequal as in Kentucky: in 1810, a quarter of its real estate was owned by 1 percent of the population, while more than half of its white men were landless.

Meanwhile, a second stream of southern planters and slaves from the Carolinas moved along the coastal plain toward the Gulf of Mexico. Some set up new estates in the interior of Georgia and South Carolina, while others moved into the future states of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. "The Alabama Feaver rages here with great violence," a North Carolina planter remarked, "and has carried off vast numbers of our Citizens."

Cotton was the key to this migratory surge. Around 1750, the demand for raw wool and cotton increased dramatically as water-powered spinning jennies, weaving mules, and other technological innovations of the Industrial Revolution boosted textile production in England. South Carolina and Georgia planters began growing cotton, and American inventors, including Connecticut-born Eli Whitney, built

machines (called gins) that efficiently extracted seeds from its strands. To grow more cotton, white planters imported about 115,000 Africans between 1776 and 1808, when Congress cut off the Atlantic slave trade. The cotton boom financed the rapid settlement of Mississippi and Alabama—in a single year, a government land office in Huntsville, Alabama, sold $7 million of uncleared land—and the two states entered the Union in 1817 and 1819, respectively.

Exodus from New England As southerners moved across the Appalachians and along the Gulf Coast, a third stream of migrants flowed out of the overcrowded communities of New England. Previous generations of Massachusetts and Connecticut farm families had moved north and east, settling New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine. Now New England farmers moved west. Seeking land for their children, thousands of parents migrated to New York. "The town of Herkimer," noted one traveler, "is entirely populated by families come from Connecticut." By 1820, almost 800,000 New Englanders lived in a string of settlements stretching from Albany to Buffalo, and many others had traveled on to Ohio and Indiana. Soon, much of the Northwest Territory consisted of New England communities that had moved inland.

In New York, as in Kentucky and Ohio, well-connected speculators snapped up much of the best land, leasing farms to tenants for a fee. Imbued with the "homestead" ethic, many New England families preferred to buy farms. They signed contracts with the Holland Land Company, a Dutch-owned syndicate of speculators, that allowed settlers to pay for their farms as they worked them, or moved west again in an elusive search for land on easy terms.

Innovation on Eastern Farms The new farm economy in New York, Ohio, and Kentucky forced major changes in eastern agriculture. Unable to compete with lower-priced western grains, farmers in New England switched to potatoes, which were high yielding and nutritious. To make up for the labor of sons and daughters who had moved inland, Middle Atlantic farmers bought more efficient farm equipment. They replaced metal-tipped wooden plows with cast-iron models that dug deeper and required a single yoke of oxen instead of two. Such changes in crop mix and technology kept production high.

Easterners also adopted the progressive farming methods touted by British agricultural reformers. "Improvers" in Pennsylvania doubled their average yield per acre by rotating their crops. Yeomen farmers raised sheep and sold the wool to textile manufacturers. Many farmers adopted a year-round planting cycle, sowing corn in the spring for animal fodder and then planting winter wheat in September for market sale. Women and girls milked the family cows and made butter and cheese to sell in the growing towns and cities.

Whether hacking fields out of western forests or carting manure to replenish eastern soils, farmers now worked harder and longer, but their increased productivity brought them a better standard of living. European demand for American produce was high in these years, and westward migration—the settlement and exploitation of Indian lands—boosted the farming economy throughout the country.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why were westward migration and agricultural improvement so widespread in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries?

The Jefferson Presidency

From 1801 to 1825, three Republicans from Virginia—Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe—each served two terms as president. Supported by farmers in the South and West and strong Republican majorities in Congress, this "Virginia Dynasty" completed what Jefferson had called the Revolution of 1800. It reversed many Federalist policies and actively supported westward expansion.

When Jefferson took office in 1801, he inherited an old international conflict. Beginning in the 1780s, the Barbary States of North Africa had raided merchant ships in the Mediterranean, and like many European nations, the United States had paid an annual bribe—massive in relation to the size of the federal budget—to protect its

vessels. Initially Jefferson refused to pay this "tribute" and ordered the U.S. Navy to attack the pirates' home ports. After four years of intermittent fighting, in which the United States bombarded Tripoli and captured the city of Derna, the Jefferson administration cut its costs. It signed a peace treaty that included a ransom for returned prisoners, and Algerian ships were soon taking American sailors hostage again. Finally, in 1815, President Madison sent a fleet of ten warships to the Barbary Coast under the command of Commodore Stephen Decatur, which forced leaders in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli to sign a treaty respecting American sovereignty.

America in the Middle East, 1804 To protect American merchants from capture and captivity in the Barbary States, President Thomas Jefferson sent in the U.S. Navy. This 1846 lithograph, created by the famous firm of Currier & Ives, depicts one of the three attacks on the North African port of Tripoli by Commodore Edward Preble in August 1804. As the USS *Constitution* and other large warships lob shells into the city, small American gunboats defend the fleet from Tripolitan gunboats. "Our loss in Killed & Wounded has been considerable," Preble reported, and "the Enemy must have suffered very much . . . among their Shipping and on shore." The Granger Collection, New York

At home, Jefferson inherited a national judiciary filled with Federalist appointees, including the formidable John Marshall of Virginia, the new chief justice of the Supreme Court. To add more Federalist judges, the outgoing Federalist Congress had passed the Judiciary Act of 1801. The act created sixteen new judgeships and various other positions, which President Adams filled at the last moment with "midnight appointees." The Federalists "have retired into the judiciary as a stronghold," Jefferson complained, "and from that battery all the works of Republicanism are to be beaten down and destroyed."

Jefferson's fears were soon realized. When Republican legislatures in Kentucky and Virginia repudiated the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional, Marshall declared that only the Supreme Court held the power of constitutional review. The Court claimed this authority for itself when James Madison, the new secretary of state, refused to deliver the commission of William Marbury, one of Adams's midnight appointees. In ***Marbury v. Madison*** **(1803)**, Marshall asserted that Marbury had the right to the appointment but that the Court did not have the constitutional power to enforce it. In defining the Court's powers, Marshall voided a section of the Judiciary Act of 1789, in effect asserting the Court's authority to review congressional legislation and interpret the Constitution. "It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is," the chief justice declared, directly challenging the Republican view that the state legislatures had that power.

AP® EXAM TIP

The continuity of Federalist power through the courts is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Ignoring this setback, Jefferson and the Republicans reversed other Federalist policies. When the Alien and Sedition Acts expired in 1801, Congress branded them unconstitutional and refused to extend them. It also amended the Naturalization Act, restoring the original waiting period of five years for resident aliens to become citizens. Charging the Federalists with grossly expanding the national government's size and power, Jefferson had the Republican Congress shrink it. He abolished all internal taxes, including the excise tax that had sparked the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. To quiet Republican fears of a military coup, Jefferson reduced the size of the permanent army. He also secured repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801, ousting forty of Adams's midnight appointees. Still, Jefferson retained competent Federalist officeholders, removing only 69 of 433 properly appointed Federalists during his eight years as president.

Jefferson likewise governed tactfully in fiscal affairs. He tolerated the economically important Bank of the United States, which he had once condemned as unconstitutional. But he chose as his secretary of the treasury Albert Gallatin, a fiscal conservative who believed that the national debt was "an evil of the first magnitude." By limiting expenditures and using customs revenue to redeem government bonds, Gallatin reduced the

debt from $83 million in 1801 to $45 million in 1812. With Jefferson and Gallatin at the helm, the nation's fiscal affairs were no longer run in the interests of northeastern creditors and merchants.

Jefferson and the West

Jefferson had long championed settlement of the West. He celebrated the yeoman farmer in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785); wrote one of the Confederation's western land ordinances; and supported Pinckney's Treaty (1795), the agreement between the United States and Spain that reopened the Mississippi River to American trade and allowed settlers to export crops via the Spanish-held port of New Orleans.

As president, Jefferson pursued policies that made it easier for farm families to acquire land. In 1796, a Federalist-dominated Congress had set the price of land in the national domain at $2 per acre; by the 1830s, Jefferson-inspired Republican Congresses had enacted more than three hundred laws that cut the cost to $1.25, eased credit terms, and allowed illegal squatters to buy their farms. Eventually, in the Homestead Act of 1862, Congress gave farmsteads to settlers for free.

AP® EXAM TIP

A key idea to trace starting with the Louisiana Purchase is the conflict between national and sectional interests as a result of western expansion.

The Louisiana Purchase International events challenged Jefferson's vision of westward expansion. In 1799, Napoleon Bonaparte seized power in France and sought to reestablish France's American Empire. In 1801, he coerced Spain into signing a secret treaty that returned Louisiana to France and restricted American access to New Orleans, violating Pinckney's Treaty. Napoleon also launched an invasion to restore French rule in Saint-Domingue. It was once the richest sugar colony in the Americas, but its civil war had ruined the economy and cost France a fortune. Napoleon wanted to crush the rebellion and restore its planter class.

Napoleon's actions in Haiti and Louisiana prompted Jefferson to question his pro-French foreign policy. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans, we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation," the president warned, dispatching James Monroe to Britain to negotiate an alliance. To keep the Mississippi River open to western farmers, Jefferson told Robert Livingston, the American minister in Paris, to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans.

Jefferson's diplomacy yielded a magnificent prize: the entire territory of Louisiana. By 1802, the French invasion of Saint-Domingue was faltering in the face of disease and determined black resistance, a new war threatened in Europe, and Napoleon feared an American invasion of Louisiana. Acting with characteristic decisiveness, the French ruler offered to sell the entire territory of Louisiana for $15 million (about $500 million today). "We have lived long," Livingston remarked to Monroe as they concluded the **Louisiana Purchase** in 1803, "but this is the noblest work of our lives."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How was Jefferson's agrarian vision reflected in his policies affecting western lands?

The Louisiana Purchase forced Jefferson to reconsider his strict interpretation of the Constitution. He had long believed that the national government possessed only the powers expressly delegated to it in the Constitution, but there was no provision for adding new territory. So Jefferson pragmatically accepted a loose interpretation of the Constitution and used its treaty-making powers to complete the deal with France. The new western lands, Jefferson wrote, would be "a means of tempting all our Indians on the East side of the Mississippi to remove to the West."

Secessionist Schemes The acquisition of Louisiana brought new political problems. Some New England Federalists, fearing that western expansion would hurt their region and party, talked openly of leaving the Union and forming a confederacy of northeastern states. The secessionists won the support of Aaron Burr, the ambitious vice president. After Alexander Hamilton accused Burr of planning to destroy the Union, the two fought an illegal pistol duel that led to Hamilton's death.

This tragedy propelled Burr into another secessionist scheme, this time in the Southwest. When his term as vice president ended in 1805, Burr moved west to avoid prosecution. There, he conspired with General James Wilkinson, the military governor of the Louisiana Territory, either to seize territory in New Spain or to establish Louisiana as a separate nation. But Wilkinson, himself a Spanish spy and incipient traitor, betrayed Burr and arrested him. In a highly politicized trial presided over by Chief Justice John Marshall, the jury acquitted Burr of treason.

The Louisiana Purchase had increased party conflict and generated secessionist schemes in both New England and the Southwest. Such sectional differences would continue, challenging Madison's argument in "Federalist No. 10" that a large and diverse republic was more stable than a small one.

A Mandan Village This Mandan settlement in North Dakota, painted by George Catlin around 1837, resembled those in which the Lewis and Clark expedition spent the winter of 1804–1805. Note the palisade of logs that surrounds the village, as protection from the Sioux and other marauding Plains peoples, and the solidly built mud lodges that provided warm shelter from the bitter cold of winter. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY

Lewis and Clark Meet the Mandans and Sioux A scientist as well as a statesman, Jefferson wanted information about Louisiana: its physical features, plant and animal life, and Native peoples. He was also worried about intruders: the British-run Hudson's Bay Company and Northwest Company were actively trading for furs on the upper Missouri River. So in 1804, Jefferson sent his personal secretary, Meriwether Lewis, to explore the region with William Clark, an army officer. From St. Louis, Lewis, Clark, and their party of American soldiers and frontiersmen traveled up the Missouri for 1,000 miles to the fortified, earth-lodge towns of the Mandan and Hidatsa peoples (near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota), where they spent the winter.

The Mandans lived primarily by **horticulture**, growing corn, beans, and squash. They had acquired horses by supplying food to nomadic Plains Indians and secured guns, iron goods, and textiles by selling buffalo hides and dried meat to European traders. However, the Mandans (and neighboring Arikaras) had been hit hard by the smallpox epidemics that swept across the Great Plains in 1779–1781 and 1801–1802. Now they were threatened by Sioux peoples: Tetons, Yanktonais, and Oglalas. Originally, the Sioux had lived in the prairie and lake region of northern Minnesota. As their numbers rose and fish and game grew scarce, the Sioux moved westward, acquired horses, and hunted buffalo, living as nomads in portable skin tepees. The Sioux became ferocious fighters who tried to reduce the Mandans and other farming tribes to subject peoples. According to Lewis and Clark, they were the "pirates of the Missouri." Soon the Sioux would dominate the buffalo trade throughout the upper Missouri region.

In the spring of 1805, Lewis and Clark began an epic 1,300-mile trek into unknown country. Their party now included Toussaint Charbonneau, a French Canadian fur trader, and his Shoshone wife, Sacagawea, who served as a guide and translator. After following the Missouri River to its source on the Idaho-Montana border, they crossed the Rocky Mountains, and — venturing far beyond the Louisiana Purchase — traveled

MAP 7.3 U.S. Population Density in 1803 and the Louisiana Purchase
When the United States purchased Louisiana from France in 1803, much of the land to its east — the vast territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River — remained in Indian hands. The equally vast lands beyond the Mississippi were virtually unknown to Anglo-Americans, even after the epic explorations of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Still, President Jefferson predicted quite accurately that the huge Mississippi River Valley "from its fertility . . . will ere long yield half of our whole produce, and contain half of our whole population."

down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean. Nearly everywhere, Indian peoples asked for guns so they could defend themselves from other armed tribes. In 1806, Lewis and Clark capped off their pathbreaking expedition by providing Jefferson with the first maps of the immense wilderness and a detailed account of its natural resources and inhabitants (Map 7.3). Their report prompted some Americans to envision a nation that would span the continent.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How were the principles of the Jeffersonian Republicans reflected in this era of dramatic growth and development?

The War of 1812 and the Transformation of Politics

The Napoleonic Wars that ravaged Europe after 1802 brought new attacks on American merchant ships. American leaders struggled desperately to protect the nation's commerce while avoiding war. When this effort finally failed, it sparked dramatic political changes that destroyed the Federalist Party and split the Republicans into National and Jeffersonian factions.

Conflict in the Atlantic and the West

As Napoleon conquered European countries, he cut off their commerce with Britain and seized American merchant ships that stopped in British ports. The British ministry responded with a naval blockade and seized American vessels carrying sugar and molasses from the French West Indies. The British navy also searched American merchant ships for British deserters and used these raids to replenish its crews, a practice known as impressment. Between 1802 and 1811, British naval officers impressed nearly 8,000 sailors, including many U.S. citizens. In 1807, American anger boiled over when a British warship attacked the U.S. Navy vessel *Chesapeake*, killing three, wounding eighteen, and seizing four alleged deserters. "Never since the battle of Lexington have I seen this country in such a state of exasperation as at present," Jefferson declared.

Americans caught in the middle

The Embargo of 1807 To protect American interests, Jefferson pursued a policy of peaceful coercion. The **Embargo Act of 1807** prohibited American ships from leaving their home ports until Britain and France stopped restricting U.S. trade. A drastic maneuver, the embargo overestimated the reliance of Britain and France on American shipping and underestimated the resistance of merchants, who feared the embargo would ruin them. In fact, the embargo cut the American gross national product by 5 percent and weakened the entire economy. Exports plunged from $108 million in 1806 to $22 million in 1808, hurting farmers as well as merchants. "All was noise and bustle" in New York City before the embargo, one visitor remarked; afterward, everything was closed up as if "a malignant fever was raging in the place."

Despite popular discontent over the embargo, voters elected Republican James Madison to the presidency in 1808. A powerful advocate for the Constitution, the architect of the Bill of Rights, and a prominent congressman and party leader, Madison had served the nation well. But John Beckley, a loyal Republican, worried that Madison would be "too timid and indecisive as a statesman," and events proved him right. Acknowledging the embargo's failure, Madison replaced it with new economic restrictions, which also failed to protect American commerce.

Western War Hawks Republican congressmen from the West were certain that Britain was the primary offender. They pointed to its trade with Indians in the Ohio River Valley in violation of the Treaty of Paris and Jay's Treaty. Bolstered by British guns and supplies, the Shawnee war chief Tecumseh revived the Western Confederacy in 1809. His brother, the prophet Tenskwatawa, provided the confederacy with a powerful nativist ideology. He urged Indian peoples to shun Americans, "the children of the Evil Spirit . . . who have taken away your lands"; renounce alcohol; and return to traditional ways. The Shawnee leaders found their greatest support among Kickapoo, Potawatomi, Winnebago, Ottawa, and Chippewa warriors: Indians of the western Great Lakes who had so far been largely shielded from the direct effects of U.S. westward expansion. They flocked to Tenskwatawa's holy village, Prophetstown, in the Indiana Territory.

As Tecumseh mobilized the western Indian peoples for war, William Henry Harrison, the governor of the Indiana Territory, decided on a **preemptive** strike. In November 1811, when Tecumseh went south to seek support from the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks, Harrison took advantage of his absence and attacked Prophetstown. The governor's 1,000 troops and militiamen traded heavy casualties with the confederacy's warriors at the **Battle of Tippecanoe** and then destroyed the holy village.

With Britain assisting Indians in the western territories and seizing American ships in the Atlantic, Henry Clay of Kentucky, the new Speaker of the House of Representatives, and John C. Calhoun, a rising young congressman from South Carolina, pushed Madison toward war. Like other Republican "war hawks" from the West and South, they wanted to seize territory in British Canada and Spanish Florida. With national elections approaching, Madison issued an ultimatum to Britain. When Britain failed to respond quickly, the

AP® EXAM TIP

Trace the events that resulted in the War of 1812 against Great Britain despite America's proclaimed neutrality in European affairs.

Tenskwatawa, "The Prophet," 1830 Tenskwatawa added a spiritual dimension to Native American resistance by urging a holy war against the invading whites and calling for a return to sacred ancestral ways. His dress reflects his teachings: note the animal-skin shirt and the heavily ornamented ears. However, some of Tenskwatawa's religious rituals reflected the influence of French Jesuits; he urged his followers to finger a sacred string of beads (such as those in his left hand) that were similar to the Catholic rosary, thereby "shaking hands with the Prophet." Whatever its origins, Tenskwatawa's message transcended the cultural differences among Indian peoples and helped his brother Tecumseh create a formidable political and military alliance. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY

president asked Congress for a declaration of war. In June 1812, a sharply divided Senate voted 19 to 13 for war, and the House of Representatives concurred, 79 to 49.

The causes of the War of 1812 have been much debated. Officially, the United States went to war because Britain had violated its commercial rights as a neutral nation. But the Federalists in Congress who represented the New England and Middle Atlantic merchants voted against the war; and in the election of 1812, those regions cast their 89 electoral votes for the Federalist presidential candidate, De Witt Clinton of New York. Madison amassed most of his 128 electoral votes in the South and West, where voters and congressmen strongly supported the war. Many historians therefore argue that the conflict was actually "a western war with eastern labels" (AP® Analyzing Voices).

The War of 1812

The War of 1812 was a near disaster for the United States. An invasion of British Canada in 1812 quickly ended in a retreat to Detroit. Nonetheless, the United States stayed on the offensive in the West. In 1813, American raiders burned the Canadian capital of York (present-day Toronto), Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry defeated a small British flotilla on Lake Erie, and General William Henry Harrison overcame a British and Indian force at the Battle of the Thames, taking the life of Tecumseh, now a British general.

In the East, political divisions prevented a wider war. New England Federalists opposed the war and prohibited their states' militias from attacking Canada. Boston merchants and banks refused to lend money to the federal government, making the war difficult to finance. In Congress, Daniel Webster, a dynamic young politician from New Hampshire, led Federalists opposed to higher tariffs and national conscription of state militiamen.

Gradually, the tide of battle turned in Britain's favor. When the war began, American privateers had captured scores of British merchant vessels, but by 1813 British warships were disrupting American commerce and threatening seaports along the Atlantic coast. In 1814, a British fleet sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, and troops stormed ashore to attack Washington City. Retaliating for the destruction of York, the invaders burned the U.S. Capitol and government buildings. After two years of fighting, the United States was stalemated along the Canadian frontier and on the defensive in the Atlantic, and its new capital city lay in ruins. The only U.S. victories came in the Southwest. There, a rugged slave-owning planter named Andrew Jackson and a force of Tennessee militiamen defeated British- and Spanish-supported Creek Indians in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (1814) and forced the Indians to cede 23 million acres of land (Map 7.4).

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What do you think is the most persuasive explanation for the United States's decision to declare war on Great Britain in 1812?

MAP 7.4 The War of 1812

Unlike the War of Independence, the War of 1812 had few large-scale military campaigns. In 1812 and 1813, most of the fighting took place along the Canadian border, as small American military forces attacked British targets with mixed success (nos. 1–4). The British took the offensive in 1814, launching a successful raid on Washington, but their attack on Baltimore failed, and they suffered heavy losses when they invaded the United States along Lake Champlain (nos. 5–7). Near the Gulf of Mexico, American forces moved from one success to another: General Andrew Jackson defeated the pro-British Creek Indians at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, won a victory in Pensacola, and, in the single major battle of the war, routed an invading British army at New Orleans (nos. 8–10).

Factional Politics and the War of 1812

In the quarter-century following the ratification of the U.S. Constitution, American leaders had to deal with the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon. These European conflicts posed two dangers to the United States. First, the naval blockades imposed by the British and the French hurt American commerce and prompted calls for a military response. Second, European ideological and political struggles intensified party conflicts in the United States. On three occasions, the American republic faced danger from the combination of an external military threat and internal political turmoil. In 1798, the Federalist administration of John Adams almost went to war with France to help American merchants and to undermine the Republican Party. In 1807, Thomas Jefferson's embargo on American commerce shocked Federalists and sharply increased political tensions. And, as the following selections show, the political divisions during the War of 1812 threatened the very existence of the American republic.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Farewell Address, 1796

Washington's support for Alexander Hamilton's economic policies promoted political factionalism. Ignoring his own role in creating that political divide, Washington condemned factionalism and, as his presidency proceeded, tried to stand above party conflicts. In his farewell address, Washington warned Americans to stand united and avoid the "Spirit of Party."

SOURCE: James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1896* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896), 1: 213–215.

"A solicitude for your welfare [prompts me] . . . to offer . . . the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsels. . . .

The Unity of Government which constitutes you one people . . . is a main Pillar in the Edifice of your real independence . . . your tranquility at home; your peace abroad. . . . But it is easy to foresee, that, from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth. . . .

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the State, with particular reference to founding them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the Spirit of Party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes, in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate dominion of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge . . . , is itself a frightful despotism; but this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism."

JOSIAH QUINCY ET AL.

Federalists Protest "Mr. Madison's War"

The United States — and its two political parties — divided sharply over the War of 1812. As Congress debated the issue of going to war against Great Britain, Josiah Quincy and other antiwar Federalist congressmen published a manifesto that questioned the justifications for the war offered by President Madison and the military strategy proposed by Republican war hawks.

SOURCE: *Annals of Congress*, 12th Cong., 1st sess., vol. 2, cols. 2219–2221.

"How will war upon the land [an invasion of British Canada] protect commerce upon the ocean? What balm has Canada for wounded honor? How are our mariners benefited by a war which exposes those who are free, without promising release to those who are impressed?

But it is said that war is demanded by honor. Is national honor a principle which thirsts after vengeance, and is appeased only by blood? . . . If honor demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honor to sleep over the wrongs done us by France? On land, robberies, seizures, imprisonments, by French authority; at sea, pillage, sinkings, burnings, under French orders. These are notorious. Are they unfelt because they are French? . . .

Federalists Oppose the War American military setbacks increased opposition to the war in New England. In 1814, Massachusetts Federalists called for a convention "to lay the foundation for a radical reform in the National Compact." When New England Federalists met in Hartford, Connecticut, some delegates proposed secession, but most wanted to revise the Constitution. To end Virginia's domination of the presidency, the Hartford Convention proposed a constitutional amendment limiting the office to a single four-year term and rotating it among citizens from different states.

There is . . . a headlong rushing into difficulties, with little calculation about the means, and little concern about the consequences. With a navy comparatively [small], we are about to enter into the lists against the greatest marine [power] on the globe. With a commerce unprotected and spread over every ocean, we propose to make a profit by privateering, and for this endanger the wealth of which we are honest proprietors. An invasion is threatened of the [British colonies in Canada, but Britain] . . . without putting a new ship into commission, or taking another soldier into pay, can spread alarm or desolation along the extensive range of our seaboard. . . .

What are the United States to gain by this war? Will the gratification of some privateersmen compensate the nation for that sweep of our legitimate commerce by the extended marine of our enemy which this desperate act invites? Will Canada compensate the Middle states for [the loss of] New York; or the Western states for [the loss of] New Orleans?

Let us not be deceived. A war of invasion may invite a retort of invasion. When we visit the peaceable, and as to us innocent, colonies of Great Britain with the horrors of war, can we be assured that our own coast will not be visited with like horrors? ”

HEZEKIAH NILES

A Republican Defends the War

In 1814, what the Federalists feared had come to pass: British ships blockaded American ports, and British troops invaded American territory. In January 1815, Republican editor Hezekiah Niles used the pages of his influential Baltimore newspaper, *Niles' Weekly Register*, to explain current Republican policies and blame the Federalists for American reverses.

“ It is universally known that the causes for which we declared war are no obstruction to peace. The practice of blockade and impressment having ceased by the general pacification of Europe, our government is content to leave the principle as it was. . . .

We have no further business in hostility, than such as is purely defensive; while that of Great Britain is to humble or subdue us. The war, on our part, has become a contest for life, liberty and property — on the part of our enemy, of revenge or ambition. . . .

What then are we to do? Are we to encourage him by divisions among ourselves — to hold out the hope of a separation of the states and a civil war — to refuse to bring forth the resources of the country against him? . . . I did think that in a defensive war — a struggle for all that is valuable — that all parties would have united. But it is not so — every measure calculated to replenish the treasury or raise men is opposed [by Federalists] as though it were determined to strike the 'star spangled banner' and exalt the bloody cross. Look at the votes and proceedings of congress — and mark the late spirit [to secede from the Union] . . . that existed in Massachusetts, and see with what unity of action every thing has been done [by New England Federalists] to harass and embarrass the government. Our loans have failed; and our soldiers have wanted their pay, because those [New England merchants] who had the greater part of the monied capital covenanted with each other to refuse its aid to the country. They had a right, legally, to do this; and perhaps, also, by all the artifices of trade or power that money gave them, to oppress others not of their 'stamp' and depress the national credit — but history will shock posterity by detailing the length to which they went to bankrupt the republic. . . .

To conclude — why does the war continue? It is not the fault of the government — we demand no extravagant thing. I answer the question, and say — *it lasts because Great Britain depends on the exertions of her 'party' in this country to destroy our resources, and compel 'unconditional submission.'*

Thus the war began, and is continued, by our divisions. ”

SOURCE: *Niles' Weekly Register*, January 28, 1815.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Washington, what is the ultimate cause of political factionalism? Why does Washington believe that factionalism is most dangerous in "popular" — that is, republican — governments?
2. Compare and contrast the Quincy and Niles documents. What specific dangers did Josiah Quincy and the Federalists foresee with regard to Republican war policies? According to Hezekiah Niles, what were the war goals of the Republican administration?
3. Read the section on the War of 1812 on pages 224–228, and then discuss the accuracy of the Federalists' predictions.
4. How had Republican war goals changed since the start of the war? Niles charged the Federalists and their supporters with impeding the American war effort. What were his specific charges? Did they have any merit? How might the Federalists have defended their stance with respect to the war?

The convention also suggested amendments restricting commercial embargoes to sixty days and requiring a two-thirds majority in Congress to declare war, prohibit trade, or admit a new state to the Union.

As a minority party, the Federalists could prevail only if the war continued to go badly — a very real prospect. The war had cost $88 million, raising the national debt to $127 million. And now, as Albert Gallatin warned Henry Clay in May 1814, Britain's triumph over Napoleon in Europe meant that a "well organized and large army is [now

Washington, D.C., Burns, 1814 This chaotic image depicts the events of August 24, 1814, when British forces under the command of Major-General Robert Ross captured Washington, D.C. Ross and his men, with three cannons captured from American forces, command the heights above the city (right). The American flotilla (foreground) is defeated and the dockyard and arsenal are in flames. In the background, more of the city is burning, including a bridge over the Potomac River, the War Office, the Treasury, the Senate building, and the White House (center, far background). Ross's army then proceeded to Baltimore, where American forces at Fort McHenry held out against the British. A lawyer named Francis Scott Key, observing the fort's bombardment, dashed off a poem entitled "Defense of Fort McHenry." Later set to music, it came to be known as "The Star-Spangled Banner." Library of Congress

ready] . . . to act immediately against us." When an attack from Canada came in the late summer of 1814, only an American naval victory on Lake Champlain stopped the British from marching down the Hudson River Valley. A few months later, thousands of seasoned British troops landed outside New Orleans, threatening American control of the Mississippi River. With the nation politically divided and under attack from north and south, Gallatin feared that "the war might prove vitally fatal to the United States."

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the War of 1812 in defining and ultimately undermining the first two-party system.

Peace Overtures and a Final Victory Fortunately for the young American republic, by 1815 Britain wanted peace. The twenty-year war with France had sapped its wealth and energy, so it began negotiations with the United States in Ghent, Belgium. At first, the American commissioners — John Quincy Adams, Gallatin, and Clay — demanded territory in Canada and Florida, while British diplomats sought an Indian buffer state between the United States and Canada. Both sides quickly realized that these objectives were not worth the cost of prolonged warfare. The **Treaty of Ghent**, signed on Christmas Eve 1814, retained the prewar borders of the United States.

That result hardly justified three years of war, but before news of the treaty reached the United States, a final military victory lifted Americans' morale. On January 8, 1815, General Jackson's troops crushed the British forces attacking New Orleans. Fighting from carefully constructed breastworks, the Americans rained

"grapeshot and cannister bombs" on the massed British formations. The British lost 700 men, and 2,000 more were wounded or taken prisoner; just 13 Americans died, and only 58 suffered wounds. A newspaper headline proclaimed: "Almost Incredible Victory!! Glorious News." The victory made Jackson a national hero, redeemed the nation's battered pride, and undercut the Hartford Convention's demands for constitutional revision.

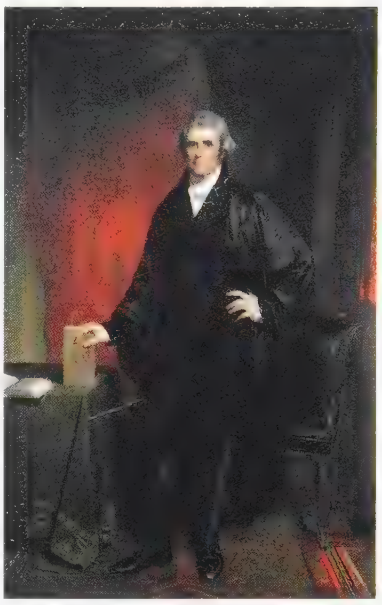
The Federalist Legacy

The War of 1812 ushered in a new phase of the Republican political revolution. Before the conflict, Federalists had strongly supported Alexander Hamilton's program of national mercantilism — a funded debt, a central bank, and tariffs — while Jeffersonian Republicans had opposed it. After the war, the Republicans split into two camps. Led by Henry Clay, National Republicans pursued Federalist-like policies. In 1816, Clay pushed legislation through Congress creating the Second Bank of the United States and persuaded President Madison to sign it. In 1817, Clay won passage of the Bonus Bill, which created a national fund for roads and other internal improvements. Madison vetoed it. Reaffirming traditional Jeffersonian Republican principles, he argued that the national government lacked the constitutional authority to fund internal improvements.

Meanwhile, the Federalist Party crumbled. As one supporter explained, the National Republicans in the eastern states had "destroyed the Federalist party by the adoption of its principles" while the favorable farm policies of Jeffersonians maintained the Republican Party's dominance in the South and West. "No Federal character can run with success," Gouverneur Morris of New York lamented, and the election of 1818 proved him right: Republicans outnumbered Federalists 37 to 7 in the Senate and 156 to 27 in the House. Westward expansion and the success of Jefferson's Revolution of 1800 had shattered the First Party System.

Marshall's Federalist Law However, Federalist policies lived on thanks to John Marshall's long tenure on the Supreme Court. Appointed chief justice by President John Adams in January 1801, Marshall had a personality and intellect that allowed him to dominate the Court until 1822 and strongly influence its decisions until his death in 1835.

Three principles informed Marshall's **jurisprudence**: judicial authority, the supremacy of national laws, and traditional property rights (Table 7.1). Marshall claimed the right of judicial review for the Supreme Court in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), and the



***John Marshall*, by Chester Harding, c. 1830** Even at the age of seventy-five, John Marshall (1755–1835) had a commanding personal presence. After he became chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1801, Marshall elevated the Court from a minor department of the national government to a major institution in American legal and political life. His decisions on judicial review, contract rights, the regulation of commerce, and national banking permanently shaped the character of American constitutional law. © [illegible] the-use.info CSA/Bridgeman Image

TABLE 7.1

Major Decisions of the Marshall Court

	Date	Case	Significance of Decision
Judicial Authority	1803	*Marbury v. Madison*	Asserts principle of judicial review
Property Rights	1810	*Fletcher v. Peck*	Protects property rights through broad reading of Constitution's contract clause
	1819	*Dartmouth College v. Woodward*	Safeguards property rights, especially of chartered corporations
Supremacy of National Law	1819	*McCulloch v. Maryland*	Interprets Constitution to give broad powers to national government
	1824	*Gibbons v. Ogden*	Gives national government jurisdiction over interstate commerce

Court frequently used that power to overturn state laws that, in its judgment, violated the Constitution.

Asserting National Supremacy The important case of ***McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)** involved one such law. When Congress created the Second Bank of the United States in 1816, it allowed the bank to set up state branches that competed with state-chartered banks. In response, the Maryland legislature imposed a tax on notes issued by the Baltimore branch of the Second Bank. The Second Bank refused to pay, claiming that the tax infringed on national powers and was therefore unconstitutional. The state's lawyers then invoked Jefferson's argument: that Congress lacked the constitutional authority to charter a national bank. Even if a national bank was legitimate, the lawyers argued, Maryland could tax its activities within the state.

Marshall and the nationalist-minded Republicans on the Court firmly rejected both arguments. The Second Bank was constitutional, said the chief justice, because it was "necessary and proper," given the national government's control over currency and credit, and Maryland did not have the power to tax it.

The Marshall Court again asserted the dominance of national over state statutes in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824). The decision struck down a New York law granting a monopoly to Aaron Ogden for steamboat passenger service across the Hudson River to New Jersey. Asserting that the Constitution gave the federal government authority over interstate commerce, the chief justice sided with Thomas Gibbons, who held a federal license to run steamboats between the two states.

Upholding Vested Property Rights Finally, Marshall used the Constitution to uphold Federalist notions of property rights. During the 1790s, Jefferson Republicans had celebrated "the will of the people," prompting Federalists to worry that popular sovereignty would result in a "tyranny of the majority." If state legislatures enacted statutes infringing on the property rights of wealthy citizens, Federalist judges vowed to void them.

Marshall was no exception. Determined to protect individual property rights, he invoked the contract clause of the Constitution to do it. The contract clause (in Article I, Section 10) prohibits the states from passing any law "impairing the obligation of contracts." Economic conservatives at the Philadelphia convention had inserted the clause to prevent "stay" laws, which kept creditors from seizing the lands and goods of delinquent debtors. In *Fletcher v. Peck* (1810), Marshall greatly expanded its scope. The Georgia legislature had granted a huge tract of land to the Yazoo Land Company. When a new legislature cancelled the grant, alleging fraud and bribery, speculators who had purchased Yazoo lands appealed to the Supreme Court to uphold their titles. Marshall did so by ruling that the legislative grant was a contract that could not be revoked. His decision was controversial and far-reaching. It limited state power; bolstered vested property rights; and, by protecting out-of-state investors, promoted the development of a national capitalist economy.

The Court extended its defense of vested property rights in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819). Dartmouth College was a private institution created by a royal charter issued by King George III. In 1816, New Hampshire's Republican legislature enacted a statute converting the school into a public university. The Dartmouth trustees opposed the legislation and hired Daniel Webster to plead their case. A renowned constitutional lawyer and a leading Federalist, Webster cited the Court's decision in *Fletcher v. Peck* and argued that the royal charter was an unalterable contract. The Marshall Court agreed and upheld Dartmouth's claims.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why do historians think the decisions of the Marshall Court constitute a Federalist legacy?

The Diplomacy of John Quincy Adams Even as John Marshall incorporated important Federalist principles into the American legal system, voting citizens and political leaders embraced the outlook of the Republican Party. The political career of John Quincy Adams was a case in point. Although he was the son of Federalist

MAP 7.5 Defining the National Boundaries, 1800–1820
After the War of 1812, American diplomats negotiated treaties with Great Britain and Spain that defined the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase, with British Canada to the north and New Spain (which in 1821 became the independent nation of Mexico) to the south and west. These treaties eliminated the threat of border wars with neighboring states for a generation, giving the United States a much-needed period of peace and security.

president John Adams, John Quincy Adams had joined the Republican Party before the War of 1812. He came to national attention for his role in negotiating the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the war.

Adams then served brilliantly as secretary of state for two terms under James Monroe (1817–1825). Ignoring Republican antagonism toward Great Britain, in 1817 Adams negotiated the Rush-Bagot Treaty, which limited American and British naval forces on the Great Lakes. In 1818, he concluded another agreement with Britain setting the forty-ninth parallel as the border between Canada and the lands of the Louisiana Purchase. Then, in the **Adams-Onís Treaty** of 1819, Adams persuaded Spain to cede the Florida territory to the United States (Map 7.5). In return, the American government accepted Spain's claim to Texas and agreed to a compromise on the western boundary for the state of Louisiana, which had entered the Union in 1812.

Finally, Adams persuaded President Monroe to declare American national policy with respect to the Western Hemisphere. At Adams's behest, Monroe warned Spain and other European powers to keep their hands off the newly independent republics in Latin America. The American continents were not "subject for further colonization," the president declared in 1823—a policy that thirty years later became known as the **Monroe Doctrine**. In return, Monroe pledged that the United States would not "interfere in the internal concerns" of European nations. Thanks to John Quincy Adams, the United States had successfully asserted its diplomatic leadership in the Western Hemisphere and won international acceptance of its northern and western boundaries.

The appearance of political consensus after two decades of bitter party conflict prompted observers to dub James Monroe's presidency (1817–1825) the "Era of Good Feeling." This harmony was real but transitory. The Republican Party was now split

between the National faction, led by Clay and Adams, and the Jeffersonian faction, soon to be led by Martin Van Buren and Andrew Jackson. The two groups differed sharply over federal support for roads and canals and many other issues. As the aging Jefferson himself complained, "You see so many of these new [National] republicans maintaining in Congress the rankest doctrines of the old federalists." This division in the Republican Party would soon produce the Second Party System, in which national-minded Whigs and state-focused Democrats would confront each other. By the early 1820s, one cycle of American politics and economic debate had ended, and another was about to begin.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What elements of Federalist political philosophy survived the end of the First Party System?

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we traced three interrelated themes: public policy, westward expansion, and party politics. We began by examining the contrasting public policies advocated by Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. A Federalist, Hamilton supported a strong national government and created a fiscal infrastructure (the national debt, tariffs, and a national bank) to spur trade and manufacturing. By contrast, Jefferson wanted to preserve the authority of state governments, and he envisioned an America enriched by farming rather than industry.

Jefferson and the Republicans promoted a westward movement that transformed the agricultural economy and sparked new wars with Indian peoples. Expansion westward also shaped American diplomatic and military policy, leading to the Louisiana Purchase, the War of 1812, and the treaties negotiated by John Quincy Adams.

Finally, there was the unexpected rise of the First Party System. As Hamilton's policies split the political elite, the French Revolution divided Americans into hostile ideological groups. The result was two decades of bitter conflict and controversial measures: the Federalists' Sedition Act, the Republicans' Embargo Act, and Madison's decision to go to war with Britain. Although the Federalist Party faded away, it left as its enduring legacy Hamilton's financial innovations and John Marshall's constitutional jurisprudence.

CHAPTER 7 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW *Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.*

1. What were the most important differences between Federalists and Republicans in the 1790s?
2. How were the principles of the Jeffersonian Republicans reflected in this era of dramatic growth and development?
3. What elements of Federalist political philosophy survived the end of the First Party System?
4. Look at the events listed under "Politics and Power" and "Work, Exchange, and Technology" for the period 1787–1800 on the thematic timeline on page 138. What was the relationship in these years between disagreements over the national government and developments in the American economy?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

Judiciary Act of 1789 (p. 205)
Bill of Rights (p. 205)
Report on the Public Credit (p. 205)
Bank of the United States (p. 207)
Report on Manufactures (p. 207)
Proclamation of Neutrality (p. 208)
French Revolution (p. 208)
Jacobins (p. 209)
Whiskey Rebellion (p. 209)
Jay's Treaty (p. 212)
Haitian Revolution (p. 212)
XYZ Affair (p. 213)
Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts (p. 214)
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (p. 214)
Treaty of Greenville (p. 216)
***Marbury v. Madison* (1803)** (p. 219)
Louisiana Purchase (p. 220)
Embargo Act of 1807 (p. 223)
Battle of Tippecanoe (p. 223)
Treaty of Ghent (p. 228)
***McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)** (p. 230)
Adams-Onís Treaty (p. 231)
Monroe Doctrine (p. 231)

Key People

Alexander Hamilton (p. 204)
Thomas Jefferson (p. 204)
John Adams (p. 204)
Little Turtle (p. 216)
John Marshall (p. 219)
Tecumseh (p. 223)
Henry Clay (p. 223)
John Quincy Adams (p. 228)

Key Academic Terms

specie (p. 207)
belligerent (p. 208)
embargo (p. 212)
horticulture (p. 221)
preemptive (p. 223)
jurisprudence (p. 229)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. In Chapter 6, thirteen former British colonies cooperated in war and established new republican institutions of self-government. After 1789, unforeseen divisions developed in American politics. Why did Hamiltonians and Jeffersonians disagree so sharply on key questions of national policy? Which of the factions in the First Party System — Federalists or Republicans — best embodied the principles of the Revolution? How did westward expansion and international relations force the United States to modify its Revolutionary republican ideals?
2. Return to the Currier & Ives print depicting the bombardment of Tripoli on page 219. What message does it convey about America's position in the world? How well does that message square with the actual outcome of the First Barbary War? What does this suggest about the artist's purpose?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronologies on pages 172 and 204 for help in answering the questions below.*

The Northwest Ordinance (1787; Chapter 6), Kentucky and Tennessee join the Union (1792, 1796), and Jefferson is elected president (1800): How were developments in the West tied into national politics in the 1790s? Why did the Federalists steadily lose ground to the Republicans?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."
>
> United States Constitution, Amendment 10

1. The ideology of which of the following groups showed the greatest similarity to the position endorsed by the Tenth Amendment?
   a. Abolitionists
   b. Antifederalists
   c. American Indians
   d. Federalists
2. The creation of the Tenth Amendment was most immediately motivated by the desire to
   a. ensure ratification of the Constitution.
   b. secure individual rights of free speech against government abuse.
   c. bolster the powers of the federal government.
   d. restrict the powers of state government.
3. The passage could best be used as evidence to support which of the following claims?
   a. The Constitution grants the federal government supremacy over the states.
   b. Americans disagreed about how much power should be granted to the federal government.
   c. Many states maintained property qualifications for voting and citizenship after the American Revolution.
   d. The Articles of Confederation created a central government with limited power.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That whenever there shall be a declared war between the United States and any foreign nation or government, or any invasion or predatory incursion shall be perpetrated, attempted, or threatened against the territory of the United States, by any foreign nation or government, and the President of the United States shall make public proclamation of the event, all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within the United States, and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured and removed, as alien enemies."
>
> Alien Act, 1798

4. Which of the following most actively resisted the policies of the Alien Act of 1798?
   a. Democratic Republicans
   b. Antifederalists
   c. Merchants
   d. Federalists
5. Which of the following contributed most directly to the conflicts addressed in the passage?
   a. Political tensions between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans
   b. Westward expansion and the development of frontier culture
   c. State alliances with American Indian tribes on the eastern seaboard
   d. War with Great Britain
6. The passage of the legislation in the excerpt above most directly resulted in which of the following?
   a. Supreme Court decisions that enhanced the power of the federal government at the expense of the states
   b. A long-term decline in foreign immigration to the United States
   c. Control of the federal government shifting to the Democratic Republican Party
   d. Expansion of slavery in the United States

Questions 7–8 refer to the map below.

Indian Cessions and State Formation, 1776–1840

7. Which of the following contributed LEAST to the events and developments depicted on the map?
   a. Diminishing fertility of plantation lands
   b. Government policies coercing American Indian treaties
   c. Extension of slavery into the Northwest Territories
   d. Population growth along the Atlantic coast
8. The most important political motivation leading to expansionist policies of the federal government resulted from
   a. desires to minimize conflicts within the American two-party system over the Bill of Rights.
   b. international rivalries with the British and Spanish for control of North America.
   c. popular expectations that politicians follow the advice of George Washington's Farewell Address.
   d. the declining numbers of Americans laboring in agriculture as a result of the market revolution.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Hamilton's assigned duty, upon becoming minister of the nation's finances, would be to devise a way of managing the Revolutionary War debts so as to place public credit upon firm foundations. . . . Hamilton set for himself 'the task of making the citizens in every regard more well-behaved, healthier, wiser, richer, and more secure.' Specifically, he proposed to use his administration of the public finances as an instrument for forging the American people into a prosperous, happy, and respected nation."

Forrest McDonald, *Alexander Hamilton: A Biography*, 1979

"His [Alexander Hamilton's] plans . . . were not only a catalyst for sectional confrontation. They seemed an excellent confirmation of persistent Antifederalist suspicions of an engulfing federal power. . . . Coming in conjunction with the high style of the new government, the antipopulistic pronouncements of some of its supporters, and measures such as an excise tax and a professional army, the Hamiltonian program might as well have been designed to awaken specific expectations about the course and nature of governmental decay that were never very far beneath the surface of revolutionary minds."

Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology*, 1978

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between McDonald's and Banning's historical interpretations about Alexander Hamilton.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1787 to 1820 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support McDonald's interpretation.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development from the period 1787 to 1820 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Banning's interpretation.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE specific historical argument used to oppose ratifying the Constitution in the 1780s.
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical argument used to support ratifying the Constitution in the 1780s.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development represents an accomplishment of the national government under the Constitution between 1787 and 1820.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE specific way in which the development of the two-party political system transformed the government of the United States between 1787 and 1820.
   b. Briefly explain ONE important way in which the development of the two party system between 1787 and 1820 transformed the relationship between the United States and European nations.
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical transformation in the United States society resulting from the development of the two-party political system between 1787 and 1820.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent to which revolutionary ideals changed American society in the period 1776 to 1800.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: The Declaration of Independence, 1776.

"When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, —That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: The New Jersey State Constitution, 1776.

"That all inhabitants of this Colony, of full age, who are worth fifty pounds proclamation money, clear estate in the same, and have resided within the county in which they claim a vote for twelve months immediately preceding the election, shall be entitled to vote for Representatives in Council and Assembly; and also for all other public officers, that shall be elected by the people of the county at large."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: Letter from Henry Knox to George Washington, 1786.

"This dreadful situation has alarmed every man of principle and property in New England. . . . Our government must be braced, changed, or altered to secure our lives and property. We imagined that the mildness of our government and the virtue of the people were so correspondent, that we were not as other nations requiring brutal force to support the laws — But we find that we are men, actual men, possessing all the turbulent passions belonging to that animal and that we must have a government proper and adequate for him — The people of Massachusetts for instance, are far advanced in this doctrine, and the men of reflection, and principle, are determined to endeavor to establish a government which shall have the power to protect them in their lawful pursuits, and which will be efficient in all cases of internal commotions or foreign invasions. . . ."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: The Northwest Ordinance, 1787.

"Art. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. . . .

Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: *Provided, always,* That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793.

"For the better security of the peace and friendship now entered into by the contracting parties, against all infractions of the same, by the citizens of either party, to the prejudice of the other, neither party shall proceed to the infliction of punishments on the citizens of the other, otherwise than by securing the offender, or offenders, by imprisonment, or any other competent means, till a fair and impartial trial can be had by judges or juries of both parties, as near as can be, to the laws, customs, and usage's of the contracting parties, and natural justice. . . . And it is further agreed between the parties aforesaid, that neither shall entertain, or give countenance to, the enemies of the other, or protect, in their respective states, criminal fugitives, servants, or slaves, but the same to apprehend and secure, and deliver to the state or states, to which such enemies, criminals, servants, or slaves, respectively below."

DOCUMENT 6

Source: "Keep Within Compass," circa 1795.

Text at top reads: "How blest the Maid whose bosom no headstrong passion knows, Her days in Joy she Passes, her nights in soft repose."

Text at bottom reads: "Virtuous Woman is a Crown to her Husband."

"Keep Within Compass," engraving, c. 1795. Courtesy of Winterthur Museum Garden & Library, Gift of Henry Francis du Pont. 1954.0003.001.A

DOCUMENT 7

Source: Years States Eliminated Established Churches

Connecticut	1818
Delaware	never had established church
Georgia	1789
Maryland	1776
Massachusetts	1780
New Hampshire	1790
New Jersey	1776
New York	1777
North Carolina	1776
Pennsylvania	never had established church
Rhode Island	never had established church
South Carolina	1790
Virginia	1786

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following three questions to answer.

2. **Analyze the ways in which the Seven Years' War (1754–1763) fostered change in the relationship between England and the North American colonies from 1754 to 1774.**

3. **Analyze the ways in which immigration and migration fostered change in American society from 1754 to 1800.**

4. **Evaluate the extent of change in the status of African Americans and women in society caused by the Revolutionary War in the period 1775 to 1800.**

PART 4

CHAPTER 8
Economic Transformations, 1800–1848

CHAPTER 9
A Democratic Revolution, 1800–1848

CHAPTER 10
Religion, Reform, and Culture, 1820–1848

CHAPTER 11
Imperial Ambitions, 1820–1848

Overlapping Revolutions

1800–1848

We begin Part 4 in 1800 because important structural changes were reshaping American life at the beginning of the new century. They included new banking, credit, and transportation systems; the invention of the cotton gin and the transformation of American slavery; innovations in political structures and practices; and new religious and cultural expressions. We have chosen 1848 as a useful end point for this period because that was the year that the U.S.-Mexico War ended and the continental ambitions of the new American nation were fully realized.

Historians often call these decades the antebellum (prewar) era because, looking back, we know that in 1861 the Civil War pitted North against South. But many of the developments of this era worked to unite northern and southern interests. Policymakers and entrepreneurs built canals and banks, expanded the reach of plantation slavery, opened textile factories in the North to process slave-grown cotton from the South, hired wageworkers to tend the water-powered looms, and sold northern products back to southern planters. By the 1830s, a few radical abolitionists criticized this system for binding "Lords of the Loom and Lords of the Lash" in one vast cycle of exploitative enterprise.

Four transformations marked the United States in the early nineteenth century. One was economic: the expansion of commercial agriculture, the rise of manufacturing, and development of the cotton complex triggered unprecedented economic growth. Another was political, as new democratic political forms took shape. A third transformation was the emergence of evangelical Christianity, reform movements, and utopian experiments that remade American culture and society. Finally, the geographical boundaries of the United States expanded enormously in these years. Part 4 of *America's History* explains how these momentous changes happened and shows how closely intertwined they were. Building on these transformations, three principal developments are discussed in Part 4: ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

A Commercial Slaveholding Republic

The economic revolution of the early 1800s rested on innovations in transportation and technology, from the cotton gin to the steam-powered loom. It also relied on steady acquisitions of frontier lands, where farmers specialized in agricultural products that could be shipped to an increasingly industrial Northeast.

The rise of the "cotton complex" vastly expanded slavery in the South. It also sharpened social and economic class divisions among business elites, planters, middle-class merchants and professionals, artisans, wageworkers, and the urban poor. At first, Americans hoped manufacturing would increase prosperity for all, but by the end of the period some desperate immigrants from Ireland, and others who labored in low-skill jobs, lived in shocking poverty. Like many other transformations, the commercial revolution had unintended consequences.

Democratic Citizenship and Culture

Americans celebrated the expansion of political rights and the rise of mass political parties, starting with the Democrats under the charismatic leadership of Andrew Jackson. Jacksonian Democrats cut federal and state government aid to financiers, merchants, and corporations. Beginning in the 1830s, the Democrats faced challenges from the Whigs, who devised a competing program that stressed state-sponsored economic development, moral reform, and individual social mobility. The parties wrestled over such issues as Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830 and high protective tariffs on manufactured goods, the latter of which many farmers and planters opposed.

New democratic forms flourished in culture as well as politics. The expanding urban middle class created a distinct religious culture and an ideal of domesticity or "separate spheres" for women, as well as an array of reform movements, from **temperance** to moral reform. Wage-earning workers in the growing cities, including poor immigrants from Germany and Ireland, participated in a vibrant popular culture of their own. New England intellectuals launched the distinctly American movement of transcendentalism, while utopians founded cooperative experiments and religious communities such as those of the Shakers and Mormons.

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Claiming an Empire

Territorial expansion between 1800 and 1848 was vast and violent. Moving into Texas at the behest of Mexican authorities, who were struggling to populate Mexico's northern areas, southern cotton planters brought slavery and a spirit of independence that soon triggered the Texas revolution for separation from Mexico. Other Americans, especially on the midwestern frontier, pushed ardently for annexation of Oregon and by the 1840s began a drive to the Pacific. Most decisive was the election in 1844 of James K. Polk, an expansionist Democrat who promised to claim all of Oregon from the United States's chief rival — Britain — and to annex Texas even if it precipitated war with Mexico. Though the former conflict was arbitrated, the latter triggered a war that brought in not only Texas but also a vast new domain including California and the Southwest — acquisitions that would lead to sectional crisis.

West Point Museum, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY.

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING
Overlapping Revolutions 1800–1848

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This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes.

How did economic, political, and cultural developments influence one another in this era?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1800	• Neomercantilist policies support banking, transportation, and communication systems	• Jefferson reduces activism of national government • Chief Justice Marshall begins to assert federal judicial powers	• Cotton output and demand for African labor expands • Congress approves funds for a National Road (1806)
1810	• Emma Willard founds Middlebury Female Seminary for young women (1814) • American Colonization Society founded (1817) • Notion of the self-made man spreads	• Expansion of white male political rights begins • Martin Van Buren creates first statewide political machine (1817–1821) • Missouri crisis (1819–1821) over slavery	• Construction on National Road begins (1811) • First American textile factory opens in Waltham, Massachusetts (1814)
1820	• David Walker's *Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens* (1829) attacks slavery • Public schools, female academies strengthen literacy and civic engagement • Domesticity and ideal of "separate spheres" emerge in middle class	• Rise of Andrew Jackson and Democratic Party • Anti-Masonic and Working Men's parties rise and decline	• Erie Canal completed (1825) • Henry Clay proposes "American System" of government-assisted development
1830	• More distinct middle-class and working-class identities emerge with industrialization • Nat Turner's uprising in Virginia (1831) • American Anti-Slavery Society founded (1833) • First wave of married women's property laws (1839–1845) • Abolitionist Grimké sisters defend public roles for women	• Tariff battles and nullification crisis (1828, 1832) • Whig Party forms (1834) • Jackson destroys Second National Bank, expands executive power • Congress adopts "gag rule" to block antislavery petitions (1836)	• U.S. textiles compete with British goods • Canal systems expand trade in eastern United States • Cotton complex expands • Financial panic of 1837 begins six-year depression
1840	• Margaret Fuller publishes *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1844) • Seneca Falls Convention seeks women's equal rights (1848)	• Heyday of Second Party System (Democrats vs. Whigs) • Liberty Party runs James G. Birney for president (1844) • U.S.-Mexico War (1846–1848)	• American machine tool industry expands

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• Rural white Americans share a common culture	• Congress outlaws Atlantic slave trade (1808)	• Louisiana Purchase nearly doubles the land mass of the United States (1803) • Lewis and Clark explore the West (1804–1806)	• Embargo Act prohibits trade with Great Britain (1807)	1800
• African Methodist Episcopal Church founded (1816)	• Andrew Jackson forces Creeks to relinquish millions of acres during War of 1812	• Road and turnpike construction facilitate travel • The cotton frontier moves inland	• Africans from Congo region influence black culture for decades • U.S. and Great Britain agree to joint control of Oregon Country (1818)	1810
• Second Great Awakening; Charles Finney begins Protestant revival campaigns (1823)	• Internal slave trade forces thousands of African Americans west in cotton boom • Rise of cities and manufacturing towns prompts migration from rural areas • Violence drives over a thousand African Americans out of Cincinnati (1829)	• Canals and steamboats shrink space • Major Stephen H. Long labels the Great Plains the "Great American Desert"	• Mexico gains independence from Spain (1821)	1820
• Emerson champions transcendentalism • Benevolent Empire of reform movements • Immense popularity of blackface minstrel shows • Joseph Smith founds Mormon church (Latter-day Saints) (1830) • Horace Mann begins public school expansion in Massachusetts (1837)	• Indian Removal Act (1830) forces Native peoples west • Cherokee Trail of Tears (1838)	• U.S. immigration into Texas accelerates • Emergence of commercial cities in the Old Northwest • Indian Removal Act (1830) leads to mass relocation	• Emerson and others draw on European romanticism in developing transcendentalist ideas • Texas declares its independence from Mexico (1836)	1830
• Dorothea Dix promotes hospitals for the mentally ill (1841) • Henry Thoreau spends a year at Walden Pond (1845) • John Humphrey Noyes establishes cooperative experiment at Oneida (1848)	• Brigham Young leads Mormons to Salt Lake (1846) • Increased immigration from Ireland and Germany	• Immigration to the Oregon Country increases dramatically	• United States declares war on Mexico (1846) • Treaty with Britain divides Oregon Country (1846) • American troops capture Mexico City (1847)	1840

CHAPTER 8

Economic Transformations
1800–1848

Foundations of a New Economic Order

Credit and Banking

Transportation and the Market Revolution

The Cotton Complex: Northern Industry and Southern Agriculture

The American Industrial Revolution

Origins of the Cotton South

The Cotton Boom and Slavery

Technological Innovation and Labor

The Spread of Innovation

Wageworkers and the Labor Movement

The Growth of Cities and Towns

New Social Classes and Cultures

Planters, Yeomen, and Slaves

The Northern Business Elite

The Middle Class

Urban Workers and the Poor

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How did the economic transformations of the first half of the nineteenth century reshape northern and southern society and culture?

In 1804, life turned grim for eleven-year-old Chauncey Jerome. His father died suddenly, and Jerome became an indentured servant on a Connecticut farm. Quickly learning that few farmers "would treat a poor boy like a human being," Jerome bought out his indenture by making dials for clocks and then found a job with clockmaker Eli Terry. A manufacturing wizard, Terry used water power to drive precision saws and woodworking lathes. Soon his shop, and dozens of outworkers, were turning out thousands of tall clocks with wooden works. Then, in 1816, Terry patented an enormously popular desk clock with brass parts, an innovation that turned Waterbury, Connecticut, into the clockmaking center of the United States.

In 1822, Chauncey Jerome set up his own clock factory. By organizing work more efficiently and using new machines that stamped out interchangeable metal parts, he drove down the price of a simple clock from $20 to $5 and then to less than $2. By the 1840s, Jerome was selling his clocks in England, the hub of the Industrial Revolution; a decade later, his workers were turning out 400,000 clocks a year. By 1860, the United States was not only the world's leading exporter of cotton and wheat but also the third-ranked manufacturing nation behind Britain and France.

"Business is the very soul of an American: the fountain of all human felicity," author Francis Grund observed shortly after arriving from Europe. Stimulated by America's entrepreneurial culture, thousands of artisan-inventors like Chauncey Jerome propelled the country into the Industrial Revolution, a new system of production based on water and steam power and machine technology. To bring their products to market, they relied on important innovations in travel and communication. By 1848, northern entrepreneurs — and their southern counterparts who invested in cotton planting — had created a new economic order.

Not all Americans embraced the new business-dominated society, and many failed to share in the new prosperity. The increase in manufacturing, commerce, and finance created class divisions that challenged the founders' vision of an agricultural republic with few distinctions of wealth. As the philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson warned in 1839: "The invasion of Nature by Trade with its Money, its Credit, its Steam, [and] its Railroad threatens to . . . establish a new, universal Monarchy."

The First Cotton Gin, drawn by William L. Sheppard The economic lives of northerners and southerners alike were transformed by technological innovation and new forms of labor discipline in the years between 1800 and 1848. In this image, two male slaves operate a cotton gin in a process that crushed the hard, stubborn cotton bolls and removed the seeds, while an enslaved woman brings a heavy new load for processing. In the background, a planter and a buyer closely inspect the finished product, which would soon be shipped to a textile mill in the North or in England. This was the cotton complex, a set of economic activities that drove forward economic change in both the northern and southern states.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

- **1790** ▸ Samuel Slater reproduces Arkwright's inventions in Providence, Rhode Island
- **1792** ▸ Congress passes Post Office Act
- **1793** ▸ Eli Whitney devises cotton gin
- **1800s** ▸ Natural increase produces surplus of slaves in Old South
  ▸ Domestic slave trade expands, disrupting black family life
- **1807** ▸ Embargo Act prohibits trade with Great Britain
- **1808** ▸ African slave trade abolished by Congress
- **1812** ▸ Louisiana becomes a state and its sugar output increases
- **1814** ▸ Boston Manufacturing Company opens factory in Waltham, Massachusetts
- **1816–1828** ▸ Congress levies protective tariffs
- **1817** ▸ Erie Canal begun (completed in 1825)
  ▸ Mississippi becomes a state; Alabama follows (1819)
- **1820–1840** ▸ Urban population surges in Northeast and Midwest; shoe entrepreneurs adopt division of labor
- **1820s** ▸ New England women take textile jobs
  ▸ Entrepreneurial planters in Cotton South turn to gang labor
- **1824** ▸ *Gibbons v. Ogden* promotes interstate trade
- **1830s** ▸ Emergence of western commercial cities
  ▸ Boom in cotton production
  ▸ Labor movement gains strength
  ▸ Middle-class culture emerges
- **1837** ▸ South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun argues that slavery is a "positive good"
- **1840s** ▸ Gradual emancipation completed in North
  ▸ Maturation of machine-tool industry
- **1842** ▸ *Commonwealth v. Hunt* legitimizes trade unions

Foundations of a New Economic Order

The emerging economic order was based on core principles grounded in republican ideals. Private property, market exchange, and individual opportunity were widely shared values, and throughout the nation, activist state governments pursued **neomercantilist** policies to help achieve them. New systems of banking and credit, often supported by state charters, increased the money supply and made capital more widely available to American entrepreneurs. State legislatures also issued charters to turnpike and canal companies, whose new roads and waterways reduced the cost of transportation and stimulated economic activity. As a result, beginning around 1800 the average per capita income of Americans increased by more than 1 percent a year — more than 30 percent in a single generation.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Credit and Banking

AP® EXAM TIP

As you read through this section, take notes on the degree to which the elite, middle class, and laboring poor benefitted from economic change in the early nineteenth century.

America was "a Nation of Merchants," a British visitor reported from Philadelphia in 1798, "keen in the pursuit of wealth in all the various modes of acquiring it." Acquire it they did, making spectacular profits as the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon (1793–1815) crippled European firms. Merchants John Jacob Astor and Robert Oliver became the nation's first millionaires. After working for an Irish-owned linen firm in Baltimore, Oliver struck out on his own, achieving affluence by trading West Indian sugar and coffee. Astor, who migrated from Germany to New York in 1784, began by selling dry-goods and became wealthy carrying furs from the Pacific Northwest to China and investing in New York City real estate (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

To finance their ventures, Oliver, Astor, and other merchants needed capital, from either their own savings or loans. Before the American Revolution, colonial merchants often relied on credit from British suppliers. In 1781, the Confederation Congress chartered the Bank of North America in Philadelphia, and traders in Boston and New York soon founded similar institutions to raise and loan money. "Our monied capital has so much increased from the Introduction of Banks, & the Circulation of the Funds,"

The China Trade Following the Revolution, New England merchants traded actively with the major Asian manufacturing centers of China and India. In this painting by George Chinnery (1774–1852), the American flag flies prominently, alongside other national banners, in front of the warehouse district in Canton (modern Guangzhou). There, merchants exchanged bundles of American furs for cargoes of Chinese tea, silks, and porcelain plates, cups, and serving dishes. © Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, USA/Bridg

Philadelphia merchant William Bingham boasted in 1791, "that the Necessity of Soliciting Credits from England will no longer exist."

That same year, Federalists in Congress chartered the Bank of the United States (Chapter 7). By 1805, the bank had branches in eight seaport cities, profits that averaged a handsome 8 percent annually, and clients with easy access to capital. As trader Jesse Atwater noted, "the foundations of our [merchant] houses are laid in bank paper."

But Jeffersonians attacked the bank as an unconstitutional expansion of federal power "supported by public creditors, speculators, and other insidious men." When the bank's charter expired in 1811, the Jeffersonian Republican–dominated Congress refused to renew it. Merchants, artisans, and farmers quickly persuaded state legislatures to charter banks — in Pennsylvania, no fewer than 41. By 1816, when Congress (now run by National Republicans) chartered a new national bank (the Second Bank of the United States), there were 246 state-chartered banks with tens of thousands of stockholders and $68 million in banknotes in circulation. These state banks were often shady operations that issued notes without adequate specie reserves, made loans to insiders, and lent generously to farmers buying overpriced land.

Bad banking policies helped bring on the **Panic of 1819** (just as they caused the financial crisis of 2008), but broader forces were equally important. As the Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815, American imports of English woolen and cotton goods spiked. Then, in 1818, farmers and planters faced an abrupt 30 percent drop in world agricultural prices. As farmers' income declined, they could not pay debts owed to stores and banks, many of which went bankrupt. "A deep shadow has passed over our land," lamented one New Yorker, as land prices dropped by 50 percent. The panic gave

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of the federal and state laws that supported the growth of markets, the transportation network, and tariffs.

The Entrepreneur and the Community

Americans of the early republic believed that with hard work and virtue, even the lowliest of white men might rise to economic and political respectability, if not prominence. In the Revolutionary generation, Benjamin Franklin, born into a large and impoverished Boston family, had become a successful businessman and an international celebrity. Franklin's success reflected the optimism that laboring men felt when contemplating the new nation's seemingly boundless opportunity.

1. **Banner of the Society of Pewterers of the City of New York, carried in the Federal Procession, July 23, 1788, celebrating the ratification of the U.S. Constitution.** *The ribbon at top right reads "The Federal Plan Most Solid & Secure/Americans Their Freedom Will Endure/All Art Shall Flourish in Columbia's Land/And All her Sons Join as One Social Band."*

SOURCE: © Collection of the New-York Historical Society, USA/Bridgeman Images

2. **John Jacob Astor quoted in Elbert Hubbard, *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Business Men*, 1909.** *John Jacob Astor's (1763–1848) story is a parable of American entrepreneurial triumph. Arriving in America in 1783 from Germany, Astor worked in the fur industry treating pelts and, with capital borrowed from his brother, started up a musical instrument shop and fur business in 1786. Over the next three decades, Astor's American Fur Company prospered by trading furs in China, making Astor America's first millionaire. Apparently influenced by Benjamin Franklin's aphorism "Early to bed and early to rise, makes a man healthy wealthy and wise," Astor wrote:*

The man who makes it the habit of his life to go to bed at nine o'clock, usually gets rich and is always reliable. Of course, going to bed does not make him rich — I merely mean that such a man will in all probability be up early in the morning and do a big day's work . . . good habits in America make any man rich.

3. **Anonymous, "A Working Man's Recollections of America," *Knight's Penny Magazine*, 1846.** *A cabinetmaker penned this account after returning to England following an unsuccessful stint seeking success in New York.*

I was a cabinet-maker by trade, and one of the many who, between the years 1825–35, expatriated themselves in countless thousands, drawn by the promise of fair wages for faithful work, and driven by the scanty remuneration offered to unceasing toil at home. . . . On landing in New York I made up my mind to lose none of the advantages it uttered by want of diligence on my part. During the first two years I took but one holiday. . . . In summer we began work at six; at eight took half an hour for breakfast, and then worked till twelve, when one an hour for dinner; after which we kept on till six, seven, or eight. . . . A relative who arrived from England held out to me bright prospects of advantages to be realized by the employment of a little capital, combined with a removal to some inland town. I sold off nearly the whole

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why were banks important to American economic development?

AP® EXAM TIP

Differentiating the impact of the Market Revolution on the North, West, and South is essential for success on the AP® exam.

Americans their first taste of a business cycle, the periodic boom and bust inherent to an unregulated market economy.

Transportation and the Market Revolution

Economic expansion also depended on improvements in transportation, where governments once again played a crucial role. As with bank charters, legislative charters for turnpikes and canal companies reflected the ideology of mercantilism — government-assisted economic development. Just as Parliament had used the Navigation Acts to spur British prosperity, so American legislatures enacted laws "of great public utility" to increase the "common wealth." Following Jefferson's embargo of 1807, which cut off goods and credit from Europe, the New England states awarded charters to two hundred iron-mining, textile-manufacturing, and banking companies, while Pennsylvania granted more than eleven hundred. By 1820, state governments had created a

of our moveables . . . [and committed all my savings to this enterprise. However,] our scheme . . . completely failed, and I had no resources but my industry and chest of tools to meet the impending difficulties.

4. **Diary entry by Philip Hone, March 29, 1848.** *Philip Hone (1780–1851), a conservative Whig, was a successful merchant and entrepreneur and mayor of New York City from 1826 to 1827. Hone's marvelous diary (1828–1851) records the changing character of New York City, as well as his contempt for Jacksonian Democracy and its Irish immigrant supporters.*

John Jacob Astor died this morning, at nine o'clock, in the eighty-fifth year of his age . . . and left reluctantly his unbounded wealth. His property is estimated at $20,000,000, some judicious persons say $30,000,000; but, at any rate, he was the richest man in the United States in productive and valuable property; and this immense, gigantic fortune was the fruit of his own labor, unerring sagacity, and far-seeing penetration. He came to this country at twenty years of age; penniless, friendless, without inheritance, without education . . . but with a determination to be rich, and ability to carry it into effect. His capital consisted of a few trifling musical instruments, which he got from his brother, George Astor, in London, a dealer in music. . . . The fur trade was the philosopher's stone of this modern Croesus; beaver-skins and musk-rats furnished the oil for the supply of Aladdin's lamp. His traffic was the shipment of furs to China, where they brought immense prices, for he monopolized the business; and the return cargoes of teas, silks, and rich productions of China brought further large profits. . . . My brother and I found in Mr. Astor a valuable customer. . . . All he touched turned to gold.

5. **Editorial in the *New York Herald*, April 5, 1848.** *John Jacob Astor's will included a bequest of $400,000 for the establishment of what became the New York Public Library. This editorial questioned whether this relatively meager bequest adequately repaid residents.*

If we had been an associate of John Jacob Astor the first idea that we should have put into his head would have been that one-half of his immense property — ten million at least — belonged to the people of the city of New York. During the last fifty years of the life of John Jacob Astor, his property has been augmented and increased in the value by the aggregate intelligence, industry, enterprise and commerce of New York, fully to the amount of one-half its value. The farms and lots of ground which he bought forty, twenty and ten and five years ago, have all increased in value entirely by the industry of the citizens of New York . . . half of his immense estate, in its actual value, has accrued to him by the industry of the community.

SOURCES: (2) Elbert Hubbard, *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Business Men* (New York: Wm. H. Wise & Co., 1916), 201; (3) *Knight's Penny Magazine*, Vol. 1 (London: Charles Knight & Co., 1846), 97, 107, 108; (4) Philip Hone, *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828–1851*, Vol. 2 (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1889), 347–348; (5) Gustavus Myers, *History of the Great American Fortunes*, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1910), 199–200.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What does the Pewterer's Banner (source 1) suggest about personal and by extension national success in the post-Revolutionary era?
2. According to John Jacob Astor (source 2) and the cabinetmaker (source 3), what traits are important in work?
3. Sources 2, 4, and 5 all deal with John Jacob Astor. What do these sources suggest about the road to wealth in America?
4. Compare and contrast Hone's view of Astor (source 4) with that of the *Herald*'s editorial (source 5).

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

As these sources indicate, Americans had a divided view of the place of wealth in their society. For many, the opportunity to reap the benefits of hard work was essential to American liberty, and the wealth of John Jacob Astor was his just reward. Others, in keeping with older, republican values, believed that Astor's great wealth came at the expense of others, and that the fortunes of the individual and the community should rise together. Considering these sources and what you have learned in Chapter 8, write an essay that explores this tension in American economic ideals.

republican political economy: a **Commonwealth System** that funneled state aid to private businesses whose projects would improve the general welfare.

Transportation projects were among the greatest beneficiaries of the Commonwealth System. Between 1793 and 1812, for example, the Massachusetts legislature granted charters to more than one hundred private turnpike corporations. These charters gave the companies special legal status and often included monopoly rights to a transportation route. Pennsylvania issued fifty-five charters, including one to the Lancaster Turnpike Company, which built a 65-mile graded and graveled toll road to Philadelphia. The road quickly boosted the regional economy. A farm woman noted, "The turnpike is finished and we can now go to town at all times and in all weather." New turnpikes soon connected dozens of inland market centers to seaport cities. Westward migration beyond the seaboard states created a rapidly growing demand for new transportation routes.

The vital precondition for westward migration was the dispossession of Native American peoples. In the War of 1812, the United States defeated the confederation of

Great Lakes and Ohio Indians led by Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa and claimed their lands, along with 23 million acres ceded by the Creeks after the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. Subsequent treaties with the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws in the South and with the Miamis, Ottawas, Sauks, Fox, and other nations in the North brought millions more acres into the public domain. (See Map 7.2, p. 216.)

For farmers, artisans, and merchants to capitalize on these new lands, however, they needed access to transportation routes. Farmers in Kentucky, Tennessee, southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois settled near the Ohio River and its many tributaries, so they could easily get goods to market. Similarly, speculators hoping to capitalize on the expansion of commerce bought up property in the cities along the banks of major rivers: Cincinnati, Louisville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis. Farmers and merchants built barges to carry cotton, grain, and meat downstream to New Orleans, which by 1815 was exporting about $5 million in agricultural products yearly.

But natural waterways were not enough, by themselves, to connect east and west. To link westward migrants to the seaboard states, Congress approved funds for a National Road constructed of compacted gravel. The project began in 1811 at Cumberland in western Maryland, at the head of navigation of the Potomac River; reached Wheeling, Virginia (now West Virginia), on the Ohio River in 1818; and ended in Vandalia, Illinois, in 1839. As migrants traveled west on the National Road and other interregional highways, they passed livestock herds heading in the opposite direction, destined for eastern markets.

Shrinking Space: Canals Even on well-built gravel roads, overland travel was slow and expensive. As U.S. territory expanded and artisans, farmers, and manufacturers produced an ever expanding array of goods, legislators and businessmen created faster and cheaper ways to get those products to consumers. To carry people, crops, and manufactures to and from the great Mississippi River basin, public money and private businesses developed a water-borne transportation system of unprecedented size, complexity, and cost. State governments and private entrepreneurs dredged shallow rivers and constructed canals to bypass waterfalls and rapids. Around 1820, they began constructing a massive system of canals and roads linking states along the Atlantic coast with new states in the trans-Appalachian west.

This transportation system set in motion a mass migration of people to the Greater Mississippi River basin. This huge area, drained by six river systems (the Missouri, Arkansas, Red, Ohio, Tennessee, and Mississippi), contains the largest and most productive **contiguous** acreage of arable land in the world. By 1860, nearly one-third of the nation's citizens lived in eight of its states — the "Midwest," consisting of the five states carved out of the Northwest Territory (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) along with Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota. There they created a rich agricultural economy and an industrializing society.

The key event was the New York legislature's 1817 financing of the **Erie Canal**, a 364-mile waterway connecting the Hudson River and Lake Erie. Previously, the longest canal in the United States was just 28 miles long — reflecting the huge capital cost of canals and the lack of American engineering expertise. New York's ambitious project had three things working in its favor: the vigorous support of New York City's merchants, who wanted access to western markets; the backing of New York's governor, De Witt Clinton, who proposed to finance the waterway from tax revenues, tolls, and bond sales to foreign investors; and the relatively gentle terrain west of Albany. Even so, the task was enormous. Workers — many of them Irish immigrants — dug out millions of cubic yards of soil, quarried thousands of tons of rock for the huge locks that raised and lowered the boats, and constructed vast reservoirs to ensure a steady supply of water.

The first great engineering project in American history, the Erie Canal altered the ecology of an entire region. As farming communities and market towns sprang up along the waterway, settlers cut down millions of trees to provide wood for houses and barns and to open the land for growing crops and grazing animals. Cows and sheep

View of the Erie Canal This pastoral view of the Erie Canal near Lockport, New York, painted by artist John William Hill, hints at this waterway's profound impact on American life. Without the canal, the town in the background would not exist and farmers such as the man in the foreground would not have a regional market for their cattle and grain. The success of the Erie Canal had led to the construction of a vast system of canals by 1860. This infrastructure was as important to the nation as the railroad network of the late nineteenth century and the interstate highway and airport transportation systems of the late twentieth century. Bettmann/Getty Images

foraged in pastures that had recently been forests occupied by deer and bears, and spring rains caused massive erosion of the **denuded** landscape.

Whatever its environmental consequences, the Erie Canal was an instant economic success. The first 75-mile section opened in 1819 and quickly yielded enough revenue to repay its construction cost. When workers finished the canal in 1825, a 40-foot-wide ribbon of water stretched from Buffalo, on the eastern shore of Lake Erie, to Albany, where it joined the Hudson River for the 150-mile trip to New York City. The canal's water "must be the most fertilizing of all fluids," suggested novelist Nathaniel Hawthorne, "for it causes towns with their masses of brick and stone, their churches and theaters, their business and hubbub, their luxury and refinement, their gay dames and polished citizens, to spring up."

The Erie Canal brought prosperity to the farmers of central and western New York and the entire Great Lakes region. Northeastern manufacturers shipped clothing, boots, and agricultural equipment to farm families; in return, farmers sent grain, cattle, hogs, and raw materials (leather, wool, and hemp, for example) to eastern cities and foreign markets. Two horses pulling a wagon overland could tow 4 tons of freight; now, those same two horses working the towpaths of the Erie Canal could pull 100-ton freight barges at a steady 30 miles a day, cutting transportation costs and accelerating the flow of goods. In 1818, the mills in Rochester, New York, processed 26,000 barrels of flour for export. Ten years later their output soared to 200,000 barrels, and by 1840 it was at 500,000 barrels.

The spectacular benefits of the Erie Canal prompted a national canal boom. Civic and business leaders in Philadelphia and Baltimore proposed waterways to link their cities to the Midwest. Copying New York's fiscal innovations, they persuaded their state legislatures to invest directly in canal companies or to force state-chartered banks to do so, and to offer guarantees that encouraged British and Dutch investors. Soon, artificial

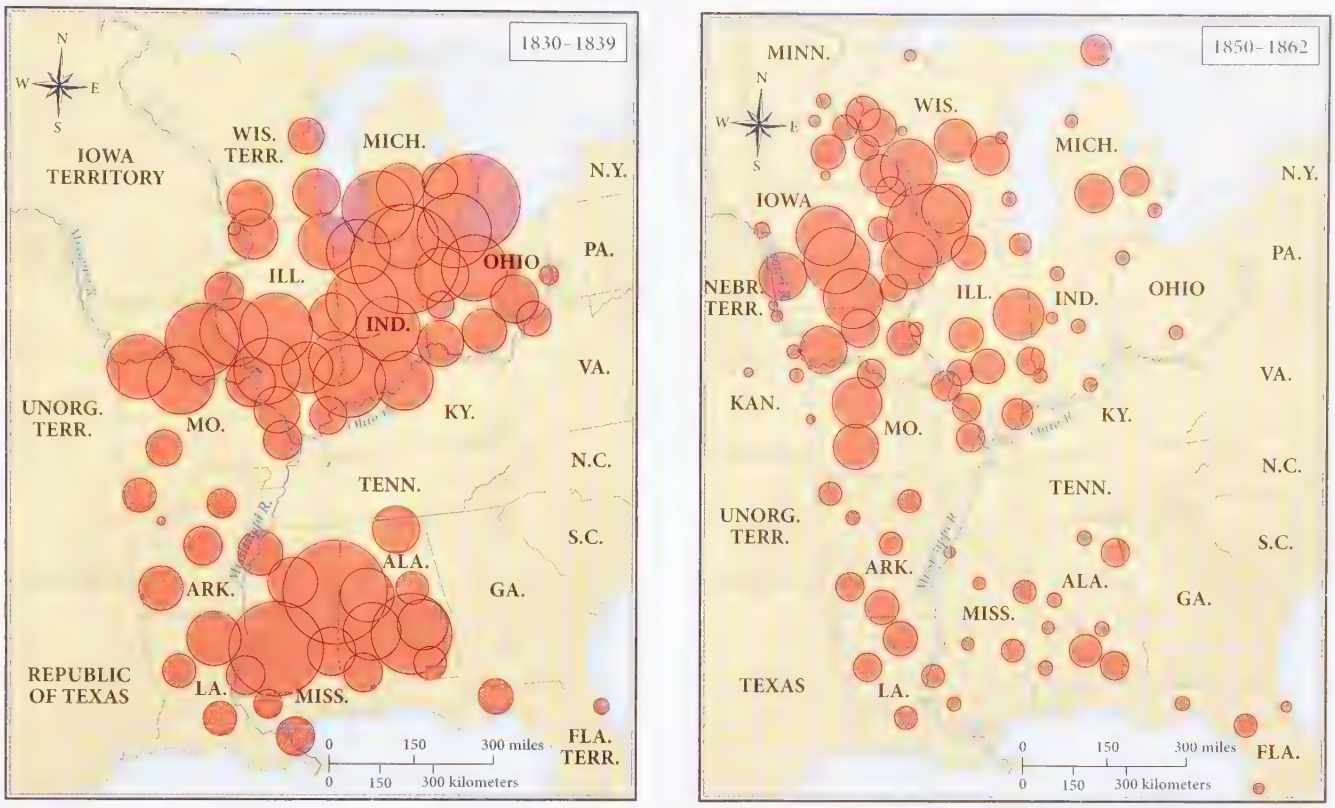
MAP 8.1 The Transportation Revolution: Roads and Canals, 1820–1850
By 1850, the United States had an efficient system of water-borne transportation with three distinct parts. Short canals and navigable rivers carried cotton, tobacco, and other products from the countryside of the southern seaboard states into the Atlantic commercial system. A second system, centered on the Erie, Chesapeake and Ohio, and Pennsylvania Mainline canals, linked northeastern seaports to the vast trans-Appalachian region. Finally, a set of regional canals in the Midwest connected most of the Great Lakes region to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the port of New Orleans.

waterways connected Philadelphia and Baltimore, via the Pennsylvania Canal and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, to the Great Lakes region. The Michigan and Illinois Canal (finished in 1848), which linked Chicago to the Mississippi River, completed an inland all-water route from New York City to New Orleans, the two most important port cities in North America (Map 8.1). Historians have labeled the economic boom resulting from these new banking and transportation systems the **Market Revolution**. Americans had greater access to capital, more financial liquidity, and more opportunities to buy and sell products over long distances, than they had ever had before.

Shrinking Space: Steamboats The steamboat, another product of the industrial age, added crucial flexibility to the Mississippi basin's river-based transportation system. In 1807, engineer-inventor Robert Fulton piloted the first American steamboat, the *Clermont*, up the Hudson River. To navigate shallow western rivers, engineers broadened steamboats' hulls to reduce their draft and enlarge their cargo capacity. These vessels halved the cost of upstream river transport and dramatically increased the flow of goods, people, and news. In 1830, a traveler or a letter from New York could reach Buffalo or Pittsburgh by water in less than a week and Detroit, Chicago, or St. Louis in two weeks. In 1800, the same journeys had taken twice as long.

Slave-owning planters from the Lower South settled in Missouri (admitted to the Union in 1821) and pushed on to Arkansas (admitted in 1836). Simultaneously, yeomen families from the Upper South joined migrants from New England and New York in farming the fertile lands near the Great Lakes. Once Indiana and Illinois were settled, American-born farmers poured into Michigan (1837), Iowa (1846), and Wisconsin (1848)—where they resided among tens of thousands of hardworking immigrants from Germany. To meet the demand for cheap farmsteads, Congress in 1820 reduced the price of federal land from $2.00 an acre to $1.25. For $100, a farmer could buy 80 acres, the minimum required under federal law. By the 1840s, this generous policy had enticed about 5 million people to states and territories west of the Appalachians (Map 8.2).

While state legislatures subsidized canals, the national government created a vast postal system, the first network for the exchange of information. Thanks to the Post Office Act of 1792, there were more than eight thousand post offices by 1830, and the postal service had more employees than all the rest of the government's civilian employees combined. They safely delivered thousands of letters and banknotes worth millions of dollars, along with newspapers that carried information from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi basin. The U.S. Supreme Court, headed by John Marshall, likewise encouraged interstate trade by firmly establishing federal authority over interstate commerce (Chapter 7). In *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824), the Court voided a New York law that created a monopoly on steamboat travel into New York City. That



MAP 8.2 Western Land Sales, 1830–1839 and 1850–1862
The federal government set up local offices to sell land in the national domain to settlers. During the 1830s, the offices sold huge amounts of land in the corn and wheat belt of the Midwest (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan) and the cotton belt to the south (especially Alabama and Mississippi). As settlers moved westward in the 1850s, most sales were in the upper Mississippi River Valley (particularly Iowa and Wisconsin). Each circle indicates the relative amount of land sold at a local office.

decision prevented local or state monopolies — or tariffs — from impeding the flow of goods, people, and news across the nation.

Shrinking Space: The Telegraph An efficient postal service was a great boon to merchants and manufacturers doing business across long distances. But for decades, inventors who were familiar with the properties of electricity dreamed of a much faster form of communication: electrical telegraphy. Across Europe, scientists experimented with various methods of using electrical impulses to send messages, but they struggled to devise a practical way to represent the alphabet. In 1837, a Massachusetts painter-turned-inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse, devised a telegraph capable of sending signals through miles of wire. Of equal importance, Morse and his collaborator, machinist and inventor Alfred Vail, invented a code for transmitting letters and numbers along a single wire by means of a contact key. A telegraph line was strung between Washington, D.C., and Baltimore in 1844; a year later, the Magnetic Telegraph Company was founded to create the first network of telegraph lines. By 1848, telegraph wires connected New York and Chicago. Western Union was formed in 1856 to consolidate the operations of smaller companies, and in 1861 it completed a transcontinental telegraph line connecting New York with San Francisco.

1845

All these innovations — roads and turnpikes, canals and steamboats, the postal service and the telegraph — helped to shrink the vast spaces of North America. They enabled farmers and merchants to sell goods in distant markets, helped entrepreneurs to coordinate business activity, aided immigrants as they relocated, and created a

AP® EXAM TIP
Recognizing the role of innovations on increased efficiency is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did advances in technology and engineering advance the Market Revolution?

network of information that shaped politics and culture on a national scale. Together, they constituted the foundation of a new social order.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What was the relationship between government support and private enterprise in economic development?

The Cotton Complex: Northern Industry and Southern Agriculture

AP EXAM TIP

Be able to explain the debate that developed over the benefits of the "American System" to the regions of the U.S.

In 1800, the economy of the United States remained overwhelmingly agricultural and manufacturing was still in its infancy. Nevertheless, in the first half of the nineteenth century the **Industrial Revolution** came to the United States. At its center was the **cotton complex**: the relationship between northern industry and southern agriculture that drove a major economic transformation. In the Northeast, merchants and manufacturers invested in new textile mills that relied on the labor of young women drawn from nearby farms. These northeastern mills, and many more like them in Great Britain, created vast demand for cotton, which transformed the southern economy as well. As northern merchants and manufacturers reorganized work routines and increased output, goods that were once luxury items became part of everyday life. Southern planters poured capital into land and slaves, revolutionizing agricultural production and sentencing additional generations of African American slaves to the miseries of plantation life.

The American Industrial Revolution

The Industrial Revolution had its roots in Great Britain, where textile manufacturing had undergone major changes in the last half of the eighteenth century. Clothmaking was an ancient enterprise common to Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas, but until this time it was driven by small-scale production. For millennia, spinning and weaving—whether wool, cotton, linen, or silk—were crafts that were plied in the home, using technology that had been very slow to change. Strands of fiber were spun into thread and yarn by hand or using foot-driven spinning wheels, while yarn was woven into cloth on foot-powered looms.

A series of technical innovations in Britain in the eighteenth century made cloth-making increasingly efficient. The flying shuttle, invented in 1733, made it possible to weave cloth much more rapidly than yarn could be spun. Then, beginning in the 1760s, a series of devices for spinning fibers into yarn were invented: first a spinning jenny, then a water frame, and then a mule. Because the water frame and the mule were machines that relied on water or steam power, spinning moved out of households and into factories built alongside rivers that could drive the apparatus. Water-powered spinning mills could now produce abundant yarn, and cloth production soared. In India, it took 50,000 hours of labor to spin 100 pounds of raw cotton. In Britain in 1790, workers using a spinning mule could do the same work in 1,000 hours; by 1825, it took only 135 hours. This was a revolution in productivity.

To protect its textile industry from American competition, Great Britain prohibited the export of textile machinery and the emigration of the skilled craftsmen who could replicate the mills. But the promise of higher wages brought thousands of these skilled **mechanics** to the United States illegally.

Samuel Slater, the most important émigré mechanic, came to America in 1789 after working for Richard Arkwright, who had invented the most advanced British machinery for spinning cotton. A year later, Slater reproduced Arkwright's innovations in merchant Moses Brown's cotton mill in Providence, Rhode Island—the first in North

America. The fast-flowing rivers that cascaded down from the Appalachian foothills to the coastal plain provided a cheap source of energy. From Massachusetts to Delaware, these waterways were soon lined with industrial villages and textile mills as large as 150 feet long, 40 feet wide, and four stories high (Map 8.3). The Industrial Revolution had arrived on American shores.

American and British Advantages British textile manufacturers nevertheless easily undersold their American competitors, for two reasons. First, they enjoyed the benefit of efficient shipping networks, which brought raw cotton to Britain at bargain prices, and low interest rates, which enabled mill owners to borrow money cheaply to support and expand their operations. Second, Britain had cheap labor: it had a larger population — about 12.6 million in 1810 compared to 7.3 million Americans — and thousands of landless laborers prepared to accept low-paying factory jobs, while in the United States labor was scarce and well paid.

To offset these advantages, American entrepreneurs relied on help from the federal government: in 1816, 1824, and 1828, Congress passed tariff bills that placed high taxes on imported cotton and woolen cloth. However, in the 1830s, Congress reduced tariffs because southern planters, western farmers, and urban consumers demanded inexpensive imports.

MAP 8.3 New England's Dominance in Cotton Spinning, 1840
Although the South grew the nation's cotton, it did not process it. Prior to the Civil War, entrepreneurs in Massachusetts and Rhode Island built most of the factories that spun and wove raw cotton into cloth. Their factories made use of the abundant water power available in New England and the region's surplus labor force. Initially, factory managers hired young farmwomen to work the machines; later, they relied on immigrants from Ireland and the French-speaking Canadian province of Quebec.

Better Machines, Cheaper Workers American producers used two other strategies to compete with their British rivals. First, they improved on British technology. In 1811, Francis Cabot Lowell, a wealthy Boston merchant, toured British textile mills, secretly making detailed drawings of their power machinery. Paul Moody, an experienced American mechanic, then copied the machines and improved their design. In 1814, Lowell joined with merchants Nathan Appleton and Patrick Tracy Jackson to form the Boston Manufacturing Company. Having raised the staggering sum of $400,000, they built a textile plant in Waltham, Massachusetts — the first American factory to perform all clothmaking operations under one roof. Thanks to Moody's improvements, Waltham's power looms operated at higher speeds than British looms and needed fewer workers.

The second strategy was to tap a cheaper source of labor. In the 1820s, the Boston Manufacturing Company recruited thousands of young women from farm families, providing them with rooms in boardinghouses and with evening lectures and other cultural activities. To reassure parents about their daughters' moral welfare, the mill owners enforced strict curfews, prohibited alcoholic beverages, and required regular church attendance. At Lowell (1822), Chicopee (1823), and other sites in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the company built new factories that used this labor system, known as the **Waltham-Lowell System**.

By the early 1830s, more than 40,000 New England women were working in textile mills. As an observer noted, the wages were "more than could be obtained by the hitherto ordinary occupation of housework," the living conditions were better than those in

AP® EXAM TIP
Explaining the impact of the Industrial Revolution on gender roles and family life is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

To see a longer excerpt of the Lucy Larcom document, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

What were the advantages and strategies of British and American textile manufacturers?

crowded farmhouses, and the women had greater independence. Lucy Larcom became a Lowell textile operative at age eleven to avoid being "a trouble or burden or expense" to her widowed mother. Other women operatives used wages to pay off their father's farm mortgages, send brothers to school, or accumulate a marriage dowry for themselves (AP® America in the World).

Some operatives just had a good time. Susan Brown, who worked as a Lowell weaver for eight months, spent half her earnings on food and lodging and the rest on plays, concerts, lectures, and a two-day excursion to Boston. Like most textile workers, Brown soon tired of the rigors of factory work and the never-ceasing clatter of the machinery, which ran twelve hours a day, six days a week. After she quit, she lived at home for a time and then moved to another mill. Whatever the hardships, waged work gave young women a sense of freedom. "Don't I feel independent!" a woman mill worker wrote to her sister. "The thought that I am living on no one is a happy one indeed to me." The owners of the Boston Manufacturing Company were even happier. By combining tariff protection with improved technology and cheap female labor, they could undersell their British rivals. Their textiles were also cheaper than those made in New York and Pennsylvania, where farmworkers were paid more than in New England and textile wages consequently were higher. Manufacturers in those states garnered profits by using advanced technology to produce higher-quality cloth. Even Thomas Jefferson, the great champion of yeoman farming, was impressed. "Our manufacturers are now very nearly on a footing with those of England," he boasted in 1825.

Origins of the Cotton South

As its industrial capacity grew in the eighteenth century, Great Britain began to import cotton in larger quantities. But the world supply was relatively small because cotton production was immensely labor-intensive. A revolution in cotton cloth production would require a revolution in cotton agriculture, based on new forms of cheap labor. The black belt of the American Southeast — an arc of fertile soil stretching from western South Carolina through central Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi — provided a landscape that was ideal for cotton cultivation, and the slave plantation complex offered a system of labor discipline that could bring cotton to world markets on an entirely new scale.

The Decline of Slavery, 1776–1800 The possibility that cotton production would lead to a boom in African slavery would have come as a surprise to the generation that lived through the American Revolution, because in that era slavery was in a steep decline. Whites and blacks alike perceived a contradiction between the colonies' pursuit of liberty and the institution of slavery. "I wish most sincerely there was not a Slave in the province," Abigail Adams confessed to her husband, John. "It always appeared a most iniquitous Scheme to me — to fight ourselves for what we are daily robbing and plundering from those who have as good a right to freedom as we do."

The North Ends Slavery — Slowly Beginning in the 1750s, Quaker evangelist John Woolman urged Friends to free their slaves, and many did so. In 1780, antislavery activists in Pennsylvania passed the first **gradual emancipation** law in the United States. Though it freed no one, the law set an important precedent. In subsequent years, legislators in Connecticut (1784), Rhode Island (1784), New York (1799), and New Jersey (1804) adopted gradual emancipation statutes as well (Map 8.4). These laws recognized white property rights by requiring slaves to buy their freedom by years — even decades — of additional labor. For example, the New York Emancipation Act of 1799 allowed slavery to continue until 1828 and freed slave children only at the age of twenty-five. Consequently, as late as 1810, almost 30,000 blacks in the northern states — nearly one-fourth of the African Americans living there — were still enslaved.

The Fate of the American and Indian Textile Industries

In 1776, the United States declared its independence from the British Empire. At about the same time, Britain began to create in India what historians call the Second British Empire. By 1860, Britain had become the world's leading industrial economy and dominated the princely states and peoples of the Indian subcontinent. The following tables trace the impact of political decisions on the American and Indian textile industries. As the legislature of an independent republic, the U.S. Congress could impose tariffs (taxes on imported goods) on British textiles; as colonies, Indian governments could not do so.

TABLE 8.1

Cotton Textile Production and Consumption in India

Year	Population (millions)	Imports from Britain (mill. yds.)	Production for Domestic Consumption (mill. yds.)	Exports to Britain (pieces, avg./year)
1751	190	0	1,598	632,000 (1750–1754)
1801	207	0	1,741	1,355,304 (1800–1804)
1821	205	20	1,704	542,117 (1820–1824)
1841	212	141	1,642	192,965 (1830–1834)
1861	242	514	1,538	Data not available

TABLE 8.2

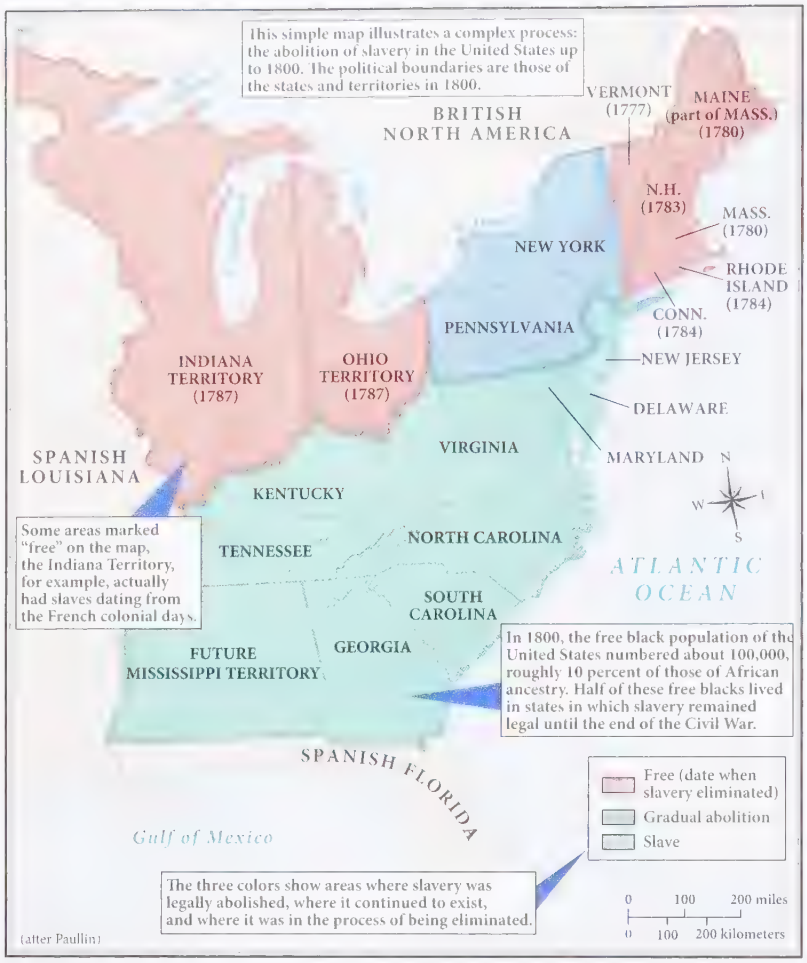
Textile Production in the United States

Year	Number of Cotton Mill Workers	Number of Spindles (avg./decade)[1]	Imports from Britain (mill. yds.)	Average U.S. Tariff (as % of item's value)
1810		215,000		
1815			70.81	25.0%
1820	12,000	936,000		
1827			52.86	53.8%
1830	55,000	1,038,000		
1835			74.96	40.4%
1840	72,000	1,243,000		
1850	92,000	1,709,000	104.23	27.1%
1859			225.15	19.6%
1860	122,000			

[1]Entries in Spindle column are the average per year across the decade; i.e., there were perhaps 100,000 spindles in 1810 and 350,000 in 1820, yielding an average of 215,000 between 1810 and 1819.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare changes in Indian production ("Production for Domestic Consumption" and "Exports to Britain") with changes in American production ("Number of Cotton Mill Workers" and "Number of Spindles") between 1800 and 1861. Which country is "industrializing," and which is "deindustrializing"?
2. How do American tariffs change over time? (Chapter 10 will explain the reasons for these changes.) What is the impact of American tariff rates on the import of British textiles?
3. What insights does this material provide into the political and economic aspects of American industrialization?


This simple map illustrates a complex process: the abolition of slavery in the United States up to 1800. The political boundaries are those of the states and territories in 1800.
BRITISH NORTH AMERICA
VERMONT (1777)
MAINE (part of MASS.) (1780)
N.H. (1783)
MASS. (1780)
NEW YORK
RHODE ISLAND (1784)
CONN. (1784)
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
VIRGINIA
INDIANA TERRITORY (1787)
OHIO TERRITORY (1787)
SPANISH LOUISIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FUTURE MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
SPANISH FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
N
W
E
S
Some areas marked "free" on the map, the Indiana Territory, for example, actually had slaves dating from the French colonial days.
In 1800, the free black population of the United States numbered about 100,000, roughly 10 percent of those of African ancestry. Half of these free blacks lived in states in which slavery remained legal until the end of the Civil War.
Free (date when slavery eliminated)
Gradual abolition
Slave
The three colors show areas where slavery was legally abolished, where it continued to exist, and where it was in the process of being eliminated.
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers
(after Paullin)

MAP 8.4 The Status of Slavery, 1800
In 1775, racial slavery was legal in all of the British colonies in North America. By the time the confederated states achieved their independence in 1783, the New England region was mostly free of slavery. By 1800, all of the states north of Maryland had provided for the gradual abolition of slavery except New Jersey, whose legislature finally acted in 1804, but the process of gradual emancipation dragged on until the 1830s. Some slave owners in the Chesapeake region manumitted a number of their slaves, leaving only the whites of the Lower South firmly committed to racial bondage.

Freed blacks faced severe prejudice from whites who feared job competition and racial melding. When Massachusetts judges abolished slavery through case law in 1784, the legislature reenacted an old statute that prohibited whites from marrying blacks, mulattos, or Indians. For African Americans in the North, freedom meant second-class citizenship; nevertheless, the institution of slavery was being ushered slowly out of existence.

Manumission in the Chesapeake The coming of war encouraged many southern slaves to expect that the Revolution would bring their freedom. A black preacher in Georgia told his fellow slaves that King George III "was about to alter the World, and set the Negroes free." Similar rumors, prompted in part by Royal Governor Lord Dunmore's proclamation of 1775 and the Philipsburg Proclamation of 1779 (see Chapters 5 and 6), led thousands of African Americans to flee behind British lines. Two neighbors of Virginia Patriot Richard Henry Lee lost "every slave they had in the world," as did many other planters. In 1781, when the British army evacuated Charleston, more than 6,000 former slaves went with them; another 4,000 left from Savannah. All told, about 30,000 blacks fled their owners.

Yet thousands of African Americans supported the Patriot cause as well. In Maryland, some slaves took up arms for the rebels in return for the promise of freedom. Enslaved Virginians struck informal bargains with their Patriot owners, trading loyalty in wartime for the hope of liberty. Following the Virginia legislature's passage of a **manumission** act in 1782, allowing owners to free their slaves, 10,000 slaves won their freedom.

The southern states faced the most glaring contradiction between liberty and property rights because enslaved blacks represented a huge financial investment. But in the Chesapeake, slavery was in decline for three reasons. First, the tobacco economy was chronically depressed, and many tobacco planters were shifting to wheat and livestock production, a less labor-intensive form of farming that gave them an oversupply of slaves. Second, many leading planters were committed to the principle of human liberty and saw, in the institution of slavery, the same contradiction that their northern counterparts did. Third, evangelical Christianity encouraged some planters to regard their slaves as spiritual equals. In 1784, a conference of Virginia Methodists declared that slavery was "contrary to the Golden Law of God on which hang all the Law and the Prophets." Under these influences, many Chesapeake slave owners manumitted their slaves or allowed them to buy their freedom by working as artisans or laborers. In 1785 a Powhatan planter named Joseph Mayo manumitted all of his slaves, 150 to 170 in number; in the 1790s, Robert "Councillor" Carter manumitted more than 500 slaves and provided them with land. John Randolph of Roanoke manumitted hundreds of slaves in his will, and also left money to buy them land. Widespread manumission gradually brought freedom to one-third of the African Americans in Maryland.

Slavery Resurgent But slavery still had powerful advocates. In Virginia, slave owners pushed back against the wave of manumissions. Fearing the possibility of total emancipation, hundreds of slave owners petitioned the Virginia legislature to repeal the manumission act and thereby protect "the most valuable and indispensible Article of our Property, our Slaves." In 1792, legislators forbade further manumissions. Following the lead of Thomas Jefferson, who owned more than a hundred slaves, political leaders now argued that slavery was a "necessary evil" required to maintain white supremacy and the luxurious planter lifestyle. In North Carolina, legislators condemned private Quaker manumissions as "highly criminal and reprehensible."

Farther south, in the rice-growing states of South Carolina and Georgia, slavery was even more deeply entrenched. Yet rice plantations were confined to the seaboard; at the time of the Revolution, there was no cash crop that could support plantation agriculture farther inland. Cotton was about to change that. In 1786, responding to rising prices resulting from Great Britain's mechanized processing, Georgia planters on the Sea Islands harvested their first crop of long-staple cotton. Its silky fibers produced a high grade of cotton, but — like rice and indigo — Sea Island cotton would not grow in the uplands. Hardier varieties of short-staple cotton could thrive in rich inland soils, but their bolls, with tightly packed fibers, required machine processing. American inventors immediately put their minds to the problem. In 1793, Massachusetts native Eli Whitney devised a machine, called a cotton engine (or cotton "gin" for short), that could quickly separate the seeds of a short-staple cotton boll from their delicate fibers, an innovation that increased the speed of cotton processing fiftyfold. The cotton rush was on.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why was slavery in retreat in the Revolutionary era, and what caused its resurgence?

AP® EXAM TIP

Trace the changes in laws and policies regarding African slaves in the North from the American Revolution (Ch. 5) to the invention of the cotton gin.

The Cotton Boom and Slavery

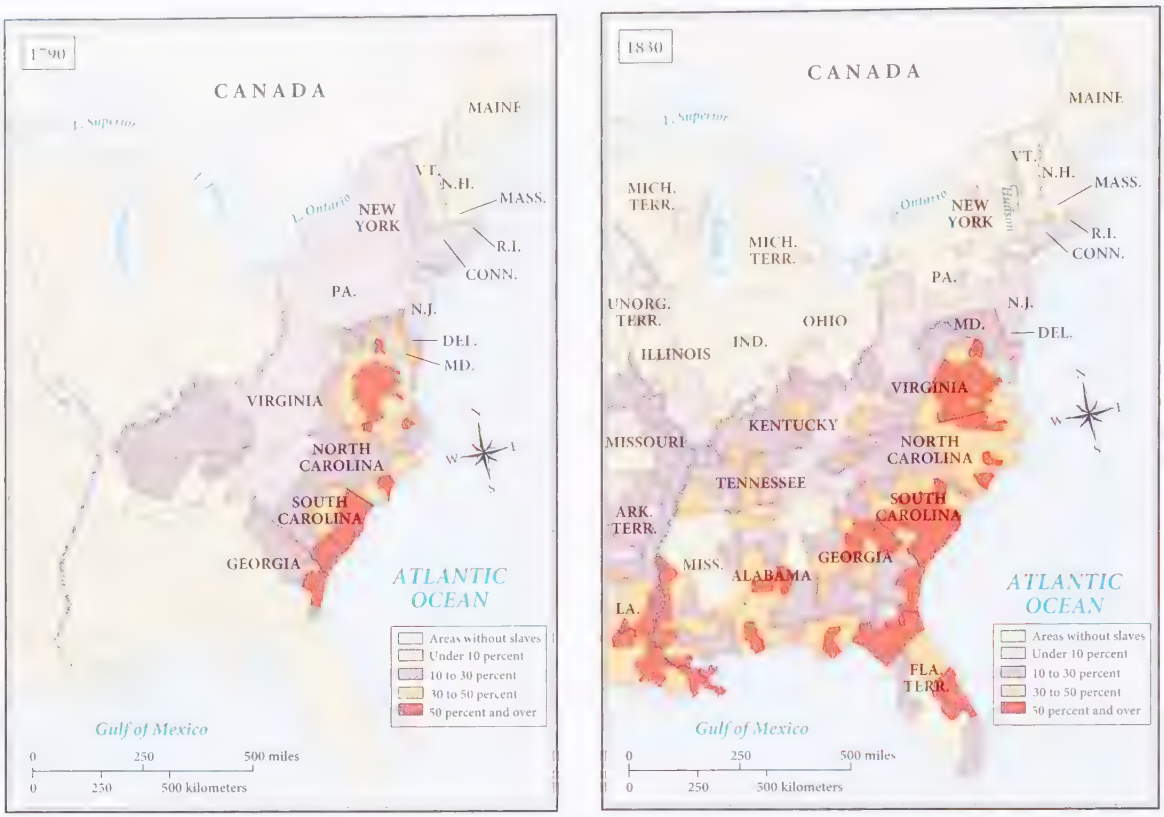
In the early nineteenth century, slave plantations pushed into the interior of North America in two directions at once: westward, from the coastal states of South Carolina and Georgia; and northward from New Orleans up the Mississippi (Map 8.5). In the lower Mississippi Valley, sugar was a viable crop; thus, a combination of sugar and cotton drove the development of formerly French Louisiana (admitted as a state in 1812) and Mississippi (admitted in 1817). After crossing the Appalachians, westward-moving cotton planters settled in southern Tennessee (admitted 1796) and Alabama (1819), then pushed into Missouri (1821), Arkansas (1836), and Texas (1845). These migratory streams converged in the rich alluvial soils of the black belt, which stretched from western South Carolina all the way to east Texas. Between 1800 and 1848, the new cotton-growing lands of the American Southeast became some of the most valuable real estate in the world.

The cotton boom immediately tripled the value of good southern farmland. As Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws ceded land, the federal government made it available to southern planters as quickly as possible. Capital investments from overseas helped to speed the process, as wealthy British investors like banker and cotton merchant Thomas Baring loaned money to bring the lands under cultivation. Cotton was wildly profitable; in 1807, a Mississippi cotton plantation returned 22.5 percent a year on its investment. As cotton cultivation expanded, it became the cornerstone of the nation's economy: between 1815 and 1860, it accounted for more than half of all U.S. exports. By 1840, the South produced and exported 1.5 million bales of raw cotton a year, over two-thirds of the world's supply. The cotton-producing capacity of the South dwarfed the industrial capacity of the Northeast. In the first half of the nineteenth century, more than 85 percent of the U.S. cotton crop was sold in Liverpool to be processed in Great Britain, while only a small fraction could be absorbed by American mills. "Cotton is King," boasted the *Southern Cultivator*.

To plant this vast new inland frontier, white planters first imported enslaved laborers from Africa. Between 1776 and 1808, when Congress outlawed the Atlantic slave trade, planters purchased about 115,000 Africans. "The Planter will . . . Sacrifice every

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the causes and effects of Southern dependency on cotton to the development of a regional Southern identity is a "must know" on the AP® exam.



MAP 8.5 Distribution of the Slave Population in 1790 and 1830
The cotton boom shifted the African American population to the South and West. In 1790, most slaves lived and worked on Chesapeake tobacco and Carolina rice and indigo plantations. By 1830, those areas were still heavily populated by black families, but hundreds of thousands of slaves also labored on the cotton and sugar lands of the lower Mississippi Valley and on cotton plantations in Georgia, northern Florida, and Alabama. In the decades to come, the cotton frontier would push across Mississippi and Louisiana and into Texas.

thing to attain Negroes," declared one slave trader. But demand far exceeded the supply. Planters also imported new African workers illegally, through the Spanish colony of Florida until 1819 and then through the Mexican province of Texas. Yet these Africans — about 50,000 between 1810 and 1865 — did not satisfy the demand either.

The Upper South Exports Slaves Planters seeking labor also looked to the Chesapeake region, where the African American population was growing by natural increase at an average of 27 percent a decade, creating a surplus of enslaved workers on many plantations. The result was a growing domestic trade in slaves. Between 1818 and 1829, planters in just one Maryland tobacco-growing county — Frederick — sold at least 952 slaves to traders or cotton planters. Plantation owners in Virginia sold 75,000 slaves during the 1810s and again during the 1820s. That number jumped to nearly 120,000 during the 1830s and then averaged 85,000 during the 1840s and 1850s. By 1860, the "mania for buying negroes" from the Upper South had resulted in a massive transplantation of more than 1 million slaves (Figure 8.1). A majority of African Americans now lived and worked in the Deep South, the lands that stretched from Georgia to Texas.

This African American migration took two forms: transfer and sale. Looking for new opportunities, thousands of Chesapeake and Carolina planters sold their existing plantations and moved their slaves to the Southwest. Many other planters gave slaves to sons and daughters who moved west. Such transfers accounted for about 40 percent of the African American migrants. The rest — about 60 percent of the 1 million migrants — were sold south through traders.

One set of trading routes ran to the Atlantic coast and sent thousands of slaves to rapidly developing sugar plantations in Louisiana. As sugar output soared, slave traders scoured the countryside near the port cities of Baltimore, Alexandria, Richmond, and Charleston — searching, as one of them put it, for "likely young men such as I think would suit the New Orleans market." Because this **coastal trade** in laborers was highly visible, it elicited widespread condemnation by northern abolitionists. Sugar was a "killer" crop, and Louisiana (like the eighteenth-century West Indies) soon had a well-deserved reputation among African Americans "as a place of slaughter." Maryland farmer John Anthony Munnikhuysen refused to allow his daughter Priscilla to marry a Louisiana sugar planter, declaring: "Mit has never been used to see negroes flayed alive and it would kill her."

The **inland system** that fed slaves to the Cotton South was less visible than the coastal trade but more extensive. Professional slave traders went from one rural village to another buying "young and likely Negroes." The traders marched their purchases in coffles — columns of slaves bound to one another — to Alabama, Mississippi, and Missouri in the 1830s and to Arkansas and Texas in the 1850s.

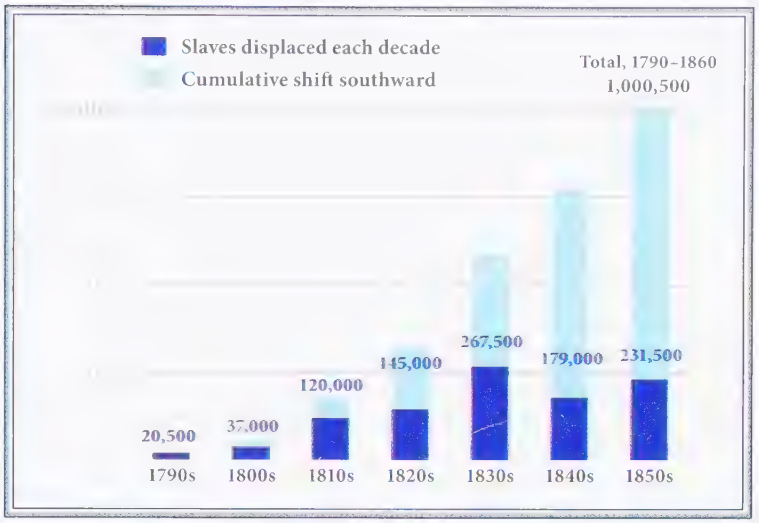
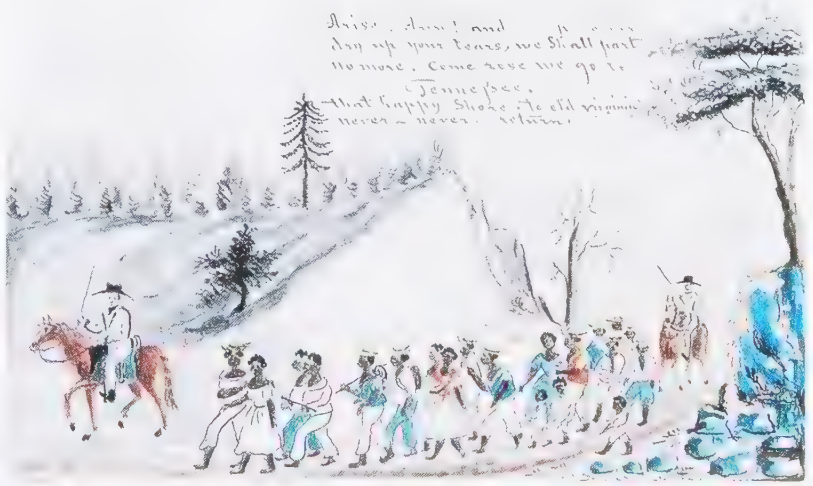


FIGURE 8.1 Forced Slave Migration to the Lower South, 1790–1860
The cotton boom set in motion a vast redistribution of the African American population. Between 1790 and 1860, white planters moved or sold more than a million enslaved people from the Upper to the Lower South, a process that broke up families and long-established black communities. Based on data in Robert William Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*, by Robert W. Fogel and Stanley L. Engerman. Copyright © 1974 Little Brown and Company. In *Speculators and Slaves: Masters, Traders, and Slaves in the Old South*, by Michael Tadman, University of Wisconsin Press, 1996.

Chesapeake and Carolina planters provided the human cargo. Some planters sold slaves when they ran into debt. "Trouble gathers thicker and thicker around me," Thomas B. Chaplin of South Carolina lamented in his diary. "I will be compelled to send about ten prime Negroes to Town on next Monday, to be sold." Many more planters doubled as slave traders, earning substantial profits by traveling south to sell some of their slaves and those of their neighbors. Colonel E. S. Irvine, a member of the South Carolina legislature and "a highly respected gentleman" in white circles, traveled frequently "to sell a drove of Negroes." Prices marched in step with those for cotton; during a boom year in the 1850s, a planter noted that a slave "will fetch $1000, cash, quick."

The domestic slave trade was crucial to the prosperity of the fast-developing Cotton South. Equally important, it sustained the wealth of slave owners in the East. By selling surplus black workers, planters in the Chesapeake and Carolinas added about 20 percent to their income. As a Maryland newspaper remarked in 1858, "[The trade serves as] an almost universal resource to raise money. A prime able-bodied slave is worth three times as much to the cotton or sugar planter as to the Maryland agriculturalist."



The Inland Slave Trade Mounted whites escort a convoy of slaves from Virginia to Tennessee in Lewis Miller's *Slave Trader, Sold to Tennessee* (1853). For white planters, the interstate trade in slaves was lucrative; it pumped money into the declining Chesapeake economy and provided young workers for the expanding plantations of the cotton belt. For blacks, it was a traumatic journey, a new Middle Passage that broke up their families and communities. "Arise! Arise! and weep no more, dry up your tears, we shall part no more," the slaves sing sorrowfully as they journey to new lives in Tennessee. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Gift of Dr. Richard M. Kain in memory of George Hay Kain.

The Impact on Blacks

For African American families, the domestic slave trade was a personal disaster that underlined their status — and

vulnerability — as chattel slaves. In law, they were the movable personal property of the whites who owned them. As Lewis Clark, a fugitive from slavery, noted: "Many a time i've had 'em say to me, 'You're my property.'" "The being of slavery, its soul and its body, lives and moves in the **chattel principle**, the property principle, the bill of sale principle," declared former slave James W. C. Pennington. As a South Carolina master put it, "[The slave's earnings] belong to me because I bought him."

Slave property underpinned the entire southern economic system. Whig politician Henry Clay noted that the "immense amount of capital which is invested in slave property . . . is owned by widows and orphans, by the aged and infirm, as well as the sound and vigorous. It is the subject of mortgages, deeds of trust, and family settlements."

AP® EXAM TIP

Define the changes that occurred in arguments justifying slavery as the South developed a regional identity based on cotton production.

As a slave owner, Clay also knew that property rights were key to slave discipline. "I govern them . . . without the whip," another master explained, "by stating . . . that I should sell them if they do not conduct themselves as I wish." The threat was effective. "The Negroes here dread nothing on earth so much as this," a Maryland observer noted. "They regard the south with perfect horror, and to be sent there is considered as the worst punishment." Thousands of slaves suffered that fate, which destroyed about one in every four slave marriages. "Why does the slave ever love?" asked black abolitionist Harriet Jacobs in her autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, when her partner "may at any moment be wrenched away by the hand of violence?" After being sold, one Georgia slave lamented, "My Dear wife for you and my Children my pen cannot Express the griffe I feel to be parted from you all."

The Inherent Brutality of Slavery Like all systems of forced labor, American racial slavery relied ultimately on physical coercion. Slave owners and overseers routinely whipped slaves who worked slowly or defied their orders. On occasion, they applied the whip with such ferocity that the slave was permanently injured or killed. This photograph of a Mississippi slave named Gordon, taken after he fled to the Union army in Louisiana in 1863 and published in *Harper's Weekly*, stands as graphic testimony to the inherent brutality of the system. Smith Collection/Gado/Getty Image

The interstate slave trade often focused on young adults. In northern Maryland, planters sold away boys and girls at an average age of seventeen years. "Dey sole my sister Kate," Anna Harris remembered decades later, "and I ain't seed or heard of her since." The trade also separated almost a third of all slave children under the age of fourteen from one or both of their parents. Sarah Grant remembered, "Mamma used to cry when she had to go back to work because she was always scared some of us kids would be sold while she was away."

Despite these sales, 75 percent of slave marriages remained unbroken, and the majority of children lived with one or both parents until puberty. Consequently, the sense of family among African Americans remained strong. Sold from Virginia to Texas in 1843, Hawkins Wilson carried with him a mental picture of his family. Twenty-five years later and now a freedman, Wilson set out to find his "dearest relatives" in Virginia. "My sister belonged to Peter Coleman in Caroline County and her name was Jane. . . . She had three children, Robert, Charles and Julia, when I left — Sister Martha belonged to Dr. Jefferson. . . . Sister Matilda belonged to Mrs. Botts."

During the decades between sale and freedom, Hawkins Wilson and thousands of other African Americans constructed new lives for themselves in the Mississippi Valley. Undoubtedly, many did so with a sense of foreboding, knowing from personal experience that their owners could disrupt their lives at any moment. Like Charles Ball, some "longed to die, and escape from the bonds of my tormentors." The darkness of slavery shadowed even moments of joy. Knowing that sales often ended slave marriages, a white minister blessed one couple "for so long as God keeps them together."

The Ideology and Reality of "Benevolence"

The planter aristocracy flourished around the **periphery** of the South's booming

Cotton Belt — in Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana — and took the lead in defending slavery. Within a generation after the Revolution, southern **apologists** rejected the view that slavery was, at best, a "necessary evil." In 1837, South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun argued that the institution was a **"positive good"** because it subsidized an elegant lifestyle for a white elite and provided tutelage for genetically inferior Africans. "As a race, the African is inferior to the white man," declared Alexander Stephens, the future vice president of the Confederacy. "Subordination to the white man is his normal condition." Apologists depicted planters and their wives as aristocratic models of "disinterested benevolence," who provided food and housing for their workers and cared for them in old age. One wealthy Georgian declared, "Plantation government should be eminently patriarchal. . . . The paterfamilias, or head of the family, should, in one sense, be the father of the whole concern, negroes and all."

Those planters who embraced Christian stewardship tried to shape the religious lives of their chattel. They built churches on their plantations, welcomed evangelical preachers, and required their slaves to attend services. A few encouraged African Americans with spiritual "gifts" to serve as exhorters and deacons. Most of these planters acted from sincere Christian belief, but they also hoped to counter abolitionist criticism and to use religious teachings to control their workers.

Indeed, slavery's defenders increasingly used religious justifications for human bondage. Protestant ministers in the South pointed out that the Hebrews, God's chosen people, had owned slaves and that Jesus Christ had never condemned slavery. As James Henry Hammond told a British abolitionist in 1845: "What God ordains and Christ sanctifies should surely command the respect and toleration of man." In making their case, slavery's advocates rarely acknowledged its day-to-day brutality and exploitation. "I was at the plantation last Saturday and the crop was in fine order," a son wrote to his absentee father, "but the negroes are most brutally scarred & several have run off."

Despite the violence inherent in the chattel principle, many white planters considered themselves benevolent masters, committed to the welfare of "my family, black and white." Historians have labeled this idea **paternalism**. Some masters gave substance to the paternalist ideal by treating kindly "loyal and worthy" slaves — black overseers, the mammy who raised their children, and trusted house servants. By preserving the families of these slaves, many planters could believe that they "sold south" only "coarse" troublemakers who had "little sense of family." Other owners were more honest about the human cost of their pursuit of wealth. "Tomorrow the negroes are to get off [to Kentucky]," a slave-owning woman in Virginia wrote to a friend, "and I expect there will be great crying and moaning, with children Leaving there mothers, mothers there children, and women there husbands."

Whether or not they acknowledged the slaves' pain, few southern whites questioned the morality of the slave trade. Responding to abolitionists' criticism, the city council of Charleston, South Carolina, declared that "the removal of slaves from place to place, and their transfer from master to master, by gift, purchase, or otherwise" was completely consistent "with moral principle and with the highest order of civilization" (AP® Analyzing Voices).

RAFFLE

Mr. Joseph Jennings respectfully informs his friends and the public that, at the request of many acquaintances, he has been induced to purchase from Mr. O-borne, of Missouri, the celebrated

DARK BAY HORSE, "STAR,"

Aged five years, square trotter and warranted sound; with a new light Trotting Buggy and Harness. Also, the dark, stout

MULATTO GIRL, "SARAH,"

Aged about twenty years, general house servant, valued at *nine hundred dollars*, and guaranteed, and

Will be Raffled for

At 4 o'clock P. M., February first, at the selection hotel of the subscribers. The above is as represented, and those persons who may wish to engage in the usual practice of raffling, will, I assure them, be perfectly satisfied with their destiny in this affair.

The whole is valued at its just worth, fifteen hundred dollars; fifteen hundred

CHANCES AT ONE DOLLAR EACH.

The Raffle will be conducted by gentlemen selected by the interested subscribers present. Five nights will be allowed to complete the Raffle. BOTH OF THE ABOVE DESCRIBED CAN BE SEEN AT MY STORE, No. 78 Common St., second door from Camp, at from 9 o'clock A. M. to 2 P. M.

Highest throw to take the first choice; the lowest throw the remaining prize, and the fortunate winners will pay twenty dollars each for the refreshments furnished on the occasion.

N. B. No chances recognized unless paid for previous to the commencement.

JOSEPH JENNINGS.

The Chattel Principle This public notice for a New Orleans raffle in which the prizes are a horse and buggy and a female slave named Sarah dramatically illustrates the "chattel principle" governing the institution of slavery, which made slaves the property of their owners. Joseph Jennings, the store owner conducting the raffle, has valued Sarah at nine hundred dollars. The Granger Collection, New York

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the internal slave trade affect planter-slave relations and black families?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How were industrial development in the North and the expansion of cotton agriculture in the South connected?

The Debate over Free and Slave Labor

As the abolitionist assault on slavery mounted, its rhetoric shaped the debate over the emergent system of wage labor in the northern states. By the 1850s, New York senator William Seward starkly contrasted the political systems of the South and the North in terms of their labor systems: "the one resting on the basis of servile or slave labor, the other on voluntary labor of freemen." Seward strongly favored the "free-labor system," crediting to it "the strength, wealth, greatness, intelligence, and freedom, which the whole American people now enjoy." As the following documents show, some Americans agreed with Seward, while others, such as *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley and South Carolina senator James Henry Hammond (who is quoted often in this chapter), contested his premises and conclusions.

SOUTH CAROLINA SENATOR JAMES HENRY HAMMOND

Speech to the Senate, March 4, 1858

In response to New York senator Seward, Senator Hammond urged admission of Kansas under the proslavery Lecompton Constitution and, by way of argument, celebrated the success of the South's cotton economy and its political and social institutions.

SOURCE: *The Congressional Globe* (Washington, DC, March 6, 1858), 962.

"In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. . . . Such a class you must have, or you would not have that other class which leads progress, civilization, and refinement. It constitutes the very mud-sill of society and of political government. . . . Fortunately for the South, she found a race adapted to that purpose to her hand. A race inferior to her own, but eminently qualified in temper, in vigor, in docility, in capacity to stand the climate, to answer all her purposes. We use them for our purpose, and call them slaves. . . .

The Senator from New York said yesterday that the whole world had abolished slavery. Aye, the name, but not the thing; . . . for the man who lives by daily labor, and scarcely lives at that, and who has to put out his labor in the market, and take the best he can get for it; in short, your whole hireling class of manual laborers and 'operatives,' as you call them, are essentially slaves. The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated; there is no starvation, no begging, no want of employment among our people, and not too much employment either. Yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated, which may be proved in the most painful manner, at any hour in any street in any of your large towns." "

NEW YORK PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH MISSION SOCIETY

Sixth Annual Report, 1837

This excerpt demonstrates the society's belief that a class-bound social order could be avoided by encouraging "a spirit of independence and self-estimation" among the poor.

SOURCE: New York Protestant Episcopal Church Mission Society, Sixth Annual Report (New York, 1837), 15–16.

"In the older countries of Europe, there is a CLASS OF POOR: families born to poverty, living in poverty, dying in poverty. With us there are none such. In our bounteous land individuals alone are poor; but they form no poor class, because with them poverty is but a transient evil . . . save [except] paupers and vagabonds . . . all else form one common class of citizens; some more, others less advanced in the career of honorable independence." "

HORACE GREELEY

Public Letter Declining an Invitation to Attend an Antislavery Convention in Cincinnati, Ohio, June 3, 1845

This letter from the editor of the *New York Tribune* explains his broad definition of slavery.

SOURCE: Horace Greeley, *Hints Toward Reform in Lectures, Addresses, and Other Writings* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1850), 352–355.

Technological Innovation and Labor

The technical advances that spurred the rise of cotton mills in the North were part of a larger pattern of economic innovation and change. Americans became inventive, seeking countless ways to improve and simplify production. Machines were at the center of many of these improvements, and American mechanics led the world in creating devices that worked faster and better than before. But workers did not always

"Dear Sir: — I received, weeks since, your letter inviting me to be present at a general convention of opponents of Human Slavery. . . . What is Slavery? You will probably answer; 'The legal subjection of one human being to the will and power of another.' But this definition appears to me inaccurate. . . .

I understand by Slavery, that condition in which one human being exists mainly as a convenience for other human beings. . . . In short, . . . where the relation [is one] of authority, social ascendency and power over subsistence on the one hand, and of necessity, servility, and degradation on the other — there, in my view, is Slavery. . . . If I am less troubled concerning the Slavery prevalent in Charleston or New-Orleans, it is because I see so much Slavery in New-York. . . .

Wherever Opportunity to Labor is obtained with difficulty, and is so deficient that the Employing class may virtually prescribe their own terms and pay the Laborer only such share as they choose of the produce, there is a strong tendency to Slavery."

EDITORIAL IN THE *STAUNTON SPECTATOR*, 1859

Entitled "Freedom and Slavery," this editorial argues that "the black man's lot as a slave, is vastly preferable to that of his free brethren at the North."

SOURCE: *Staunton Spectator*, December 6, 1859, p. 2, c. 1.

"The intelligent, christian slave-holder at the South is the best friend of the negro. He does not regard his bondsmen as mere chattel property, but as human beings to whom he owes duties. While the Northern Pharisee will not permit a negro to ride on the city railroads, Southern gentlemen and ladies are seen every day, side by side, in cars and coaches, with their faithful servants. Here the honest black man is not only protected by the laws and public sentiment, but he is respected by the community as truly as if his skin were white. Here there are ties of genuine friendship and affection between whites and blacks, leading to an interchange of all the comities of life. The slave nurses his master in sickness, and sheds tears of genuine sorrow at his grave."

JAMES HENRY HAMMOND

Private Letter to His Son Harry Hammond, 1856

This letter regards the future of Hammond's slave mistress, Sally Johnson, her son Henderson, and her daughter Louisa, who was the common mistress of father and son, and Louisa's children whom they sired.

SOURCE: James Hammond to Harry Hammond, February 19, 1856, in JHH Papers, SCL, quoted in Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 87.

"In the last will I made I left to you . . . Sally Johnson the mother of Louisa & all the children of both. Sally says Henderson is my child. It is possible, but I do not believe it Yet act on her's rather than my opinion. Louisa's first child may be mine. I think not. Her second I believe is mine. Take care of her & her children who are both of your blood if not of mine. . . . The services of the rest will compensate for indulgence to these. I cannot free these people & send them North. It would be cruelty to them. Nor would I like that any but my own blood should own as slaves my own blood or Louisa. I leave them to your charge, believing that you will best appreciate & most independently carry out my wishes in regard to them. Do not let Louisa or any of my children or possible children be the Slaves of Strangers. Slavery in the family will be their happiest earthly condition."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Which of these documents argue for slave owners as benevolent paternalists and the institution of slavery as a "positive good"? What other points of view are represented?
2. Given the discussion of "class" and "honorable independence" in the Mission Society statement, how would an Episcopalian reply to Hammond's critique of the northern labor system?
3. How can we understand Hammond's treatment of Sally Johnson and her daughter, as well as his refusal to free his and his son's children, in the context of his 1858 speech and the *Staunton Spectator*'s editorial?
4. Using the principles asserted in his letter, how would Horace Greeley analyze the southern labor system, as described by Hammond and the *Staunton Spectator*? Why does Greeley suggest that the northern system has only "a strong tendency to Slavery"?
5. Consider the sources above in the light of this Abraham Lincoln comment: "although volume upon volume is written to prove slavery a very good thing, we never hear of the man who wishes to take the good of it, by being a slave himself."

benefit. Skilled laborers formed unions to strengthen their bargaining position with employers. Lower-skilled workers in factory jobs, who often performed repetitive labor under close supervision, tried to organize as well, but they often faced legal obstacles. In the first half of the nineteenth century, many Americans struggled to understand their place in an increasingly complex social order. Urban growth was one sign of change, as wageworkers swelled the size of older cities and prompted the creation of many new ones.

The Spread of Innovation

By the 1820s, American-born artisans had replaced British immigrants at the cutting edge of technological innovation. In the Philadelphia region, the remarkable Sellars family produced the most important inventors. Samuel Sellars Jr. invented a machine for twisting worsted woolen yarn to give it an especially smooth surface. His son John improved the efficiency of the waterwheels powering the family's sawmills and built a machine to weave wire sieves. John's sons and grandsons ran machine shops that turned out riveted leather fire hoses, papermaking equipment, and eventually locomotives. In 1824, the Sellars and other mechanics founded the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. Named after Benjamin Franklin, whom the mechanics admired for his work ethic and scientific accomplishments, the institute published a journal; provided high-school-level instruction in chemistry, mathematics, and mechanical design; and organized exhibits of new products. Craftsmen in Ohio and other states established similar institutes to disseminate technical knowledge and encourage innovation. Between 1820 and 1860, the number of patents issued by the U.S. Patent Office rose from two hundred to four thousand a year.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the impact of individual entrepreneurs and the inventions they created is essential for success on the AP® exam.

American craftsmen pioneered the development of **machine tools** — machines that made parts for other machines. Eli Whitney was a key innovator. At the age of fourteen, Whitney began fashioning nails and knife blades; later, he made women's hatpins. Aspiring to wealth and status, Whitney won admission to Yale College and subsequently worked as a tutor on a Georgia cotton plantation. He capitalized on his expertise in making hatpins to design his cotton gin. Although Whitney patented the machine, other manufacturers improved on his design and captured the market.

Still seeking his fortune, Whitney decided in 1798 to manufacture military weapons. He eventually designed and built machine tools that could rapidly produce interchangeable musket parts, bringing him the wealth and fame he had long craved. After Whitney's death in 1825, his partner John H. Hall built an array of metalworking machine tools, such as turret lathes, milling machines, and precision grinders.

McCormick's Reaper The economic revolution was the result, in part, of increased output created by power-driven machinery used in factories. However, machines also dramatically increased farm productivity. The mechanical reaper invented by Cyrus McCormick, first patented in 1834, revolutionized the harvesting process. Using McCormick's reaper and a horse, a farmer and his son could cut as much grain in a day as seven men with scythes. They could now plant more acres and not worry about the wheat sprouting (and becoming worthless) before it could be harvested. Threshing machines similarly allowed farmers to use animal power to process the grain. Eventually, a single horse-drawn machine — the combine harvester, or combine — could execute both operations. Oxford Science

Technological innovation now swept through American manufacturing. Mechanics in the textile industry invented lathes, planers, and boring machines that turned out standardized parts for new spinning jennies and weaving looms. Despite being mass-produced, these jennies and looms were precisely made and operated at higher speeds than British equipment. Richard Garsed nearly doubled the speed of the power looms in his father's Delaware factory and patented a cam-and-harness device that allowed damask and other elaborately designed fabrics to be machine-woven. Meanwhile, the mechanics employed by Samuel W. Collins built a machine for pressing and hammering hot metal into dies (cutting forms). Using this machine, a worker could make three hundred ax heads a day — compared to twelve using traditional methods. In Richmond, Virginia, Welsh- and American-born mechanics at the Tredegar Iron Works produced low-cost parts for complicated manufacturing equipment. As a group of British observers noted admiringly, many American products were made "with machinery applied to almost every process . . . all reduced to an almost perfect system of manufacture."

As mass production spread, the American Industrial Revolution came of age. Reasonably priced products such as Remington rifles, Singer sewing machines, and Yale locks became household names in the United States and abroad. After winning praise at the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851—the first major international display of industrial goods—Remington, Singer, and other American firms became multinational businesses, building factories in Great Britain and selling goods throughout Europe. By 1877, the Singer Manufacturing Company controlled 75 percent of the world market for sewing machines.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

What new types of products came out of American factories by the 1840s and 1850s?

Wageworkers and the Labor Movement

As the Industrial Revolution gathered momentum, it changed the nature of workers' lives. Following the American Revolution, many craft workers espoused **artisan republicanism**, an ideology of production based on liberty and equality. They saw themselves as small-scale producers, equal to one another and free to work for themselves. The poet Walt Whitman summed up their outlook: "Men must be masters, under themselves."

Free Workers Form Unions However, as the outwork and factory systems spread, more and more workers became wage earners who labored under the control of an employer. Unlike young women, who embraced factory work because it freed them from parental control and domestic service, men bridled at their status as supervised wageworkers. To assert their independence, male wageworkers rejected the traditional terms of *master* and *servant* and used the Dutch word *boss* to refer to their employer. Likewise, lowly apprentices refused to allow masters to control their private (nonwork) lives and joined their mates in building a robust plebeian culture. Still, as hired hands, they received meager wages and had little job security. The artisan-republican ideal of "self-ownership" confronted the harsh reality of waged work in an industrializing capitalist society. Labor had become a commodity, to be bought and sold.

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to explain the changes in the identity of the "worker" that were the result of the Market Revolution in the early nineteenth century.

Some wage earners worked in carpentry, stonecutting, masonry, and cabinetmaking—traditional crafts that required specialized skills. Their strong sense of identity, or trade consciousness, enabled these workers to form **unions** and bargain with their master-artisan employers. They resented low wages and long hours, which restricted their family life and educational opportunities. In Boston, six hundred carpenters went on strike in 1825. That protest failed, but in 1840, craft workers in St. Louis secured a ten-hour day, and President Van Buren issued an executive order setting a similar workday for federal workers.

Artisans in other occupations were less successful in preserving their pay and working conditions. As aggressive entrepreneurs and machine technology took command, shoemakers, hatters, printers, furniture makers, and weavers faced low-paid factory work. In response, some artisans in these trades moved to small towns, while in New York City, 800 highly skilled cabinetmakers made fashionable furniture. In status and income, these cabinetmakers outranked a group of 3,200 semitrained, wage-earning workers who made cheaper tables and chairs in factories. Thus the new industrial system split the traditional artisan class into self-employed craftsmen and wage-earning workers.

When wage earners banded together to form unions, they faced a legal hurdle: English and American common law branded such groups as illegal "combinations." As a Philadelphia judge put it, unions interfered with a "master's" authority over his "servant." Other lawsuits accused unions of "conspiring" to raise wages and thereby injure employers. "It is important to the best interests of society that the price

Woodworker, c. 1850 Skilled makers took great pride in their furniture, which was often intricately designed and beautifully executed. To underline the dignity of his occupation, this woodworker poses in formal dress and proudly displays the tools of his craft. A belief in the value of their labor was an important ingredient of the artisan-republican ideology held by many workers. Library of Congress

of labor be left to regulate itself," the New York Supreme Court declared in 1835, while excluding employers from this rule. Clothing manufacturers in New York City collectively agreed to set wage rates and to dismiss members of the Society of Journeymen Tailors.

Labor Ideology Despite such obstacles, during the 1830s journeymen shoemakers founded mutual benefit societies in Lynn, Massachusetts, and other shoemaking centers. As the workers explained, "The capitalist has no other interest in us, than to get as much labor out of us as possible." To exert more pressure on their employers, in 1834 local unions from Boston to Philadelphia formed the National Trades Union, the first regional union of different trades.

Workers found considerable popular support for their cause. When a New York City court upheld a conspiracy verdict against their union, tailors warned that the "Freemen of the North are now on a level with the slaves of the South," and organized a mass meeting of 27,000 people to denounce the decision. In 1836, local juries hearing conspiracy cases acquitted shoemakers in Hudson, New York; carpet makers in Thompsonville, Connecticut; and plasterers in Philadelphia. Then, in *Commonwealth v. Hunt* (1842), Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court upheld the right of workers to form unions and call strikes to enforce closed-shop agreements that limited employment to union members. But many judges continued to resist unions by forbidding strikes.

Union leaders expanded artisan republicanism to include wageworkers. Arguing that wage earners were becoming "slaves to a monied aristocracy," they condemned the new factory system in which "capital and labor stand opposed." To create a just society in which workers could "live as comfortably as others," they advanced a **labor theory of value**. Under this theory, the price of goods should reflect the labor required to make them, and the income from their sale should go primarily to the producers, not to factory owners, middlemen, or storekeepers. "The poor who perform the work, ought to receive at least half of that sum which is charged" to the consumer, declared minister Ezra Stiles Ely. Union activists agreed, organizing nearly fifty strikes for higher wages in 1836. Appealing to the spirit of the American Revolution, which had destroyed the aristocracy of birth, they called for a new revolution to demolish the aristocracy of capital.

Women textile operatives were equally active. Competition in the woolen and cotton textile industries was fierce because mechanization caused output to grow faster than consumer demand. As textile prices fell, manufacturers' revenues declined. To maintain profits, employers reduced workers' wages and imposed tougher work rules. In 1828 and again in 1834, women mill workers in Dover, New Hampshire, went on strike and won some relief. In Lowell, two thousand women operatives backed a strike by withdrawing their savings from an employer-owned bank. "One of the leaders mounted a pump," the *Boston Transcript* reported, "and made a flaming . . . speech on the rights of women and the iniquities of the 'monied aristocracy.'" Increasingly, young New England women refused to enter the mills, and impoverished Irish (and later French Canadian) immigrants took their places (AP® Interpreting the Past).

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did the capitalist-run industrial economy conflict with artisan republicanism, and how did workers respond?

The Growth of Cities and Towns

The expansion of industry and trade dramatically increased America's urban population. In 1820, there were 58 towns with more than 2,500 inhabitants; by 1840, there were 126 such towns, located mostly in the Northeast and Midwest. During those two decades, the total number of city dwellers grew more than fourfold, from 443,000 to 1,844,000 (Map 8.6).

AP® EXAM TIP

Be able to summarize the causes and effects of the rapid growth of cities known as urbanization beginning in the early nineteenth century.

The fastest growth occurred in the new industrial towns that sprouted along the "fall line," where rivers descended rapidly from the Appalachian Mountains to the coastal plain. In 1822, the Boston Manufacturing Company built a complex of mills in

Did the Market Revolution Expand Opportunities for Women?

The Market Revolution of the early nineteenth century produced important changes in patterns of work. Two opportunities that the revolution opened for women are highlighted by Paul E. Johnson and Mary H. Blewett. Johnson describes the emergence of the factory system in Lowell, Massachusetts, pioneered by the Boston Manufacturing Company, which employed young, unmarried women in the production of textiles. Mostly from rural New England towns, the "Lowell girls" worked in the factories and lived together in the company's boardinghouses until they married and left the wage economy. The New England farmwomen whom Blewett describes also participated in the market economy but indirectly and from home. Often wives and mothers, these women squeezed piecework between their domestic chores to supplement the family income. In this case, they stitched the leather uppers of a shoe and then shipped them to a "shoe boss" whose shop finished the shoe's manufacture by stitching the upper to its leather sole.

PAUL E. JOHNSON

SOURCE: Paul E. Johnson, *The Early American Republic, 1789–1829* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 79.

The brick mills and prim boarding houses . . . occupied by sober, well-behaved farm girls . . . produced a self-respecting sisterhood of independent, wage-earning women. Twice in the 1830s the women of Lowell went out on strike, proclaiming that they were not wage slaves but "the daughters of freemen." . . . [M]any [former] Lowell women entered public life as reformers. Most of them married and became housewives but not on the same terms their mothers had known. . . . Thus the [male factory owners] kept their promise to produce cotton cloth profitably without creating a permanent working class. But they did not succeed in shuttling young women between rural and urban paternalism and back again. Wage labor, the ultimate degradation for agrarian-republican men, opened a road to independence for thousands of young women.

MARY H. BLEWETT

SOURCE: From Mary H. Blewett, "Work, Gender and the Artisan Tradition in New England Shoemaking, 1780–1860," *Journal of Social History* by George Mason University. Reproduced with permission of George Mason University in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Sharing the bonds of womanhood both in work and in their domestic sphere, shoebinders in 1834 tried to organize themselves in terms of a female community of workers. . . . [But] . . . the conditions under which many shoebinders labored — isolated from each other, employed by the shoe boss outside a group labor system and combining wage work with domestic responsibilities — discouraged collective activity. The tensions between their relationship to the artisan system and its equal rights ideology and their subordinate role as females in the family were exposed by their arguments for a just wage for women. Neither the social relations of the artisan family nor the realities of working as a woman for a shoe boss encouraged . . . [her] . . . to identify with her working sister in the Lowell mills or conceive of herself as a worker capable of supporting herself who could unite with her peers to protest mistreatment.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify two factors that explain the different conclusions drawn by Johnson and Blewett regarding women's opportunities in the market economy.
2. To what extent did the women these two historians describe see their work as a means to claim political, social, or economic rights?
3. Comparing these excerpts with Chapter 8's discussion of the development of the market economy, identify two ways women's work experiences differed from men's.

a sleepy Merrimack River village that quickly became the bustling textile factory town of Lowell, Massachusetts. The towns of Hartford, Connecticut; Trenton, New Jersey; and Wilmington, Delaware, also became urban centers as mill owners exploited the water power of their rivers and recruited workers from the countryside.

Western commercial cities such as Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and New Orleans grew almost as fast. They began as transit centers, where workers transferred goods from farmers' rafts and wagons to flatboats or steamboats. As the midwestern population grew during the 1830s and 1840s, St. Louis, Detroit, and especially Buffalo and Chicago

MAP 8.6 The Nation's Major Cities, 1840
By 1840, the United States boasted three major conglomerations of cities. The long-settled ports on the Atlantic — from Boston to Baltimore — served as centers for import merchants, banks, insurance companies, and manufacturers of ready-made clothing, and their financial reach extended far into the interior — nationwide in the case of New York City. A second group of cities stretched along the Great Lakes and included the commercial hubs of Buffalo, Detroit, and Chicago, as well as the manufacturing center of Cleveland. A third urban system extended along the Ohio River, comprising the industrial cities of Pittsburgh and Cincinnati and the wholesale centers of Louisville and St. Louis.

also emerged as dynamic centers of commerce. "There can be no two places in the world," journalist Margaret Fuller wrote from Chicago in 1843, "more completely thoroughfares than this place and Buffalo. . . . The life-blood [of commerce] rushes from east to west, and back again from west to east." Chicago's merchants and bankers developed the marketing, provisioning, and financial services essential to farmers and small-town shopkeepers in its vast hinterland. "There can be no better [market] any where in the Union," declared a farmer in Paw Paw, Illinois.

These midwestern hubs quickly became manufacturing centers. Capitalizing on the cities' links to rivers and canals, entrepreneurs built warehouses, flour mills, packing plants, and machine shops, creating work for hundreds of artisans and factory laborers. In 1846, Cyrus McCormick moved his reaper factory from western Virginia to Chicago to be closer to his midwestern customers.

The old Atlantic seaports — Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, and especially New York City — remained important for their foreign commerce and, increasingly, as centers of finance and small-scale manufacturing. New York City and nearby Brooklyn grew at a phenomenal rate: between 1820 and 1860, their combined populations increased nearly tenfold to 1 million people, thanks to the arrival of hundreds of thousands of German and Irish immigrants. Drawing on these workers, New York became a center of the ready-made clothing industry, which relied on thousands of low-paid seamstresses. "The wholesale clothing establishments are . . . absorbing the business of the country," a "Country Tailor" complained to the *New York Tribune*, "casting many an honest and hardworking man out of employment [and helping] . . . the large cities to swallow up the small towns."

New York City had the best harbor in the United States and, thanks to the Erie Canal, was the best gateway to the Midwest and the best outlet for western grain. Recognizing the city's advantages, in 1818 four English Quaker merchants founded the Black Ball Line to carry cargo, people, and mail between New York and London, Liverpool, and Le Havre, establishing the first regularly scheduled transatlantic shipping service. By 1840, its port handled almost two-thirds of foreign imports into the United States, almost half of all foreign trade, and much of the immigrant traffic. New York likewise monopolized trade with the newly independent South American nations of Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela, and its merchants took over the trade in cotton by offering finance, insurance, and shipping to southern planters and merchants.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS
COMPARE & CONTRAST
What different types of cities emerged between 1820 and 1848, and what caused their growth?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did technological innovation improve the lives of ordinary people, and what challenges did it present to them?

***View of Cincinnati*, by John Caspar Wild, c. 1835** Thanks to its location on the Ohio River (a tributary of the Mississippi), Cincinnati quickly became one of the major processing centers for grain and hogs in the trans-Appalachian west. By the 1820s, passenger steamboats and freight barges connected the city with Pittsburgh to the north and the ocean port of New Orleans far to the south. *View of Cincinnati*, about 1 [illegible] ohn Caspar Wild (American, active 1834–1846). Opaque watercolor (gouache) on paper. Karolik cat. no. 740 (no. 152). Sheet: 54.6 × 79.7 cm (21 1/2 × 31 3/8 in.). Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Watercolors and Drawings, 1800–1875. 57.298.4. Photograph © 2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All rights [illegible]

New Social Classes and Cultures

The economic changes of the early nineteenth century improved the lives of many Americans, who now lived in larger houses, cooked on iron stoves, and wore better-made clothes, but they also created a more stratified society. In 1800, white Americans thought of their society in terms of rank: "notable" families had higher status than those from the "lower orders." Yet in rural areas, people of different ranks often shared a common culture. Gentlemen farmers talked easily with yeomen about crop yields, while their wives conversed about the art of quilting. In the South, humble tenants and aristocratic slave owners enjoyed the same amusements: gambling, cockfighting, and horse racing. Rich and poor attended the same Quaker meetinghouse or Presbyterian church. "Almost everyone eats, drinks, and dresses in the same way," a European visitor to Hartford, Connecticut, reported in 1798, "and one can see the most obvious inequality only in the dwellings."

The rise of the cotton complex heightened economic inequality. In the South, the cotton boom sharpened distinctions between poorer and wealthier whites and concentrated slaves on larger plantations. In the booming cities, the new economic order spawned distinct social classes: a small but wealthy business elite, a substantial middle class, and a mass of propertyless wage earners. By creating a class-divided society, industrialization posed a momentous challenge to America's republican ideals.

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to recognize the impact of the Market Revolution on the distinctions between classes in American society.

A Slave Family Picking Cotton Picking cotton—thousands of small bolls attached to 3-foot-high woody and often prickly stalks—was a tedious and time-consuming task, taking up to four months on many plantations. However, workers of both sexes and all ages could pick cotton, and masters could measure output by weighing the baskets of each picker or family, chastising those who failed to meet their quotas. What does this early photograph of a family of pickers, taken on a plantation near Savannah, Georgia, suggest about women's and children's lives, family relations, and living conditions? © Collection of the New-York Historical Society, USA/Bridgeman Images

Planters, Yeomen, and Slaves

By the time of the American Revolution, tobacco and rice planting in the South had already created a three-tiered slave society. Large planters who owned dozens, or even hundreds, of slaves dominated the life of the Chesapeake and the Carolina lowcountry, while poorer whites with less land and fewer slaves deferred to their wealthy neighbors' leadership. African American slaves possessed little or nothing of their own and lived at the mercy of their owners. After 1800, South Carolina rice planters remained at the apex of the seaboard plantation aristocracy. In 1860, the fifteen proprietors of the vast plantations in All Saints Parish in South Carolina owned 4,383 slaves—nearly 300 apiece—who annually grew and processed 14 million pounds of rice. As inexpensive Asian rice entered the world market in the 1820s, the Carolina rice planters sold some slaves and worked the others harder to maintain their lifestyle.

In tobacco-growing regions, the planter aristocracy followed a different path. Slave ownership had always been more widely **diffused**: in the 1770s, about 60 percent of white families in the Chesapeake owned at least one slave. As wealthy tobacco planters moved their estates and slaves to the Cotton South, middling whites (who owned between five and twenty slaves) came to dominate the Chesapeake economy. The descendants of the old tobacco aristocracy remained influential, but increasingly as slave-owning grain farmers, lawyers, merchants, industrialists, and politicians. They hired out surplus slaves, sold them south, or allowed them to purchase their freedom.

In the Cotton South, ambitious planters worked their slaves ferociously as they sought to establish themselves. A Mississippi planter put it plainly: "Everything has to give way to large crops of cotton." It was a demanding crop. Frederick Law Olmsted, the future architect of New York's Central Park, noted during his travels that slaves in the Cotton South worked "much harder and more unremittingly" than those in the tobacco regions. To increase output, profit-seeking cotton planters began during the 1820s to use a rigorous **gang-labor system**. Previously, many planters had supervised workers only sporadically, or had assigned them tasks to complete at their own pace. Now masters with twenty or more slaves organized disciplined teams, or "gangs," supervised by black drivers and white overseers. They worked the gangs at a steady pace, clearing and plowing land or hoeing and picking cotton.

The gang-labor system enhanced profits by increasing productivity. Because slaves in gangs finished tasks in thirty-five minutes that took a white yeoman planter an hour to complete, gang labor became ever more prevalent. As the price of raw cotton surged after 1846, the wealth of the planter class skyrocketed. And no wonder: nearly 2 million enslaved African Americans now labored on the plantations of the Cotton South and annually produced 4 million bales of the valuable fiber.

On the eve of the Civil War, southern slave owners accounted for nearly two-thirds of all American men with wealth of $100,000 or more. Other white southerners—backcountry yeoman farmers and cotton-planting tenants in particular—occupied some of the lowest rungs of the nation's social order. The expansion of southern slavery, like the flowering of northern capitalism, increased inequalities of wealth and status.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the rise of cotton agriculture affect the social structure of the South?

The Northern Business Elite

In the North, the Industrial Revolution altered the older **agrarian** social order. The urban economy made a few city residents – the merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and landlords who made up the business elite — very rich. In 1800, the richest 10 percent of the nation's families owned about 40 percent of the wealth; by 1860, they held nearly 70 percent. In New York, Chicago, Baltimore, and New Orleans, the superrich — the top 1 percent — owned more than 40 percent of the land, buildings, and other tangible property and an even higher share of intangible property, such as stocks and bonds.

Government tax policies facilitated the accumulation of wealth. There were no federal taxes on individual and corporate income. Rather, the U.S. Treasury raised most of its revenue from tariffs: regressive taxes on textiles and other imported goods purchased mostly by ordinary citizens. State and local governments also favored the wealthy. They taxed real estate (farms, city lots, and buildings) and tangible personal property (furniture, tools, and machinery), but almost never taxed stocks and bonds or the inheritances the rich passed on to their children.

Hartford Family Completely at home in their elegant drawing room, this elite family in Hartford, Connecticut, enjoys the fruits of the father's business success. As the father lounges in his silk robe, his eldest son (and presumptive heir) adopts an air of studied nonchalance, and his daughter fingers a piano, signaling her musical accomplishments and the family's gentility. A diminutive African American servant (her size suggesting her status) serves fruit to the lavishly attired woman of the house. The sumptuously appointed drawing room reflects the owners' prosperity and their aesthetic and cultural interests. White House Collection/White House Historical Association

As cities expanded in size and wealth, affluent families set themselves apart. They dressed in well-tailored clothes, rode in fancy carriages, and bought expensively furnished houses tended by butlers, cooks, and other servants. The women no longer socialized with those of lesser wealth, and the men no longer labored side by side with their employees. Instead, they became managers and directors and relied on trusted subordinates to supervise their employees. Merchants, manufacturers, and bankers placed a premium on privacy and lived in separate neighborhoods, often in exclusive central areas or at the city's edge. The geographic isolation of privileged families and the massive flow of immigrants into separate districts divided cities spatially along lines of class, race, and ethnicity.

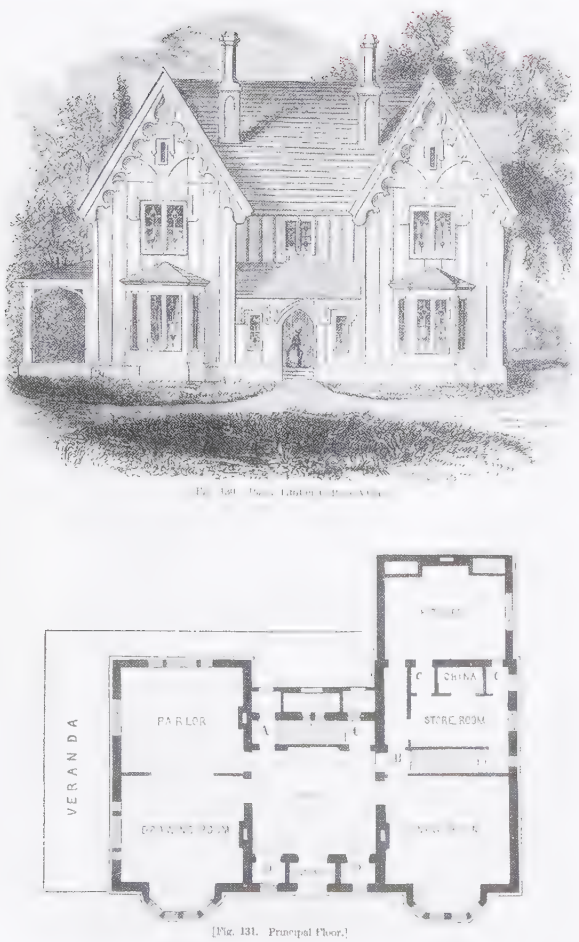
AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How and why did elite families change between 1800 and 1848?

The Middle Class

Standing between wealthy owners and propertyless wage earners was a growing **middle class**—the social product of increased commerce. The "middling class," a Boston printer explained, was made up of "the farmers, the mechanics, the manufacturers, the traders, who carry on professionally the ordinary operations of buying, selling, and exchanging merchandize." Professionals with other skills—building contractors, lawyers, surveyors, and so on—were suddenly in great demand and well compensated, as were middling business owners and white-collar clerks. In the Northeast, men with these qualifications numbered about 30 percent of the population in the 1840s. But they also could be found in small towns of the agrarian Midwest and South. In 1854, the cotton boomtown of Oglethorpe, Georgia (population 2,500), boasted eighty "business houses" and eight hotels.



[Fig. 131. Principal Floor.]

Architecture for the Emergent Middle Class This dwelling was well suited for a "farmer of wealth" or a middle-class suburbanite, according to Andrew Downing, author of *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850). The exterior of the house exhibited "a considerable degree of elegance," while the interior boasted a substantial drawing room and dining room, for the entertainment of guests, and a parlor for more intimate conversations among family and friends. Downing's books helped to define the culture of the growing middle class and diffuse it across the nation. Andrew [illegible], *The Architecture of [illegible]*

The emergence of the middle class reflected a dramatic rise in prosperity. Between 1830 and 1857, the per capita income of Americans increased by about 2.5 percent a year, a remarkable rate that has never since been matched. This surge in income, along with an abundance of inexpensive mass-produced goods, fostered a distinct middle-class urban culture. Middle-class husbands earned enough to save about 15 percent of their income, which they used to buy well-built houses in a "respectable part of town." Middle-class wives became purveyors of genteel culture, buying books, pianos, lithographs, and comfortable furniture for their front parlors. Upper-middle-class families hired Irish or African American domestic servants, while less prosperous folk enjoyed the comforts provided by new industrial goods. For their homes they acquired furnaces (to warm the entire house and heat water for bathing), cooking stoves with ovens, and Singer's treadle-operated sewing machines. Some urban families now kept their perishable food in iceboxes, which ice-company wagons periodically refilled.

If material comfort was one distinguishing mark of the middle class, moral and mental discipline was another. Middle-class writers denounced raucous carnivals and festivals as a "chaos of sin and folly, of misery and fun" and, by the 1830s, had largely suppressed them. Ambitious parents were equally concerned with their children's moral and intellectual development, providing a high school education (in an era when most white children received only five years of schooling) and stressing the importance of discipline and hard work. American Protestants had long believed that diligent work in an earthly "calling" was a

duty owed to God. Now the business elite and the middle class gave this idea a secular twist by celebrating work as the key to individual social mobility and national prosperity.

Young, middle-class men saved their money, adopted temperate habits, and aimed to rise in the world. There was an "almost universal ambition to get forward," observed Hezekiah Niles, editor of *Niles' Weekly Register*. Warner Myers, a Philadelphia housepainter, rose from poverty by saving his wages, borrowing from his family and friends, and becoming a builder, eventually constructing and selling sixty houses. Countless children's books, magazine stories, self-help manuals, and novels recounted the tales of similar individuals. The **self-made man** became a central theme of American popular culture. Just as the yeoman ethic had served as a unifying ideal in pre-1800 agrarian America, so the gospel of personal achievement linked the middle and business classes of the new industrializing society.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What were the moral values and material culture of the urban middle class?

Urban Workers and the Poor

As thoughtful business leaders surveyed their society, they concluded that the yeoman farmer and artisan-republican ideal—a social order of independent producers—was no longer possible. "Entire independence ought not to be wished for," Ithamar A. Beard, the paymaster of the Hamilton Manufacturing Company (in Lowell, Massachusetts), told a mechanics' association in 1827. "In large manufacturing towns, many more must fill subordinate stations and must be under the immediate direction and control of a master or superintendent, than in the farming towns."

AP® EXAM TIP

A helpful exercise in prepping for the AP® exam is to compare the impact of economic change on women in the middle class and the urban poor class.

Beard had a point. In 1840, all of the nation's slaves, some 2.5 million people, and about half of its adult white workers, another 3 million (of a total population of 17 million), were laboring for others. The bottom 10 percent of white wage earners consisted of casual workers hired on a short-term basis for arduous jobs. Poor women washed clothes; their husbands and sons carried lumber and bricks for construction projects, loaded ships, and dug out dirt and stones to build canals. Even when they could find jobs, they could never save enough "to pay rent, buy fire wood and eatables" when the job market or the harbor froze up. During business depressions, casual laborers suffered and died; in good times, their jobs were temporary and dangerous.

Other laborers had greater security of employment, but few were prospering. In Massachusetts in 1825, an unskilled worker earned about two-thirds as much as a mechanic did; two decades later, it was less than half as much. A journeyman carpenter in Philadelphia reported that he was about "even with the World" after several years of work but that many of his coworkers were in debt. Only the most fortunate working-class families could afford to educate their children, buy apprenticeships for their sons, or accumulate small dowries for their daughters. Most families sent ten-year-old children out to work, and the death of a parent often threw the survivors into dire poverty. As a charity worker noted, "What can a bereaved widow do, with 5 or 6 little children, destitute of every means of support but what her own hands can furnish (which in a general way does not amount to more than 25 cents a day)?"

Impoverished workers congregated in dilapidated housing in bad neighborhoods. Single men and women lived in crowded boardinghouses, while families jammed themselves into tiny apartments in the basements and attics of small houses. As immigrants poured in after 1840, urban populations soared, and developers squeezed more and more dwellings and foul-smelling outhouses onto a single lot. By 1848, America's largest cities were deeply divided between the genteel dwellings of the middle and upper classes and the impoverished neighborhoods of the working poor.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did the increasingly urban, capitalist economy of the northeastern states affect the lives of poor workers?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How was the structure of American society different in 1848 than it had been in 1800?

SUMMARY

This chapter examined the causes of the economic transformation of the first half of the nineteenth century. The Market Revolution enabled long-distance travel, trade, and communication, while a revolution in productivity — the Industrial Revolution in the North and the expansion of cotton production in the South — dramatically increased economic output. Water, steam, and minerals such as coal and iron were essential to this transformation; so, too, were technological innovation and labor discipline. Together they helped the United States to master and exploit its vast new territory.

We also explored the consequences of that transformation. In the South, the institution of slavery expanded its geographical reach, with millions of new laborers exploited more intensively than ever before. In the North, where new urban centers developed and older cities grew, workers struggled to control the terms of their employment. The Northeast and the Midwest shared important cultural affinities, while the resurgence of slavery in the South set it apart, but in every region the social order was growing more divided by race and class. As the next chapter suggests, Americans looked to their political system, which was becoming increasingly democratic, to address these social divisions. In fact, the tensions among economic inequality, cultural diversity, and political democracy became a troubling — and enduring — part of American life.

CHAPTER 8 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What was the relationship between government support and private enterprise in economic development?
2. How were industrial development in the North and the expansion of cotton agriculture in the South connected?
3. How did technological innovation improve the lives of ordinary people, and what challenges did it present to them?
4. How was the structure of American society different in 1848 than it had been in 1800?
5. Review the events listed under "Work, Exchange, and Technology" on the thematic timeline on page 236. What were the most important changes in the economy between 1800 and 1848, and how did they affect people's lives?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

neomercantilism (p. 240)
Panic of 1819 (p. 241)
Commonwealth System (p. 243)
Erie Canal (p. 244)
Market Revolution (p. 246)
Industrial Revolution (p. 248)
cotton complex (p. 248)
mechanics (p. 248)
Waltham-Lowell System (p. 249)
gradual emancipation (p. 250)
manumission (p. 252)
coastal trade (p. 255)
inland system (p. 255)
chattel principle (p. 256)
"positive good" (p. 257)
paternalism (p. 257)
machine tools (p. 260)
artisan republicanism (p. 261)
unions (p. 261)
labor theory of value (p. 262)
gang-labor system (p. 266)
middle class (p. 268)
self-made man (p. 269)

Key People

John Jacob Astor (p. 240)
Samuel F. B. Morse (p. 247)
Samuel Slater (p. 248)
Francis Cabot Lowell (p. 249)
Sellars Family (p. 260)
Eli Whitney (p. 260)
Cyrus McCormick (p. 260)

Key Academic Terms

temperance (p. 235)
contiguous (p. 244)
denude (p. 245)
periphery (p. 256)
apologist (p. 257)
diffusion (p. 266)
agrarian (p. 267)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. How did the economic revolution described in this chapter affect the lives of women in various social groups, and how did it make their experiences different from those of their mothers, whose political and social lives were explored in Chapter 6 on the American Revolution, and their grandmothers, whose work lives and cultural experiences were considered in Chapter 4?
2. Look again at three images, the slave family picking cotton (p. 266), the woodworker (p. 261), and the Hartford family (p. 267). Taken together, what insights do they provide into the different aspects and social consequences of the economic changes discussed in this chapter?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 240 for help in answering the question below.

Many of the early chronology entries concern economic matters, while later entries refer to other subjects. Based on your reading of the chapter, when and why does this change in emphasis occur?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

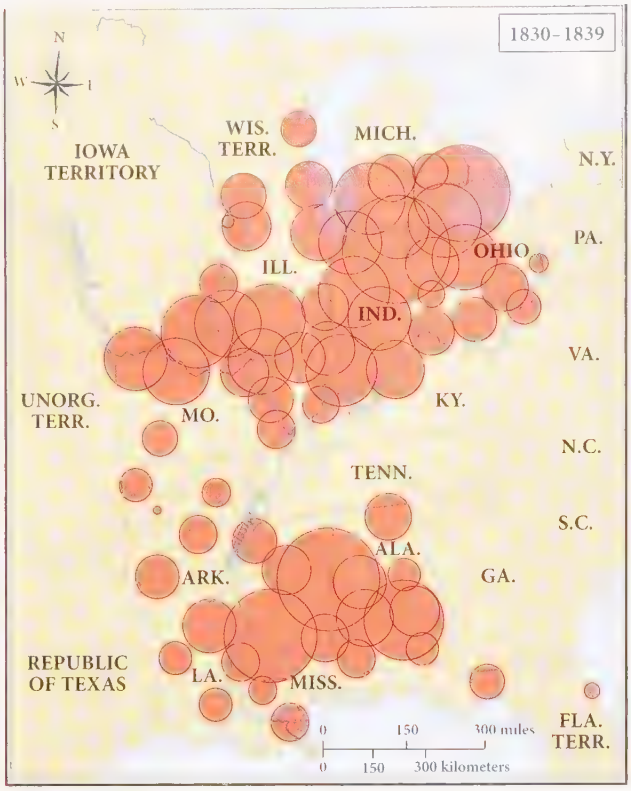
Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Use of terms like white slavery and slavery of wages in the 1830s and 1840s presents an intriguing variation on the theme of American exceptionalism. . . . [O]ne might regard the antebellum US labor movement as exceptional in being the world leader in militant criticisms of wage work as slavery.
>
> Of course, concern over 'slavery' was very much in the air in Jacksonian America. . . [N]onetheless, the use of the white slave metaphor for wage workers ought not be dismissed as merely another example of the 'paranoid' style of antebellum politics. It might instead be profitable to view the paranoid style itself as a republican tradition much enlivened by the horrific example of chattel slavery and fears engendered by the growing failure of the American republic to produce a society of independent farmers and mechanics among whites."
>
> David Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, 2007

1. Which of the following historical developments of the antebellum period had the LEAST to do with the social fears of the antebellum working class?
   a. Debates in the 1800s over the powers of the federal government
   b. Mechanical innovations in production and agriculture
   c. The increasing numbers of Americans that no longer relied upon semisubsistence agriculture
   d. The large numbers of immigrants moving to northern cities
2. Which of the following late nineteenth century developments resulted most directly from the antebellum ideas described in the excerpt?
   a. The organization of workers into local and national unions
   b. The articulation of the belief that the wealthy had a moral obligation to help the less fortunate and improve society
   c. The use of Social Darwinism to justify the success of those at the top of the American social order
   d. The development of political machines in urban areas
3. The changes in production methods and techniques of the Market Revolution first impacted which of the following industries in the United States?
   a. Textiles
   b. Steel
   c. Farm machinery
   d. Meatpacking

Questions 4–5 refer to the map below.



Western Land Sales, 1830–1839

4. Which of the following factors most directly contributed to the activity shown on the map?
   a. Overcultivation of land in the Southeast
   b. American Indian resistance to expansion efforts
   c. The increasing antislavery efforts in the North
   d. Congressional attempts at political compromise, such as the Missouri Compromise

5. The map most strongly supports which of the following arguments about the first half of the nineteenth century?
   a. Property qualifications for voting were a major incentive to land settlement north of the Ohio River.
   b. Federal efforts to control and relocate American Indian populations were largely successful.
   c. Plans such as the "American System" were of limited value in developing the nation's economy.
   d. The market revolution meant that slavery had a limited future west of the Mississippi River.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

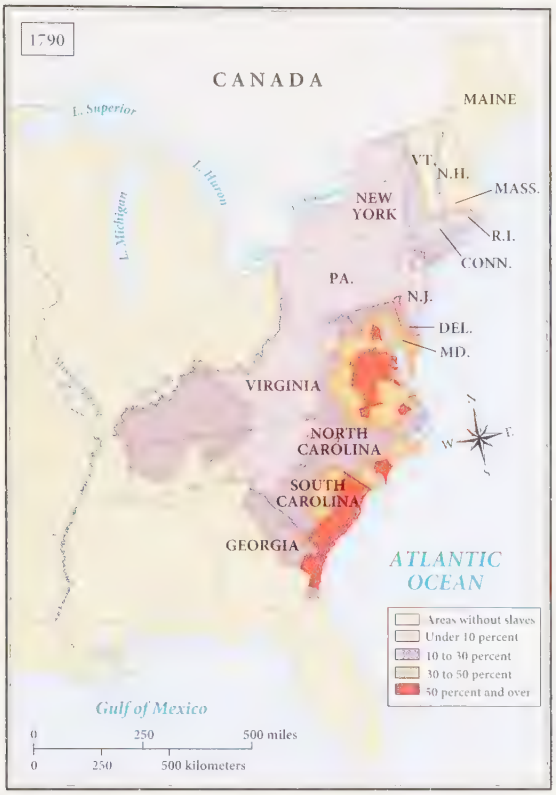
"Sharing the bonds of womanhood both at work and in their domestic sphere, shoebinders in 1834 tried to organize themselves in terms of a female community of workers. . . . [But] . . . the conditions under which many shoebinders labored — isolated from each other, employed by the shoe boss outside a group labor system and combining wage work with domestic responsibilities — discouraged collective activity. The tensions between their relationship to the artisan system and its equal rights ideology and their subordinate roles as females in the family were exposed by their arguments for a just wage for women. Neither the social relations of the artisan family nor the realities of working as a woman for the shoe boss encouraged . . . [her] . . . to identify with her working sister in the Lowell mills or conceive of herself as a worker capable of supporting herself who could unite with her peers to protest mistreatment."

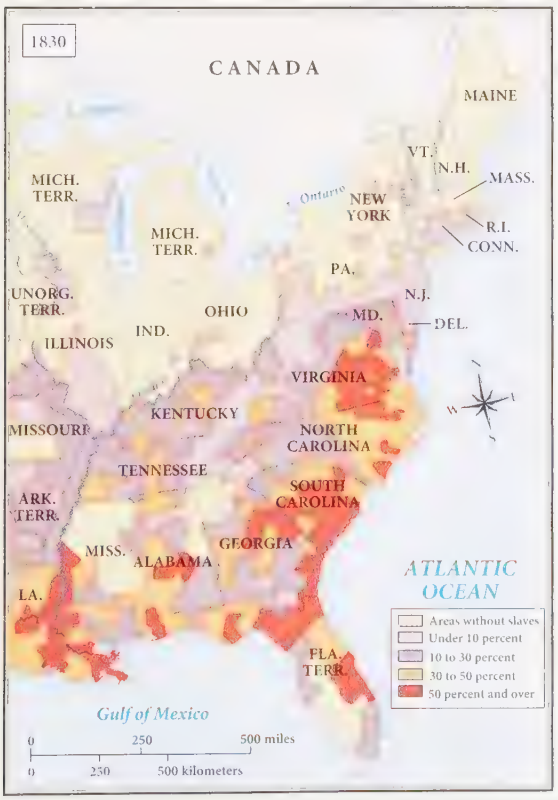
Mary Hewitt, "Wage, Gender and the Artisan Tradition in Shoemaking 1780–1860," 1983

"The brick mills and prim boarding houses . . . occupied by sober, well-behaved farm girls . . . produced a self-respecting sisterhood of independent, wage-earning women. Twice in the 1830s the women of Lowell went out on strike, proclaiming that they were not wage slaves but 'the daughters of freemen.' . . . [M]any [former] Lowell women entered public life as reformers. Most of them married and became housewives but not on the same terms their mothers had known. . . . Thus the [male factory owners] kept their promise to produce cotton cloth profitably without creating a permanent working class. But they did not succeed in shuttling young women between rural and urban paternalism and back again. Wage labor, the ultimate degradation for agrarian-republican men, opened a road to independence for thousands of young women."

Paul Johnson, *The Early American Republic, 1789–1829*, 2007

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Johnson's and Hewitt's historical interpretations of how work affected women in the first half of the nineteenth century.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development between 1800 and 1850 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Johnson's argument.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development between 1800 and 1850 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Hewitt's argument.





Distribution of the Slave Population in 1790 and 1830

2. Using the two maps at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that accounts for the changes depicted on the map between 1790 and 1830.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development resulting from the changes depicted on the map between 1790 and 1830.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ANOTHER specific historical event or development resulting from the changes depicted on the map between 1790 and 1830.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain why ONE of the following developments exerted the greatest influence in promoting the economic development of the United States in the period from 1800 to 1850.
     - Tariff policy
     - The employment of women in manufacturing
     - Infrastructure development
   - **b.** Provide ONE specific historical event or development to support your explanation in (a).
   - **c.** Briefly explain why ONE of the other developments exerted less influence in promoting the economic development of the United States than your choice in (a).

CHAPTER 9

A Democratic Revolution

1800–1848

The Rise of Popular Politics

The Decline of the Notables and the Rise of Parties

Racial Exclusion and Republican Motherhood

The Missouri Crisis, 1819–1821

The Election of 1824

The Last Notable President: John Quincy Adams

"The Democracy" and the Election of 1828

Jackson in Power, 1829–1837

Jackson's Agenda: Rotation and Decentralization

The Tariff and Nullification

The Bank War

Indian Removal

Jackson's Impact

Class, Culture, and the Second Party System

The Whig Worldview

Labor Politics and the Depression of 1837–1843

"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too!"

AP LEARNING FOCUS

What were the main features of the Democratic Revolution, and what role did Andrew Jackson play in its outcome?

Europeans who visited the United States in the 1830s mostly praised its republican society but not its political parties and politicians. "The gentlemen spit, talk of elections and the price of produce, and spit again," Frances Trollope reported in *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832). In her view, American politics was the sport of self-serving party politicians who reeked of "whiskey and onions." Other Europeans lamented the low intellectual level of American political debate. The "clap-trap of praise and pathos" from a Massachusetts politician "deeply disgusted" Harriet Martineau, while the shallow arguments advanced by the inept "farmers, shopkeepers, and country lawyers" who sat in the New York assembly astonished Basil Hall.

The negative verdict was nearly unanimous. "The most able men in the United States are very rarely placed at the head of affairs," French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville concluded in *Democracy in America* (1835). The reason, said Tocqueville, lay in the character of democracy itself. Most citizens ignored important policy issues, jealously refused to elect their intellectual superiors, and listened in awe to "the clamor of a mountebank [a charismatic fraud] who knows the secret of stimulating their tastes."

These Europeans were witnessing the American Democratic Revolution. Before 1815, men of ability had sat in the seats of government, and the prevailing ideology had been republicanism, or rule by "men of TALENTS and VIRTUE," as a newspaper put it. Many of those leaders feared popular rule, so they wrote constitutions with Bills of Rights, bicameral legislatures, and independent judiciaries, and they criticized overambitious men who campaigned for public office. But history took a different course. By the 1820s and 1830s, the watchwords were *democracy* and *party politics*, a system run by men who avidly sought office and rallied supporters through newspapers, broadsides, and great public processions. Politics became a sport — a competitive contest for the votes of ordinary men. "That the majority should govern was a fundamental maxim in all free governments," declared Martin Van Buren, the most talented of the new breed of professional politicians. By encouraging ordinary Americans to burn with "election fever" and support party principles, he and other politicians redefined the meaning of democratic government and made it work.

The Politics of Democracy As ordinary American men asserted a claim to a voice in government affairs, politicians catered to their preferences and prejudices. Aspiring candidates took their messages to voters, in rural hamlets as well as large towns. This detail from George Caleb Bingham's *Stump Speaking* (1855) shows a swanky, tail-coated politician on an improvised stage seeking the votes of an audience of well-dressed gentlemen and local farmers — identified by their broad-brimmed hats and casual attire. Pr

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1810s
- States expand white male voting rights
- Martin Van Buren creates disciplined party in New York

1825
- House of Representatives selects John Quincy Adams as president
- Adams endorses Henry Clay's American System

1828
- Working Men's Parties win support
- Tariff of Abominations raises duties
- Andrew Jackson elected president
- John C. Calhoun's *South Carolina Exposition and Protest*

1830
- Jackson vetoes National Road bill
- Congress enacts Jackson's Indian Removal Act

1831
- *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* denies Indians' independence, but *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) upholds their political autonomy

1832
- Massacre of 850 Sauk and Fox warriors at Bad Axe
- Jackson vetoes renewal of Second Bank
- South Carolina adopts Ordinance of Nullification

1833
- Congress enacts compromise tariff

1834
- Whig Party formed by Clay, Calhoun, and Daniel Webster

1835
- Roger Taney named Supreme Court chief justice

1836
- Van Buren elected president

1837
- *Charles River Bridge* case weakens chartered monopolies
- Panic of 1837 derails economy and labor movement

1838
- Many Cherokees die in Trail of Tears march to Indian Territory

1839–1843
- Defaults on bonds by state governments spark international financial crisis and depression

1840
- Whigs win "log cabin campaign"

1841
- John Tyler succeeds William Henry Harrison as president

The Rise of Popular Politics

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Expansion of the **franchise** (the right to vote) dramatically symbolized the Democratic Revolution. By the 1830s, most states allowed nearly all white men to vote. Nowhere else in the world did ordinary farmers and wage earners exercise such political influence; in England, the Reform Bill of 1832 extended the vote to only 600,000 out of 6 million men — a mere 10 percent. Equally important, political parties provided voters with the means to express their preferences. At the same time, state legislatures barred women and free African Americans from exercising the franchise. As political democracy took shape in the United States, participation was restricted to white men.

The Decline of the Notables and the Rise of Parties

The American Revolution weakened the elite-run society of the colonial era but did not overthrow it. Only two states — Pennsylvania and Vermont — gave the vote to all male taxpayers, and many families of low rank continued to defer to their social "betters." Consequently, wealthy **notables** — northern landlords, slave-owning planters, and seaport merchants — dominated the political system in the new republic. And rightly so, said John Jay, the first chief justice of the Supreme Court: "Those who own the country are the most fit persons to participate in the government of it." Jay and other notables managed local elections by building up an "interest": lending money to small farmers, giving business to storekeepers, and treating their tenants to rum. An outlay of $20 for refreshments, remarked one poll watcher, "may produce about 100 votes." This gentry-dominated system kept men who lacked wealth and powerful family connections from seeking office.

AP® EXAM TIP

Trace the expansion of participatory democracy as a critical element in the development of a national identity in the U.S.

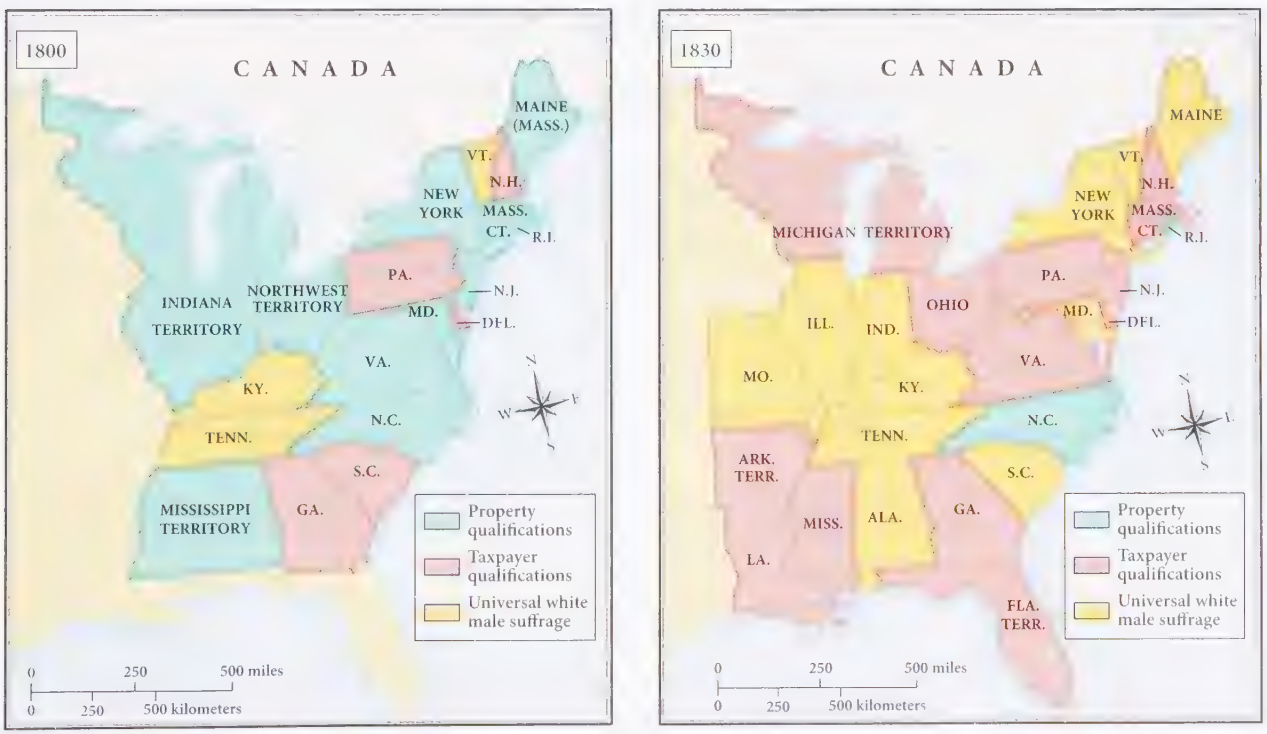
The Rise of Democracy To broaden voting rights, Maryland reformers in the 1810s invoked the equal rights rhetoric of republicanism. They charged that property qualifications for voting were a "tyranny" because they endowed "one class of men with privileges which are denied to another." In response, legislators in Maryland and other seaboard states grudgingly expanded the franchise. The new voters often rejected candidates who wore "top boots, breeches, and shoe buckles," their hair in

"powder and queues." Instead, they elected men who dressed simply and endorsed popular rule.

Farmers and laborers in the Midwest and Southwest also challenged the old order. The constitutions of the new states of Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818), and Alabama (1819) prescribed a broad male franchise, and voters usually elected middling men to local and state offices. A well-to-do migrant in Illinois was surprised to learn that the man who plowed his fields "was a colonel of militia, and a member of the legislature." Once in public office, men from modest backgrounds restricted imprisonment for debt, kept taxes low, and allowed farmers to claim squatters' rights to unoccupied land.

By 1830, most state legislatures had given the vote to all white men or to all men who paid taxes or served in the militia. Only two—North Carolina and Rhode Island—still required the possession of freehold property (Map 9.1). Equally significant, between 1818 and 1821, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York wrote more democratic constitutions that reapportioned legislative districts on the basis of population and stipulated that judges and justices of the peace would be elected rather than appointed.

Democratic politics was contentious and, because it attracted ambitious men, often corrupt. Powerful entrepreneurs and speculators—both notables and self-made men—demanded government assistance and paid bribes to get it. Speculators won land grants by paying off the members of important committees, and bankers distributed shares of stock to key legislators. When the Seventh Ward Bank of New York City received a legislative charter in 1833, the bank's officials set aside one-third of the 3,700 shares of stock for themselves and their friends and almost two-thirds for state legislators and bureaucrats, leaving just 40 shares for public sale (AP® America in the World).



MAP 9.1 The Expansion of Voting Rights for White Men, 1800 and 1830
Between 1800 and 1830, the United States moved steadily toward political equality for white men. Many existing states revised their constitutions and replaced a property qualification for voting with less restrictive criteria, such as paying taxes or serving in the militia. Some new states in the West extended the suffrage to all adult white men. As parties sought votes from a broader electorate, the tone of politics became more open and competitive—swayed by the interests and values of ordinary people.

Alexis de Tocqueville: Letter to Louis de Kergorlay, June 29, 1831

In 1831, the French aristocrat Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859) came to the United States to report on its innovative penal system. Instead, he produced a brilliant analysis of the new republican society and politics, *Democracy in America* (1835, 1840). This letter to a French friend reveals his thinking and insights.

Do you know what, in this country's political realm, makes the most vivid impression on me? The effect of laws governing inheritance. . . . The English had exported their laws of primogeniture, according to which the eldest acquired three-quarters of the father's fortune. This resulted in a host of vast territorial domains passing from father to son and wealth remaining in families. My American informants tell me that there was no aristocracy but, instead, a class of great landowners leading a simple, rather intellectual life characterized by its air of good breeding, its manners, and a strong sense of family pride. . . . Since then, inheritance laws have been revised.

Primogeniture gave way to equal division, with almost magical results. Domains split up, passing into other hands. Family spirit disappeared. The aristocratic bias that marked the republic's early years was replaced by a democratic thrust of irresistible force. . . . I've seen several members of these old families. . . . They regret the loss of everything aristocratic: patronage, family pride, high tone. . . .

There can be no doubt that the inheritance law is responsible in some considerable measure for this complete triumph of democratic principles. The Americans . . . agree that "it has made us what we are, it is the foundation of our republic." . . .

When I apply these ideas to France, I cannot resist the thought that Louis XVIII's charter [of 1814 sought to restore the pre-Revolutionary regime by creating] . . . aristocratic institutions in political law, but [by mandating equality before the law and retaining the Revolutionary-era inheritance laws giving all children, irrespective of sex, an equal share of the parental estate] within the domain of civil law gave shelter to a democratic principle so vigorous that it was bound before long to destroy the foundations of the edifice it raised. . . . We are moving toward an unrestricted democracy . . . that . . . would not suit France at all. . . . [However,] there is no human power capable of changing the law of inheritance, and with this change our families will disappear, possessions will pass into other hands, wealth will be increasingly equalized, the upper class will melt into the middle, the latter will become immense and shape everything to its level. . . .

What I see in America leaves me doubting that government by the multitude, even under the most favorable circumstances — and they exist here — is a good thing. There is general agreement that in the early days of the republic, statesmen and members of the two legislative houses were much more distinguished than they are today. They almost all belonged to that class of landowners I mentioned above. The populace no longer chooses with such a sure hand. It generally favors those who flatter its passions and descend to its level.

SOURCE: From *Letters from America: Alexis de Tocqueville*, edited, translated, and with an introduction by Frederick Brown, Yale University Press, 2010. Copyright © 2010 by Frederick Brown. Reprinted by permission of Yale University Press.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. According to Tocqueville, what is the legal basis of American social equality and political democracy? What is the comparable situation in France?
2. Why does Tocqueville doubt that democratic rule is a good thing, even in the United States, and "would not suit France at all"?

Parties Take Command The appearance of political parties encouraged vigorous debates over government policy. Revolutionary-era Americans had condemned political "factions" as antirepublican, and the new state and national constitutions made no mention of political parties. However, as the power of notables waned in the 1820s, disciplined political parties appeared in a number of states. Usually they were run by professional politicians, often middle-class lawyers and journalists. One observer called the new parties **political machines** because, like the new power-driven textile looms, they efficiently wove together the interests of diverse social and economic groups.

Martin Van Buren of New York was the chief architect of the emerging system of party government. The ambitious son of a Jeffersonian tavern keeper, Van Buren grew

up in the landlord-dominated society of the Hudson River Valley. Trained as a lawyer, he sought an alternative to the system of deferring to local notables. He wanted to create a political order based on party identity, not family connections. Van Buren rejected the traditional republican belief that political factions were dangerous and claimed that the opposite was true. In his autobiography he wrote, "All men of sense know that political parties are inseparable from free government," because they restrain an elected official's inherent "disposition to abuse power."

To see a longer excerpt from Martin Van Buren's autobiography, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Between 1817 and 1821 in New York, Van Buren turned his "Bucktail" supporters (who wore a deer's tail on their hats) into the first statewide political machine. He purchased a newspaper, the *Albany Argus*, and used it to promote his policies and get out the vote. Patronage was an even more important tool. When Van Buren's Bucktails won control of the New York legislature in 1821, they acquired the power to appoint some six thousand of their friends to positions in New York's legal bureaucracy of judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, deed commissioners, and coroners. Critics called this ruthless distribution of offices a **spoils system**, but Van Buren argued it was fair, operating "sometimes in favour of one party, and sometimes of another." Party government was thoroughly republican, he added, because it reflected the preferences of a majority of the citizenry. To ensure the passage of the party's legislative program, Van Buren insisted on disciplined voting as determined by a **caucus**, a meeting of party leaders. On one crucial occasion, the "Little Magician" — a nickname reflecting Van Buren's short stature and political dexterity — honored seventeen New York legislators for sacrificing "individual preferences for the general good" of the party.

Martin Van Buren Martin Van Buren's skills as a lawyer and a politician won him many admirers, as did his personal charm, sharp intellect, and imperturbable composure. "Little Van" — a mere 5 feet 6 inches in height — had almost as many detractors. Davy Crockett, Kentucky frontiersman, land speculator, and congressman, labeled him "an artful, cunning, intriguing, selfish lawyer," concerned only with "office and money." In truth, Van Buren was a complex man, a middle-class lawyer with republican values and aristocratic tastes who nonetheless created a democratic political party. National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution

Racial Exclusion and Republican Motherhood

The rise of a more democratic political system did not lead to universal voting rights. Old cultural rules — and new laws — denied the vote to most women and free African American men. When women and free blacks asked for voting rights, legislators wrote explicit race and gender restrictions into the law. In 1802, Ohio disenfranchised African Americans, and the New York constitution of 1821 imposed a property-holding requirement on black voters. A striking case of sexual discrimination occurred in New Jersey, where the state constitution of 1776 had granted the voting franchise to all property holders. As Federalists and Republicans competed for power, they ignored customary gender rules and urged property-owning single women and widows to vote. Sensing a threat to men's monopoly on politics, the New Jersey legislature in 1807 invoked both biology and custom to limit voting to men only: "Women, generally, are neither by nature, nor habit, nor education, nor by their necessary condition in society fitted to perform this duty with credit to themselves or advantage to the public."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What was the relationship between the growth of democracy and the emergence of political parties?

Republican Motherhood The controversy over women's political rights mirrored a debate over authority within the household. Traditionally, most American women had spent their active adult years working as farmwives and bearing and nurturing children. However, after 1800, the birthrate in the northern states dropped significantly. In the farming village of Sturbridge in central Massachusetts, women now bore an average of six children; their grandmothers had usually given birth to eight or nine. In the growing seaport cities, native-born white women now bore an average of only four children.

***The Wedding*, 1805** Bride and groom stare intently into each other's eyes as they exchange vows, suggesting that their union was a love match, not an arranged marriage based on economic calculation. The plain costumes of the guests and the sparse furnishings of the room suggest that the unknown artist may have provided us with a picture of a rural Quaker wedding. The Granger Collection

AP® EXAM TIP

Changes in the role of women and the family in the face of major demographic change is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

The United States was among the first nations to experience this sharp decline in the birthrate — what historians call the **demographic transition**. There were several causes. Thousands of young men migrated to the trans-Appalachian west, which increased the number of never-married women in the East and delayed marriage for many more. Women who married in their late twenties had fewer children. In addition, white urban middle-class couples deliberately limited the size of their families. Fathers wanted to leave children an adequate inheritance, while mothers, influenced by new ideas of individualism and self-achievement, refused to spend their entire adulthood rearing children. After having four or five children, these couples used birth control or abstained from sexual intercourse.

Even as women bore fewer children, they accepted greater responsibility for the welfare of the family. In his *Thoughts on Female Education* (1787), Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush argued that young women should ensure their husbands' "perseverance in the paths of rectitude" and called for loyal "republican mothers" who would instruct "their sons in the principles of liberty and government."

Christian ministers readily embraced this idea of **republican motherhood**. "Preserving virtue and instructing the young are not the fancied, but the real 'Rights of Women,'" the Reverend Thomas Bernard told the Female Charitable Society of Salem, Massachusetts. He urged his audience to dismiss public roles for women, such as voting or serving on juries, that English feminist Mary Wollstonecraft had advocated in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). Instead, women should care for their children, a responsibility that gave them "an extensive power over the fortunes of man in every generation." As ordinary white men voted in unprecedented numbers, their wives were expected to exercise influence in their homes, not in public.

Debates over Education Although families provided most moral and intellectual training, republican ideology encouraged publicly supported schooling. Bostonian

Caleb Bingham, an influential textbook author, called for "an equal distribution of knowledge to make us emphatically a 'republic of letters.'" Farmers, artisans, and laborers wanted elementary schools that would instruct their children in the "three Rs" — reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic — and make them literate enough to read the Bible. In New England, locally funded public schools offered basic instruction to most boys and some girls. In other regions, there were few publicly supported schools, and only 25 percent of the boys and perhaps 10 percent of the girls attended private institutions or had personal tutors.

Although many state constitutions encouraged support for education, few legislatures acted until the 1820s. Then a new generation of educational reformers established statewide standards. To encourage students, the reformers chose textbooks such as Parson Mason Weems's *The Life of George Washington* (c. 1800), which praised honesty and hard work and condemned gambling, drinking, and laziness. To bolster patriotism and shared cultural ideals, reformers required the study of American history. As a New Hampshire schoolboy, Thomas Low recalled: "We were taught every day and in every way that ours was the freest, the happiest, and soon to be the greatest and most powerful country of the world."

The Rigors of Public Education Here an unknown artist pokes fun at a tyrannical schoolmaster threatening his students with a baton, while they glare defiantly back at him. The schoolmaster's emphasis on discipline appears to be out of step with the expectations of many students in the new American republic, where the importance of liberty and equality had inspired more permissive approaches to child rearing. Picture Research Consultants & Archives

Slavery and National Politics As the northern states ended human bondage, the South's commitment to slavery became a political issue. At the Philadelphia convention in 1787, northern delegates had reluctantly accepted clauses allowing slave imports for twenty years and guaranteeing the return of fugitive slaves (Chapter 6). Seeking even more protection for their "peculiar institution," southerners in the new national legislature won approval of James Madison's resolution that "Congress have no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them within any of the States."

Nonetheless, slavery remained a contested issue. When Congress outlawed the Atlantic slave trade in 1808, some northern representatives demanded an end to the trade in slaves between states. Southern leaders responded with a forceful defense of their labor system. "A large majority of people in the Southern states do not consider slavery as even an evil," declared one congressman. The South's political clout — its domination of the presidency and the Senate — ensured that the national government would protect slavery.

African Americans Speak Out Heartened by the end of the Atlantic slave trade, black abolitionists spoke out. In speeches and pamphlets, Henry Sipkins and Henry Johnson pointed out that slavery — "relentless tyranny," they called it — was a central legacy of America's colonial history. For inspiration, they looked to the Haitian Revolution; for collective support, they joined in secret societies, such as Prince Hall's African Lodge of Freemasons in Boston. Initially, black (and white) antislavery

advocates hoped that slavery would die out naturally as the tobacco economy declined. The cotton boom ended that hope.

As some Americans campaigned against slavery, a group of prominent citizens founded the **American Colonization Society** in 1817. Its leaders argued for gradual emancipation plans such as the ones adopted in northern states after the Revolution. Most believed that emancipation should include compensation to masters and that freedpeople, conceived as alien "Africans," should be deported from the United States. According to Henry Clay—a society member, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a slave owner—racial bondage hindered economic progress, but emancipation without removal would cause "a civil war that would end in the extermination or subjugation of the one race or the other." Few slave owners responded to the society's plea. It resettled only about 6,000 African Americans in Liberia, its colony on the west coast of Africa.

Most free blacks strongly opposed such colonization schemes because they saw themselves as Americans. As the African American minister Richard Allen put it, "This land which we have watered with our tears and our blood is now our mother country." Allen spoke from experience. Born into slavery in Philadelphia in 1760 and sold to a farmer in Delaware, Allen grew up in bondage. In 1777, Freeborn Garretson, an itinerant preacher, converted Allen to Methodism and convinced Allen's owner that on Judgment Day, slaveholders would be "weighted in the balance, and . . . found wanting." Allowed to buy his freedom, Allen became a Methodist minister in Philadelphia. In 1795, Allen formed a separate black congregation, the Bethel Church; in 1816, he became the first bishop of a new denomination: the African Methodist Episcopal Church (Chapter 10). Two years later, 3,000 African Americans met in Allen's church to condemn colonization and to claim American citizenship. Sounding the principles of democratic republicanism, they vowed to defy racial prejudice and advance in American society using "those opportunities . . . which the Constitution and the laws allow to all."

The Missouri Crisis, 1819–1821

The **abject** failure of colonization set the stage for a major battle over slavery. In 1818, Congressman Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina warned that radical members of the "bible and peace societies" intended to place "the question of emancipation" on the national political agenda. When Missouri applied for admission to the Union in 1819, Congressman James Tallmadge of New York did just that: he declared that he would support statehood for Missouri only if its constitution banned the entry of new slaves and provided for the emancipation of existing bonds-people. Missouri whites rejected Tallmadge's proposals, and the northern majority in the House of Representatives blocked the territory's admission.

White southerners were horrified. "It is believed by some, & feared by others," Alabama senator John Walker reported from Washington, that Tallmadge's amendment was "merely the entering wedge and that it points already to a total emancipation of the blacks." Underlining their commitment to slavery, southerners used their power in the Senate—where they held half the seats—to withhold statehood from Maine, which was seeking to separate itself from Massachusetts.

Constitutional Issues In the ensuing debate, southerners advanced three constitutional arguments. First, they invoked the principle of "equal rights," arguing that Congress could not impose conditions on Missouri that it had not imposed on other territories. Second, they maintained that the Constitution guaranteed a state's sovereignty with respect to its internal affairs and domestic institutions, such as slavery and marriage. Finally, they insisted that Congress had no authority to infringe on the property rights of individual slaveholders. Southern leaders began to justify slavery on religious grounds. "Christ himself gave a sanction to slavery," declared Senator William Smith of South Carolina.

Controversy raged in Congress and the press for two years before Henry Clay devised a series of political agreements known collectively as the **Missouri Compromise**. Faced with unwavering southern opposition to Tallmadge's amendment, a group of northern congressmen deserted the antislavery coalition. They accepted a deal that allowed Maine to enter the Union as a free state in 1820 and Missouri to follow as a slave state in 1821. This bargain preserved a balance in the Senate between North and South and set a precedent for future admissions to the Union. For their part, southern senators accepted the prohibition of slavery in most of the Louisiana Purchase, all the lands north of latitude 36°30′ except for the state of Missouri (Map 9.2).

As they had in the Philadelphia convention of 1787, white politicians preserved the Union by compromising over slavery. However, the delegates in Philadelphia had resolved their differences in two months; it took Congress two years to work out the Missouri Compromise, which even then did not command universal support. "[B]eware," the *Richmond Enquirer* protested sharply as southern representatives agreed to exclude slavery from most of the Louisiana Purchase: "What is a territorial restriction to-day becomes a state restriction tomorrow." The fate of western lands, enslaved blacks, and the Union itself were now intertwined, raising the specter of civil war and the end of the American experiment. As the aging Thomas Jefferson exclaimed during the Missouri crisis, "This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror."

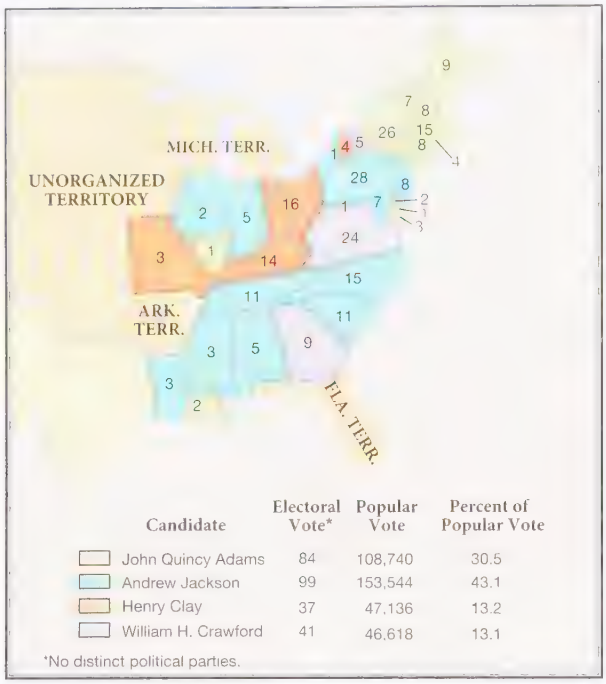
MAP 9.2 The Missouri Compromise, 1820–1821
The Missouri Compromise resolved for a generation the issue of slavery in the lands of the Louisiana Purchase. The agreement prohibited slavery north of the Missouri Compromise line (36°30′ north latitude), with the exception of the state of Missouri. To maintain an equal number of senators from free and slave states in the U.S. Congress, the compromise provided for the nearly simultaneous admission to the Union of Missouri and Maine.

AP® EXAM TIP
The role of the Missouri Compromise in illustrating the divergence of regional identity and interpretations of federal power is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

The Election of 1824

These pressing political concerns came to the fore as the structure of national politics fractured, bringing the "era of good feeling" to an abrupt end. The advance of political democracy had led to the demise of the Federalist Party, while the Republican Party splintered into competing factions (Chapter 7). Now, as the election of 1824 approached, five Republican candidates campaigned for the presidency. Three were veterans of President James Monroe's cabinet: Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, the son of former president John Adams; Secretary of War John C. Calhoun; and Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford. The other candidates were Henry Clay of Kentucky, the hard-drinking, dynamic Speaker of the House of Representatives; and General Andrew Jackson, now a senator from Tennessee. When the Republican caucus in Congress selected Crawford as the party's official nominee, the other candidates took their case to the voters. Thanks to democratic reforms, eighteen of the twenty-four states required popular elections (rather than a vote of the state legislature) to choose their representatives to the electoral college.

Each candidate had strengths. John Quincy Adams enjoyed national recognition for his diplomatic successes as secretary of state, and his family's **prestige** in Massachusetts ensured him the electoral votes of New England. Henry Clay based his candidacy on the **American System**, his integrated mercantilist program of national economic development. Clay wanted to strengthen the Second Bank of the United States, raise tariffs,



Candidate	Electoral Vote*	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
John Quincy Adams	84	108,740	30.5
Andrew Jackson	99	153,544	43.1
Henry Clay	37	47,136	13.2
William H. Crawford	41	46,618	13.1

*No distinct political parties.

MAP 9.3 The Presidential Election of 1824
Regional voting was the dominant pattern in 1824. John Quincy Adams captured every electoral vote in New England and most of those in New York; Henry Clay carried Ohio and Kentucky, the most populous trans-Appalachian states, as well as Missouri; and William Crawford took the southern states of Virginia and Georgia. Only Andrew Jackson claimed a national constituency, winning Pennsylvania and New Jersey in the East, Indiana and most of Illinois in the Midwest, and much of the South. Only 356,000 Americans voted, about 27 percent of the eligible electorate.

and use tariff revenues to finance **internal improvements**, that is, public works such as roads and canals. His nationalistic program won praise in the Northwest, which needed better transportation, but elicited sharp criticism in the South, which relied on rivers to market its cotton and had few manufacturing industries to protect. William Crawford of Georgia, an ideological heir of Thomas Jefferson, denounced Clay's American System as a scheme to "consolidate" political power in Washington. Concluding that he could not defeat Crawford, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina withdrew from the race and endorsed Andrew Jackson.

As the hero of the Battle of New Orleans, Jackson benefitted from the surge of patriotism after the War of 1812. Born in the Carolina backcountry, Jackson settled in Nashville, Tennessee, where he formed ties to influential families through marriage and a career as an attorney and a slave-owning cotton planter. His rise from common origins symbolized the new democratic age, and his reputation as a "plain solid republican" attracted voters in all regions. Still, Jackson's strong showing in the electoral college surprised most political leaders. The Tennessee senator received 99 electoral votes; Adams, 84 votes; Crawford, struck down by a stroke during the campaign, won 41; and Clay finished with 37 (Map 9.3).

Because no candidate received an absolute majority, the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution (ratified in 1804) set the rules: the House of Representatives would choose the president from among the three highest vote-getters. This procedure hurt Jackson because many congressmen feared that the rough-hewn "military chieftain" might become a tyrant. Excluded from the race, Henry Clay used his influence as Speaker of the House to thwart Jackson's election. Clay assembled a coalition of representatives from New England and the Ohio River Valley that voted Adams into the presidency in 1825. Adams showed his gratitude by appointing Clay his secretary of state, the traditional stepping-stone to the presidency. Clay's appointment was politically fatal for both men: Jackson's supporters accused Clay and Adams of making a **corrupt bargain**, and they vowed to oppose Adams's policies and to prevent Clay's rise to the presidency.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why did Jacksonians consider the political deal between Adams and Clay "corrupt"?

The Last Notable President: John Quincy Adams

As president, Adams called for bold national action. "The moral purpose of the Creator," he told Congress, was to use the president to "improve the conditions of himself and his fellow men." Adams called for the establishment of a national university in Washington, scientific explorations in the Far West, and a uniform standard of weights and measures. Most important, he endorsed Henry Clay's American System and its three key elements: protective tariffs to stimulate manufacturing, federally subsidized roads and canals to facilitate commerce, and a national bank to control credit and provide a uniform currency.

The Demise of the American System Manufacturers, entrepreneurs, and farmers in the Northeast and Midwest welcomed Adams's proposals. However, his policies won little support in the South, where planters opposed protective tariffs because these taxes raised the price of manufactures. Southern smallholders also feared powerful banks that could force them into bankruptcy. From his deathbed, Thomas Jefferson condemned Adams for promoting the rule of a monied "aristocracy" over "the plundered ploughman and beggared yeomanry."

Other politicians objected to the American System on constitutional grounds. In 1817, President Madison had vetoed the Bonus Bill, which proposed using the national

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the ways that the "American System" both united and divided regions is essential for success on the AP® exam.

government's income from the Second Bank of the United States to fund improvement projects in the states. Such projects, Madison argued, were the sole responsibility of the states, a sentiment shared by the Republican followers of Thomas Jefferson. In 1824, Martin Van Buren likewise declared his allegiance to the constitutional "doctrines of the Jefferson School" and his opposition to "consolidated government," a powerful and potentially oppressive national administration. Now a member of the U.S. Senate, Van Buren helped to defeat most of Adams's proposed subsidies for roads and canals.

The Tariff Battle The major battle of the Adams administration came over tariffs. The Tariff of 1816 had placed relatively high duties on imports of cheap English cotton cloth, allowing New England textile producers to control that segment of the market. In 1824, Adams and Clay secured a new tariff that protected New England and Pennsylvania manufacturers from more expensive woolen and cotton textiles and also English iron goods. Without these tariffs, British imports would have dominated the market and slowed American industrial development. (See Chapter 8, AP® America in the World, p. 251.)

Recognizing the appeal of tariffs, Van Buren and his Jacksonian allies hopped on the bandwagon. By increasing duties on wool, hemp, and other imported raw materials, they hoped to win the support of farmers in New York, Ohio, and Kentucky for Jackson's presidential candidacy in 1828. The tariff had become a political weapon. "I fear this tariff thing," remarked Thomas Cooper, the president of the College of South Carolina and an advocate of free trade. "By some strange mechanical contrivance [it has become] . . . a machine for manufacturing Presidents, instead of broadcloths, and bed blankets." Disregarding southern protests, northern Jacksonians joined with supporters of Adams and Clay to enact the Tariff of 1828, which raised duties significantly on raw materials, textiles, and iron goods.

The new tariff cost southerners about $100 million a year. Planters had to buy either higher-cost American textiles and iron goods, thus enriching northeastern businesses and workers, or highly taxed British imports, thus paying the expenses of the national government. The new tariff was "little less than legalized pillage," an Alabama legislator declared, calling it a **Tariff of Abominations**. Ignoring the Jacksonians' support for the Tariff of 1828, most southerners heaped blame on President Adams.

Southern governments also criticized Adams's Indian policy. A deeply moral man, the president supported the treaty-guaranteed land rights of Native Americans against expansion-minded whites. In 1825, U.S. commissioners had secured a treaty from one faction of Creeks ceding its lands in Georgia to the United States for eventual sale to the state's citizens. When the Creek National Council claimed the treaty was fraudulent, Adams called for new negotiations. In response, Georgia governor George M. Troup attacked the president as a "public enemy . . . the unblushing ally of the savages." Mobilizing Georgia's congressional delegation, Troup persuaded Congress to extinguish the Creeks' land titles, forcing most Creeks to leave the state.

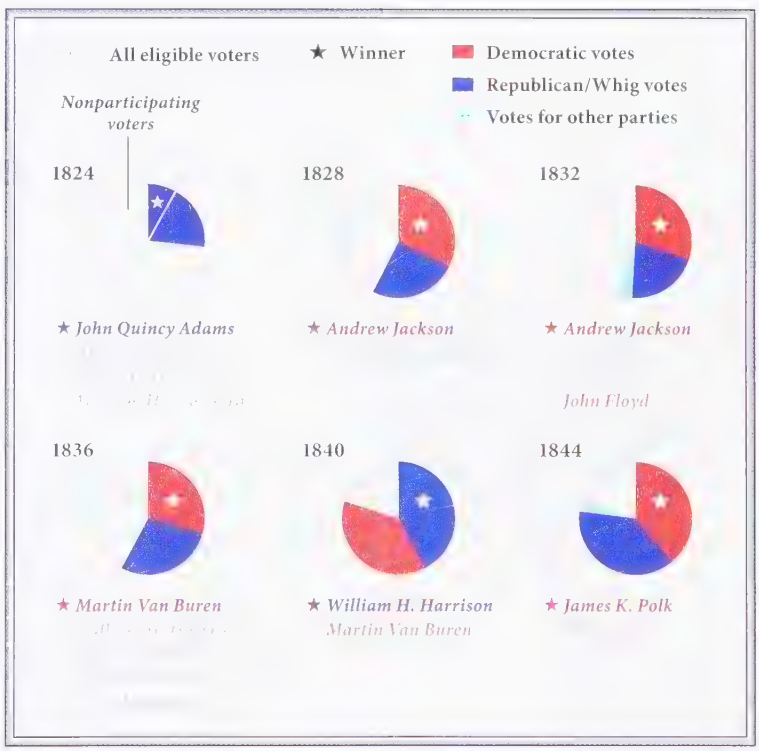


FIGURE 9.1 The Rise of Voter Turnout, 1824–1844
As the shrinking white sections of these pie graphs indicate, the proportion of eligible voters who cast ballots in presidential elections increased dramatically over time. In 1824, 27 percent voted; in 1840 and thereafter, about 80 percent went to the polls. Voter participation soared first in 1828, when Andrew Jackson and John Quincy Adams contested for the White House, and again in 1840, as competition heated up between Democrats and Whigs, who advocated different policies and philosophies of government. Democrats won most of these contests because their policies had greater appeal to ordinary citizens.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the successes and failures of John Adams's presidency, and what accounted for those outcomes?

Elsewhere, Adams's primary weakness was his out-of-date political style. He was aloof, inflexible, and paternalistic. When Congress rejected his economic policies, Adams accused its members of following the whims of public opinion and told them not to be enfeebled "by the will of our constituents." Rather than "run" for reelection in 1828, Adams "stood" for it, telling friends, "If my country wants my services, she must ask for them."

"The Democracy" and the Election of 1828

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the Democratic Party that rose to power in the 1820s to the Democratic-Republicans and Federalists in the Federal period (Ch. 7).

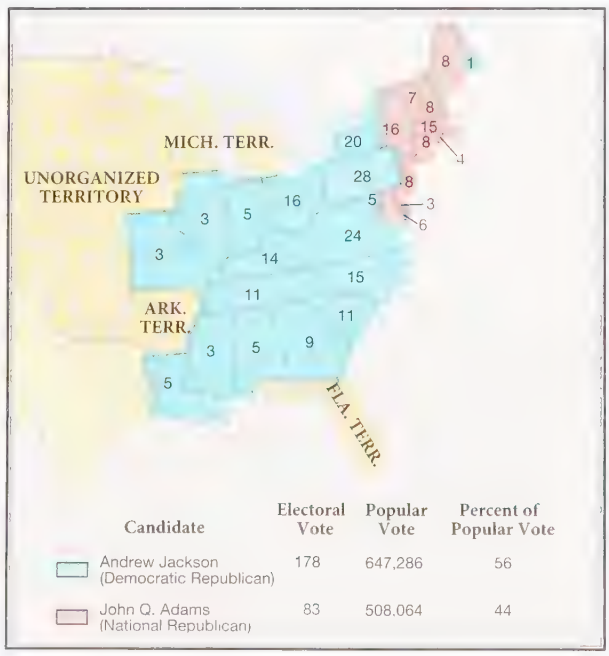
Martin Van Buren and the politicians handling Andrew Jackson's campaign for the presidency had no reservations about running for office. To put Jackson in the White House, Van Buren revived the political coalition created by Thomas Jefferson, championing policies that appealed to both southern planters and northern farmers and artisans, the "plain Republicans of the North." John C. Calhoun, Jackson's running mate, brought his South Carolina allies into Van Buren's party, and Jackson's close friends in Tennessee rallied voters throughout the Old Southwest. The Little Magician hoped that a national party would reconcile the diverse "interests" that, as James Madison suggested in "Federalist No. 10" (Chapter 6), inevitably existed in a large republic. Equally important, added Jackson's ally Duff Green, it would put the "anti-slave party in the North . . . to sleep for twenty years to come."

Van Buren and the Jacksonians orchestrated a massive publicity campaign. In New York, fifty Democrat-funded newspapers declared their support for Jackson. Elsewhere, Jacksonians used mass meetings, torchlight parades, and barbecues to celebrate the candidate's frontier origin and rise to fame. They praised "Old Hickory" as a "natural" aristocrat, a self-made man.

The Jacksonians called themselves Democrats or "the Democracy" to convey their **egalitarian** message. As Thomas Morris told the Ohio legislature, Democrats were fighting for equality: the republic had been corrupted by legislative charters that gave "a few individuals rights and privileges not enjoyed by the citizens at large." Morris promised that the Democracy would destroy such "artificial distinction." Jackson himself declared that "equality among the people in the rights conferred by government" was the "great radical principle of freedom."

Jackson's message appealed to many social groups. His hostility to corporations and to Clay's American System won support from northeastern artisans and workers who felt threatened by industrialization. Jackson captured the votes of Pennsylvania ironworkers and New York farmers who had benefitted from the controversial Tariff of Abominations. Yet, by astutely declaring his support for a "judicious" tariff that would balance regional interests, Jackson remained popular in the South. In the Southeast and Midwest, Jackson's well-known hostility toward Native Americans reassured white farmers seeking Indian removal.

The Democrats' celebration of popular rule carried Jackson into office. In 1824, about one-quarter of the electorate had voted; in 1828, more than one-half went to the polls, and 56 percent voted for the Tennessee senator — the first president from a trans-Appalachian state (Figure 9.1 and Map 9.4). Jackson's popularity and sharp temper frightened men of wealth. Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, a former Federalist and now a corporate lawyer, warned his clients that the new president would "bring a breeze with him. Which way it will blow, I cannot tell [but] . . . my fear is stronger than my hope." Supreme Court



MAP 9.4 The Presidential Election of 1828

As in 1824, John Quincy Adams carried all of New England and some of the Mid-Atlantic states. However, Andrew Jackson swept the rest of the nation and won a resounding victory in the electoral college. Over 1.1 million American men cast ballots in 1828, more than three times the number who voted in 1824.

justice Joseph Story shared Webster's apprehensions. Watching an unruly Inauguration Day crowd climb over the elegant White House furniture to congratulate Jackson, Story lamented that "the reign of King 'Mob' seemed triumphant."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did Jackson and the new Democratic Party overcome sectional differences?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CHANGE OVER TIME
Jackson lost the presidential election of 1824 and won in 1828: what changes explain these different outcomes?

Jackson in Power, 1829–1837

American-style political democracy — a broad franchise, a disciplined political party, and policies favoring specific interests — ushered Andrew Jackson into office. Jackson used his popular mandate to transform the national government. During his two terms, he enhanced presidential authority, destroyed the mercantilist and nationalist American System, established a new ideology of limited government, and supported Indian removal. An Ohio supporter summed up Jackson's vision: "the Sovereignty of the People, the Rights of the States, and a Light and Simple Government."

AP® EXAM TIP
Be able to summarize the role of political leaders in defining regional interests in the North and the South in the early nineteenth century.

Jackson's Agenda: Rotation and Decentralization

To make policy, Jackson relied primarily on his so-called Kitchen Cabinet. Its most influential members were two Kentuckians, Francis Preston Blair, who edited the *Washington Globe*, and Amos Kendall, who wrote Jackson's speeches; Roger B. Taney (pronounced "tawny") of Maryland, who became attorney general, treasury secretary, and then chief justice of the Supreme Court; and Martin Van Buren, whom Jackson named secretary of state.

Following Van Buren's example in New York, Jackson used patronage to create a disciplined national party. He rejected the idea of "property in office" (that a qualified official held a position permanently) and insisted on a rotation of officeholders when a new administration took power. Rotation would not lessen expertise, Jackson insisted, because public duties were "so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance." William L. Marcy, a New York Jacksonian, offered a more realistic explanation for rotation: government jobs were like the spoils of war, and "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." Jackson used those spoils to reward his allies and win backing for his policies.

Jackson's highest priority was to destroy the American System. He believed that government-sponsored plans for national economic development were unconstitutional. Declaring that the "voice of the people" called for "economy in the expenditures of the Government," Jackson vetoed four internal improvement bills in 1830, including an extension of the National Road, arguing that they infringed on "the reserved powers of states." By eliminating expenses, these vetoes also undermined the case for protective tariffs. As Jacksonian senator William Smith of South Carolina pointed out, "Destroy internal improvements and you leave no motive for the tariff."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
Jackson cut the national budget and the national debt but increased the number of federal employees. How do you explain this paradox?

The Tariff and Nullification

The Tariff of 1828 had helped Jackson win the presidency, but it saddled him with a major political crisis. There was fierce opposition to high tariffs throughout the South and especially in South Carolina. That state was the only one with an African American majority — 56 percent of the population in 1830 — and its slave owners, like the white sugar planters in the West Indies, feared a black rebellion. Even more, they worried about the legal abolition of slavery. The British Parliament had declared that slavery in its West Indian colonies would end in 1833; South Carolina planters, vividly recalling

northern efforts to end slavery in Missouri, worried that the U.S. Congress would follow the British lead. So they attacked the tariff, both to lower rates and to discourage the use of federal power to attack slavery.

The crisis began in 1832, when Congress reenacted the Tariff of Abominations. In response, leading South Carolinians called a state convention that boldly adopted an Ordinance of Nullification declaring the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 to be null and void. The ordinance prohibited the collection of those duties in South Carolina after February 1, 1833, and threatened secession if federal officials tried to collect them.

South Carolina's act of **nullification**—the argument that a state has the right to void, within its borders, a law passed by Congress—rested on the constitutional arguments developed in *The South Carolina Exposition and Protest* (1828). Written anonymously by Vice President John C. Calhoun, the *Exposition* contended that protective tariffs and other national legislation that operated unequally on the various states lacked fairness and legitimacy. "Constitutional government and the government of a majority," Calhoun concluded, "are utterly incompatible."

Calhoun's argument echoed the claims made by Jefferson and Madison in the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798. Those resolutions asserted that, because state-based conventions had ratified the Constitution, sovereignty lay in the states, not in the people. Beginning from this premise, Calhoun argued that a state convention could declare a congressional law to be void within the state's borders. Replying to this **states' rights** interpretation of the Constitution, which had little support in the text of the document, Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts presented a nationalist interpretation that celebrated popular sovereignty and Congress's responsibility to secure the "general welfare."

Jackson hoped to find a middle path between Webster's strident nationalism and Calhoun's radical doctrine of localist federalism. Jackson declared that South Carolina's Ordinance of Nullification violated the letter of the Constitution and was "destructive of the great object for which it was formed." At his request, Congress in early 1833 passed a military Force Bill, authorizing the president to compel South Carolina's obedience to national laws. At the same time, Jackson addressed the South's objections to high import duties with a new tariff act that, over the course of a decade, reduced rates to the modest levels of 1816. Export-hungry midwestern wheat farmers joined southern planters in advocating low duties to avoid retaliatory tariffs by foreign nations. "Illinois wants a market for her agricultural products," declared Senator Sidney Breese in 1846. "[S]he wants the market of the world."

Having won the political battle by securing a tariff reduction, the South Carolina convention did not press its constitutional stance on nullification. Jackson was satisfied. He had assisted the South economically while upholding the constitutional principle of national authority—a principle that Abraham Lincoln would embrace to defend the Union during the secession crisis of 1861.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did South Carolina justify nullification on constitutional grounds?

The Bank War

In the midst of the tariff crisis, Jackson faced a major challenge from politicians who supported the **Second Bank of the United States**. Founded in Philadelphia in 1816 (Chapter 7), the bank was privately managed and operated under a twenty-year charter from the federal government, which owned 20 percent of its stock. The bank's most important role was to stabilize the nation's money supply, which consisted primarily of paper money issued by state-chartered banks. The state banks promised to redeem the notes on demand with "hard" money (or "specie")—that is, gold or silver coins minted by the U.S. or foreign governments—but there were few coins in circulation. By collecting those notes and regularly demanding specie, the Second Bank kept the state banks from issuing too much paper money and depreciating its value.

This cautious monetary policy pleased creditors—the bankers and entrepreneurs in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, whose capital investments were underwriting

economic development. However, expansion-minded bankers, including friends of Jackson's in Nashville, demanded an end to central oversight. Moreover, many ordinary Americans worried that the Second Bank would force weak banks to close, leaving them holding worthless paper notes. Many politicians resented the arrogance of the bank's president, Nicholas Biddle. "As to mere power," Biddle boasted, "I have been for years in the daily exercise of more personal authority than any President habitually enjoys."

Jackson's Bank Veto Although the Second Bank had many enemies, a political miscalculation by its friends brought its downfall. In 1832, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster persuaded Biddle to seek an early extension of the bank's charter (which still had four years to run). They had the votes in Congress to enact the required legislation and hoped to lure Jackson into a veto that would split the Democrats just before the 1832 elections.

Jackson turned the tables on Clay and Webster. He vetoed the rechartering bill with a masterful message that blended constitutional arguments with class rhetoric and patriotic fervor. Adopting the position taken by Thomas Jefferson in 1793, Jackson declared that Congress had no constitutional authority to charter a national bank. He condemned the bank as "subversive of the rights of the States," "dangerous to the liberties of the people," and a privileged monopoly that promoted "the advancement of the few at the expense of . . . farmers, mechanics, and laborers." Finally, the president noted that British aristocrats owned much of the bank's stock. Such a powerful institution should be "purely American," Jackson declared with patriotic zeal.

Jackson's attack on the bank carried him to victory in 1832. Old Hickory and Martin Van Buren, his new running mate, overwhelmed Henry Clay, who headed the National Republican ticket, by 219 to 49 electoral votes. Jackson's most fervent supporters were eastern workers and western farmers, who blamed the Second Bank for high prices and stagnant farm income. Other Jackson supporters had prospered during a decade of strong economic growth. Thousands of middle-class Americans — lawyers, clerks, shopkeepers, and artisans — had used the opportunity to rise in the world and cheered Jackson's attack on privileged corporations.

The Bank Destroyed Early in 1833, Jackson met their wishes by appointing Roger B. Taney, a strong opponent of corporate privilege, as head of the Treasury Department. Taney promptly transferred the federal government's gold and silver from the Second Bank to various state banks, which critics labeled Jackson's "pet banks." To justify this abrupt (and probably illegal) transfer, Jackson declared that his reelection represented "the decision of the people against the bank" and gave him a mandate to destroy it. This sweeping claim of presidential power was new and radical. Never before had a president claimed that victory at the polls allowed him to pursue a controversial policy or to act independently of Congress (AP® Analyzing Voices).

The "bank war" escalated into an all-out political battle. In March 1834, Jackson's opponents in the Senate passed a resolution composed by Henry Clay that censured the president and warned of executive tyranny: "We are in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly descending towards a total change of the pure republican character of the Government, and the concentration of all power in the hands of one man." The censure did not deter Jackson. "The Bank is trying to kill me but I will kill it," he vowed to Van Buren. And so he did. When the Second Bank's national charter expired in 1836, Jackson prevented its renewal.

Jackson had destroyed both national banking — the handiwork of Alexander Hamilton — and the American System of protective tariffs and public works created by Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams. The result was a profound check on economic activism and innovative policymaking by the national government. "All is gone," observed a Washington newspaper correspondent. "All is gone, which the General Government was instituted to create and preserve."

King Andrew the First, 1833 Jackson's decision to veto the rechartering of the Second Bank of the United States helped him win reelection, but for his opponents it confirmed the fear that he was an autocrat. This political cartoon portrays Jackson as a king. He wears a crown and holds a scepter in one hand and his veto power in the other. Underfoot lie a tattered copy of the Constitution, the bank charter, and an internal improvements bill. The cartoon appeared in the fall of 1833, after his treasury secretary, Roger B. Taney, removed federal deposits from the Bank of the United States. Library of Congress

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why — and how — did Jackson destroy the Second National Bank?

The Character and Goals of Andrew Jackson

From the start of his career, Andrew Jackson was a controversial figure. "Hot-tempered," "Indian-hater," "military despot," said his critics, while his friends praised him as a forthright statesman. His contemporary biographer, the journalist James Parton, found him a man of many faces, an enigma. Others thought they understood his personality and policies: James Hamilton, a loyal Jacksonian congressman, recalled Jackson's volatile temper. Henry Clay, his archrival, warned that Jackson's quest for power threatened American republicanism, while wealthy New York Whig Philip Hone accused him of inciting class warfare. After talking with dozens of Americans, Frenchman Alexis de Tocqueville offered a balanced interpretation of the man and his goals.

JAMES PARTON

Preface to *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (1860)

SOURCE: James Parton, *The Life of Andrew Jackson. In Three Volumes* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1860), vol. 1, vii–viii.

"If any one . . . had asked what I had yet discovered respecting General Jackson, I might have answered thus: 'Andrew Jackson, I am given to understand, was a patriot and a traitor. He was one of the greatest of generals, and wholly ignorant of the art of war. . . . The first of statesmen, he never devised, he never framed a measure. He was the most candid of men, and was capable of the profoundest dissimulation. A most law-defying, law-obeying citizen. A stickler for discipline, he never hesitated to disobey his superior. A democratic autocrat. An urbane savage. An atrocious saint.'"

JAMES HAMILTON JR.

Recalling an Event in 1827, as Jackson Campaigns for the Presidency

SOURCE: Sean Wilentz, ed., *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787–1848* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1991), 374.

"The steamer *Pocahontas* was chartered by citizens of New Orleans to convey the General and his party from Nashville to that city. She was fitted out in the most sumptuous manner. The party was General and Mrs. Jackson, . . . Governor Samuel Houston, Wm. B. Lewis, Robert Armstrong, and others. . . . The only freight was the General's cotton-crop. . . .

In the course of the voyage an event occurred, which I repeat, as it is suggestive of [his] character. A steamer of greater speed than ours, going in the same direction, passed us, crossed our bow; then stopped and let us pass her and then passed us again in triumph. This was repeated again and again, until the General, being excited by the offensive course, ordered a rifle to be brought to him; hailed the pilot of the other steamer, and swore that if he did the same thing again he would shoot him."

PHILIP HONE

Ruminating in His Diary on the Jacksonians' Victory in the New York Elections of 1834

SOURCE: Sean Wilentz, ed., *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787–1848* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1991), 392–393.

"I apprehend that Mr. Van Buren [Jackson's vice president] and his friends have no permanent cause of triumph in their victory. They . . . have mounted a vicious horse, who, taking the bit in his mouth, will run away with [them]. . . . This battle had been fought upon the ground of the poor against

AP® EXAM TIP

A helpful exercise to prep for the AP® exam is to evaluate the ways that Indian removal illustrated both change and continuity in relations with American Indians.

Indian Removal

The status of Native American peoples posed an equally complex political problem. By the late 1820s, white voices throughout the South and Midwest demanded the resettlement of Indian peoples west of the Mississippi River. Many whites who were sympathetic to Native Americans also favored resettlement. Removal to the West seemed the only way to protect Indians from alcoholism, financial exploitation, and cultural decline (AP® Interpreting the Past).

However, most Indians did not want to leave their ancestral lands. For centuries, Cherokees and Creeks had lived in Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama; Chickasaws and Choctaws in Mississippi and Alabama; and Seminoles in Florida. During the War of 1812, Andrew Jackson had forced the Creeks to relinquish millions of acres, but Indian nations still controlled vast tracts and wanted to keep them.

Cherokee Resistance But on what terms? Some Indians had adopted white ways. An 1825 census revealed that various Cherokees owned 33 gristmills, 13 sawmills,

the rich, and this unworthy prejudice, this dangerous delusion, has been encouraged by the leaders of the triumphant party, and fanned into a flame by the polluted breath of the hireling press in their employ. . . .

The cry of 'Down with the aristocracy!' mingled with the shouts of victory. . . . They have succeeded in raising this dangerous spirit [of the mob], and have gladly availed themselves of its support to accomplish a temporary object; but can they allay it at pleasure? . . . Eighteen thousand men in New York have voted for the high-priest of the party whose professed design is to bring down the property, the talents, the industry, the steady habits of that class which constituted the real strength of the Commonwealth, to the common level of the idle, the worthless, and the unenlightened. Look to it, ye men of respectability in the Jackson party, are ye not afraid of the weapons ye have used in this warfare? ”

HENRY CLAY

Introducing a Senate Resolution Censuring Jackson, December 26, 1833

SOURCE: Calvin Colton, ed., *The Life . . . of Henry Clay*, 6 vols. (New York: A. Barnes, 1857), 576 -580.

“ We are in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly tending toward a total change of the pure republican character of the government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one man. The powers of Congress are paralyzed, except when exerted in conformity with his will, by frequent and an extraordinary exercise of the executive veto, not anticipated by the founders of our Constitution, and not practiced by any of the predecessors of the present chief magistrate. . . .

The judiciary has not been exempt from the prevailing rage for innovation. Decisions of the tribunals, deliberately pronounced, have been contemptuously disregarded. . . . Our Indian relations, coeval with the existence of the government, and recognized and established by numerous laws and treaties, have been subverted. . . . The system of protection of improvement lies crushed beneath the veto. The system of protection of American industry [will soon meet a similar fate]. . . . In a term of eight years, a little more than equal to that which was required to establish our liberties [as an independent republic between 1776 and 1783], the government will have been transformed into an elective monarchy — the worst of all forms of government. ”

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

Analysis of Jackson in *Democracy in America* (1835)

SOURCE: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, abr. by Thomas Bender (New York: Modern Library, 1981), 271–273.

“ We have been told that General Jackson has won battles; that he is an energetic man, prone by nature and habit to the use of force, covetous of power and a despot by inclination.

All this may be true; but the inferences which have been drawn from these truths are very erroneous. It has been imagined that General Jackson is bent on establishing a dictatorship in America, introducing a military spirit, and giving a degree of influence to the central authority that cannot but be dangerous to provincial [state] liberties. . . .

Far from wishing to extend the Federal power, the President belongs to the party which is desirous of limiting that power to the clear and precise letter of the Constitution and which never puts a construction upon that act favorable to the government of the Union; far from standing forth as the champion of centralization, General Jackson is the agent of the state jealousies; and he was placed in his lofty station by the passions that are most opposed to the central government. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Was Jackson a "democratic autocrat," as Parton puts it? Would the authors of the other excerpts agree? Did Jackson instigate class warfare, as Hone suggests?
2. In your judgment, which writer, Clay or Tocqueville, offers the more accurate assessment of Jackson and his policies?
3. Do you agree with Philip Hone's view that the Jacksonian Democrats mobilized "poor against the rich"? What evidence would support or contradict Hone's assertion?

2,400 spinning wheels, 760 looms, and 2,900 plows. Many of these owners were mixed-race, the offspring of white traders and Indian women. They had grown up in a bicultural world, knew the political and economic ways of whites, and often favored assimilation into white society. Indeed, some of these mixed-race people were indistinguishable from southern planters. At his death in 1809, Georgia Cherokee James Vann owned one hundred black slaves, two trading posts, and a gristmill. Three decades later, forty other mixed-blood Cherokee families each owned ten or more African American workers.

Prominent mixed-race Cherokees believed that integration into American life was the best way to protect their property and the lands of their people. In 1821, Sequoyah, a part-Cherokee silversmith, perfected a system of writing for the Cherokee language; six years later, mixed-race Cherokees devised a new charter of Cherokee government modeled directly on the U.S. Constitution. "You asked us to throw off the hunter and warrior state," Cherokee John Ridge told a Philadelphia audience in 1832. "We did so. You asked us to form a republican government: We did so. . . . You asked us to learn to

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST

Was Indian Removal Humanitarian or Racist?

The Indian Removal Act, passed by Congress in 1830 at Andrew Jackson's request, has polarized historians' assessments of his presidency more than any other issue. Unlike some earlier presidents who encouraged the assimilation of Native groups, Jackson supported a policy of moving Native Americans from their lands in the American Southeast to unoccupied federal lands beyond the Mississippi River. The issue came to a head in the late 1820s, just as Jackson's presidency began, when the Cherokees, living within the borders of Georgia, declared themselves to be a sovereign nation. Neither the state, nor Jackson, nor the Supreme Court agreed with them. The 1830 Indian Removal Act granted Jackson authority to negotiate treaties with Native tribes to achieve his policy of removing them. Some tribes agreed to move. When others, like the Seminoles, Creeks, and Cherokees, resisted, the federal government used a forced removal policy. The result was great suffering as Indians died on the Trail of Tears.

Historians agree on the basic narrative of Jackson's Indian policy, but they debate his motivations. Robert V. Remini and Anthony F. C. Wallace interpret Jackson's policies regarding Native Americans in different ways. Was Jackson motivated by a humanitarian concern for Native Americans, or were his policies reflective of the era's racial discrimination against "savages"?

ROBERT V. REMINI

SOURCE: Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832* (New York: Harper & Row, 1981), 2: 221, 228.

There is no doubt that Jackson believed absolutely that he was pursuing a "just and humane policy towards the Indians." Given the greed of the white man and the certitude that the two races could not intermingle or live side by side, Jackson contended that only through removal could the Indians escape inevitable annihilation. Once relocated beyond the Mississippi the federal government might then exercise "parental control" over their interests and in that way "perpetuate their race." Most Americans probably agreed with this policy. As "hard and cruel as it was then thought," wrote one contemporary . . . it "is now universally felt to have been as kind as it was necessary." . . . [T]he only sane policy for a just government, Jackson declared, was to get the Indian to a place of safety, which he fervently believed existed west of the Mississippi River.

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

SOURCE: Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Long Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians* (Hill & Wang, 1993), 56.

Jackson never proposed exterminating the Indians or at least in public rhetoric, removing by force of arms those who wished to remain. But he was adept at devising conditions that would make those who chose not to remove . . . miserable. . . . [H]e seems to have regarded as inevitable the ultimate extinction of the Native Americans. . . . [T]heir doom was not to be regretted, however. . . . But whatever were Jackson's private reasons for . . . Indian removal— . . . political ambition, financial greed, and philosophical rationalization — there remained the political forces that he mobilized under the banner of the Democratic Party. The exaltation of the common man . . . the sense of America as . . . destined for continental expansion, the open acceptance of racism — these were popular, politically powerful themes that would have driven any Democratic President to press for a policy of Indian removal.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

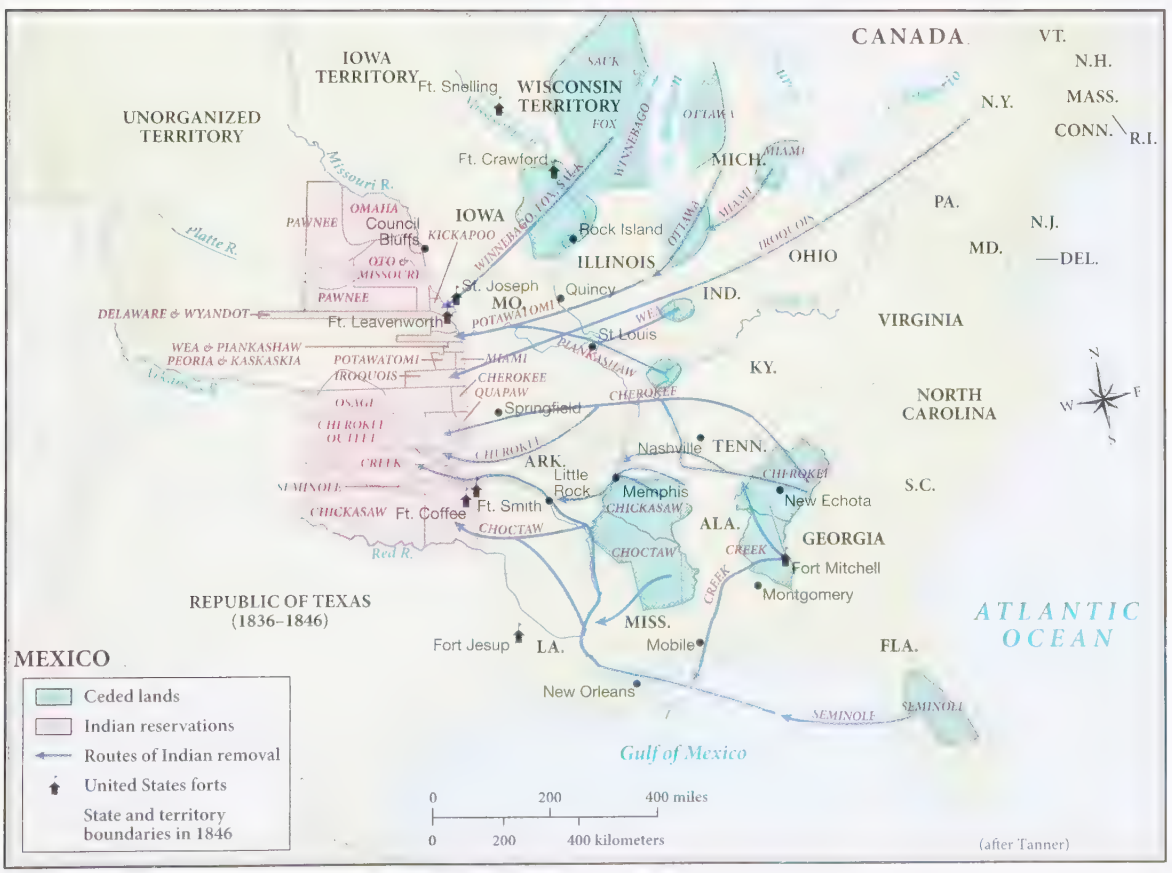
1. Identify one key difference between Remini and Wallace in their interpretation of Jackson's attitude toward Native Americans.
2. To what extent does each of these historians believe Jackson's view of Native Americans was widely shared by white Americans at the time?
3. In considering these two excerpts and Chapter 9's discussion, why do you think Indian removal became a leading issue during Jackson's presidency?

read: We did so. You asked us to cast away our idols, and worship your God: We did so." Full-blood Cherokees, who made up 90 percent of the population, resisted many of these cultural and political innovations but were equally determined to retain their ancestral lands. "We would not receive money for land in which our fathers and friends are buried," one full-blood chief declared. "We love our land; it is our mother."

What the Cherokees did or wanted carried no weight with the Georgia legislature. In 1802, Georgia had given up its western land claims in return for a federal promise to extinguish Indian landholdings in the state. Now it demanded fulfillment of that pledge. Having spent his military career fighting Indians and seizing their lands, Andrew Jackson gave full support to Georgia. On assuming the presidency, he withdrew the federal troops that had protected Indian enclaves there and in Alabama and Mississippi. The states, he declared, were sovereign within their borders.

The Removal Act and Its Aftermath Jackson then pushed the **Indian Removal Act of 1830** through Congress over the determined opposition of evangelical Protestant men — and women. To block removal, Catharine Beecher and Lydia Sigourney composed a Ladies Circular that urged "benevolent ladies" to use "prayers and exertions to avert the calamity of removal." Women from across the nation flooded Congress with petitions. Nonetheless, Jackson's bill squeaked through the House of Representatives by a vote of 102 to 97.

The Removal Act created the Indian Territory on national lands acquired in the Louisiana Purchase and located in present-day Oklahoma and Kansas. It promised money and reserved land to Native American peoples who would give up their ancestral holdings east of the Mississippi River. Government officials promised the Indians that they could live on their new land, "they and all their children, as long as grass grows and water runs." However, as one Indian leader noted, on the Great Plains "water and



MAP 9.5 The Removal of Native Americans, 1820–1846
As white settlers moved west, the U.S. government forced scores of Native American communities to leave their ancestral lands. Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830 formalized this policy. Subsequently, many Indian peoples signed treaties that exchanged their lands in the East, Midwest, and Southeast for money and designated reservations in an Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River. When the Sauk, Fox, Cherokees, and Seminoles resisted resettlement, the government used the U.S. Army to enforce the removal policy.

Andrew Jackson as the Great Father, 1835 Jackson championed the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which created the Indian Territory on lands obtained in the Louisiana Purchase and forced dozens of Native American nations throughout the eastern United States to move across the Mississippi. Jackson professed a concern for Native American welfare, prompting this sarcastic portrayal as the "Great Father" tending to the needs of his diminutive Native American "children." Jackson is portrayed unflatteringly, with dark skin that seems to suggest his own racial ambiguity. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan

timber are scarcely to be seen." When Chief Black Hawk and his Sauk and Fox followers refused to leave rich, well-watered farmland in western Illinois in 1832, Jackson sent troops to expel them by force. Eventually, the U.S. Army pursued Black Hawk into the Wisconsin Territory and, in the brutal eight-hour Bad Axe Massacre, killed 850 of his 1,000 warriors. Over the next five years, American diplomatic pressure and military power forced seventy Indian peoples to sign treaties and move west of the Mississippi (Map 9.5).

In the meantime, the Cherokees had carried the defense of their lands to the Supreme Court, where they claimed the status of a "foreign nation." In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), Chief Justice John Marshall denied that claim and declared that Indian peoples were "domestic dependent nations." However, in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Marshall and the Court sided with the Cherokees against Georgia. Voiding Georgia's extension of state law over the Cherokees, the Court held that Indian nations were "distinct political communities, having territorial boundaries, within which their authority is exclusive [and is] guaranteed by the United States."

Instead of guaranteeing the Cherokees' territory, the U.S. government took it from them. In 1835, American officials and a minority Cherokee faction negotiated the Treaty of New Echota, which specified that Cherokees would resettle in Indian Territory. When only 2,000 of 17,000 Cherokees had moved by the May 1838 deadline, President Martin Van Buren ordered General Winfield Scott to enforce the treaty. Scott's army rounded up 14,000 Cherokees (including mixed-race African Cherokees) and marched them 1,200 miles, an arduous journey that became known as the **Trail of Tears**. Along the way, 3,000 Indians died of starvation and exposure. Once in Oklahoma, the Cherokees excluded anyone of "negro or mulatto parentage" from governmental office, thereby affirming that full citizenship in their nation was racially defined. Just as the United States was a "white man's country," so Indian Territory would be a "red man's country."

Pressed by their white neighbors, the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws accepted grants of land west of the Mississippi, leaving the Seminoles in Florida as the only numerically significant Indian people remaining in the Southeast. Government pressure persuaded about half of the Seminoles to migrate to Indian Territory, but families whose ancestors had intermarried with runaway slaves feared the emphasis on "blood purity" there. During the 1840s, they fought a successful guerrilla war against the U.S. Army and retained their lands in central Florida. These Seminoles were the exception: the Jacksonians had forced the removal of most eastern Indian peoples.

Jackson's Impact

Jackson's legacy is complex. He expanded the authority of the nation's chief executive: as Jackson put it, "The President is the direct representative of the American people." Assuming that role during the nullification crisis, he upheld national authority by threatening the use of military force, laying the foundation for Lincoln's defense of the Union a generation later. At the same time (and somewhat contradictorily), Jackson curbed the reach of the national government. By undermining Henry Clay's American System of national banking, protective tariffs, and internal improvements, Jackson reinvigorated the Jeffersonian tradition of a limited and frugal central government.

The Taney Court Jackson also undermined the constitutional jurisprudence of John Marshall by appointing Roger B. Taney as his successor in 1835. During his long tenure as chief justice (1835–1864), Taney partially reversed the nationalist and

vested-property-rights decisions of the Marshall Court and gave constitutional legitimacy to Jackson's policies of states' rights and free enterprise. In the landmark case *Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co.* (1837), Taney declared that a legislative charter — in this case, to build and operate a toll bridge — did not necessarily bestow a monopoly, and that a legislature could charter a competing bridge to promote the general welfare: "While the rights of private property are sacredly guarded, we must not forget that the community also has rights." This decision directly challenged Marshall's interpretation of the contract clause of the Constitution in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), which had stressed the binding nature of public charters and the sanctity of "vested rights" (Chapter 7). By limiting the property claims of existing canal and turnpike companies, Taney's decision allowed legislatures to charter competing railroads that would provide cheaper and more efficient transportation.

The Taney Court also limited Marshall's nationalistic interpretation of the commerce clause by enhancing the regulatory role of state governments. For example, in *Mayor of New York v. Miln* (1837), the Taney Court ruled that New York State could use its "police power" to inspect the health of arriving immigrants. The Court also restored to the states some of the economic powers they had exercised prior to the Constitution of 1787. In *Briscoe v. Bank of Kentucky* (1837), the justices allowed a bank owned by the state of Kentucky to issue currency, despite the wording of Article 1, Section 10 of the Constitution, which prohibits states from issuing "bills of credit."

States Revise Their Constitutions Inspired by Jackson and Taney, Democrats in the various states mounted their own constitutional revolutions. Between 1830 and 1860, twenty states called conventions that furthered democratic principles by reapportioning state legislatures on the basis of population and giving the vote to all white men. Voters also had more power because the new documents mandated the election, rather than the appointment, of most public officials, including sheriffs, justices of the peace, and judges.

The new constitutions also embodied the principles of **classical liberalism, or laissez-faire**, by limiting the government's role in the economy. (Twenty-first-century social-welfare liberalism endorses the opposite principle: that government should intervene in economic and social life.) As president, Jackson had destroyed the American System, and his disciples now attacked the state-based Commonwealth System (see Chapter 8), which used chartered corporations and state funds to promote economic development. Most Jackson-era constitutions prohibited states from granting special charters to corporations and extending loans and credit guarantees to private businesses. "If there is any danger to be feared in . . . government," declared a New Jersey Democrat, "it is the danger of associated wealth, with special privileges." The revised constitutions also protected taxpayers by setting strict limits on state debt. Said New York reformer Michael Hoffman, "We will not trust the legislature with the power of creating indefinite mortgages on the people's property."

"The world is governed too much," the Jacksonians proclaimed as they embraced a small-government, laissez-faire outlook and celebrated the power of ordinary people to make decisions in the voting booth and the marketplace.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What were the constitutional arguments for and against internal improvements, the tariff, and nullification?**

Blackhawk This portrait of Black Hawk (1767–1838), by George Catlin, shows the Indian leader holding his namesake, a black hawk and its feathers. When Congress approved Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act in 1830, Black Hawk mobilized Sauk and Fox warriors to protect their ancestral lands in Illinois. "It was here, that I was born — and here lie the bones of many friends and relatives," the aging chief declared. "I . . . never could consent to leave it." National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, USA / Bridgeman Image

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did the views of Jackson and John Marshall differ regarding the status and rights of Indian peoples?

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the Taney Court and the Jacksonian state constitutions alter the American legal and constitutional system?

Class, Culture, and the Second Party System

The rise of the Democracy and Jackson's **tumultuous** presidency sparked the creation in the mid-1830s of a second national party: the **Whigs**. For the next two decades, Whigs and Democrats competed fiercely for votes and appealed to different cultural groups. Many evangelical Protestants became Whigs, while most Catholic immigrants and traditional Protestants joined the Democrats. By debating issues of economic policy, class

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to note that opposition to the leadership of Andrew Jackson led to changes in the political party system and to realignment of a new two-party system.

power, and moral reform, party politicians offered Americans a choice between competing programs and political leaders. The First Party System in United States politics, pitting Federalists against Jeffersonian Republicans, had ended with the collapse of the Federalist Party and the "era of good feeling." The Second Party System, pitting Whigs against Democrats, persisted until the Whig Party fractured in the 1850s.

The Whig Worldview

The Whig Party arose in 1834, when a group of congressmen contested Andrew Jackson's policies and his high-handed, "kinglike" conduct. They took the name *Whigs* to identify themselves with the pre-Revolutionary American and British parties — also called Whigs — that had opposed the arbitrary actions of British monarchs. The Whigs accused "King Andrew I" of violating the Constitution by creating a spoils system and undermining elected legislators, whom they saw as the true representatives of the sovereign people. One Whig accused Jackson of ruling in a manner "more absolute than that of any absolute monarchy of Europe."

Initially, the Whigs consisted of political factions with distinct points of view. However, guided by Senators Webster of Massachusetts, Clay of Kentucky, and Calhoun of South Carolina, they gradually coalesced into a party with a distinctive stance and coherent ideology. The Whigs celebrated the entrepreneur and the enterprising individual: "This is a country of self-made men," they boasted, pointing to the relative absence of permanent distinctions of class and status among white citizens. Embracing the Industrial Revolution, northern Whigs welcomed the investments of "moneyed capitalists," which provided workers with jobs and "bread, clothing and homes." Whig congressman Edward Everett championed a "holy alliance" among laborers, owners, and governments and called for a return to Henry Clay's American System. Many New England and Pennsylvania textile and iron workers shared Everett's vision because they benefitted directly from protective tariffs.

Calhoun's Dissent Support for the Whigs in the South — less widespread than that in the North — rested on the appeal of specific policies and politicians. Some southern Whigs were wealthy planters who invested in railroads and banks or sold their cotton to New York merchants. But the majority were poorer whites who resented the power and policies of low-country planters, most of whom were Democrats.

Southern Whigs rejected their party's enthusiasm for high tariffs and social mobility, and John C. Calhoun was their spokesman. Extremely conscious of class divisions in society, Calhoun believed that northern Whigs' rhetoric of equal opportunity was contradicted not only by slavery, which he considered a fundamental American institution, but also by the wage-labor system of industrial capitalism. "There is and always has been in an advanced state of wealth and civilization a conflict between labor and capital," Calhoun declared in 1837. He urged slave owners and factory owners to unite against their common foe: the working class of enslaved blacks and propertyless whites.

Most northern Whigs denied Calhoun's class-conscious social ideology. "A clear and well-defined line between capital and labor" might fit the slave South or class-ridden Europe, Daniel Webster conceded, but in the North "this distinction grows less and less definite as commerce advances." Ignoring the ever-increasing numbers of propertyless immigrants and native-born wageworkers, Webster focused on the growing size of the middle class, whose members generally favored Whig candidates. In the election of 1834, the Whigs took control of the House of Representatives by appealing to evangelical Protestants and upwardly mobile families — prosperous farmers, small-town merchants, and skilled industrial workers in New England, New York, and the new communities along the Great Lakes.

John C. Calhoun (1782–1850) This daguerreotype, made close to the time of Calhoun's death, suggests his emotional intensity and thwarted ambition. The prime advocate of the doctrines of nullification and states' rights, a founder of the Whig Party, and a steadfast defender of slavery, Calhoun found his lifelong pursuit of the presidency frustrated by Martin Van Buren's political skills and sectional divisions over tariffs and slavery.

Anti-Masons Become Whigs Many Whig voters in 1834 had previously supported the Anti-Masons, a powerful but short-lived party that formed in the late 1820s. As its

name implies, Anti-Masons opposed the Order of Freemasonry. Freemasonry began in Europe as an organization of men seeking moral improvement by promoting the welfare and unity of humanity. Many Masons espoused republicanism, and the Order spread rapidly in America after the Revolution. Its ideology, mysterious symbols, and semisecret character gave the Order an air of exclusivity that attracted ambitious businessmen and political leaders, including George Washington, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson. In New York State alone by the mid-1820s, there were more than 20,000 Masons, organized into 450 local lodges. However, after the kidnapping and murder in 1826 of William Morgan, a New York Mason who had threatened to reveal the Order's secrets, the Freemasons fell into disrepute. Thurlow Weed, a newspaper editor in Rochester, New York, spearheaded an Anti-Masonic Party, which condemned the Order as a secret aristocratic fraternity. The new party quickly ousted Freemasons from local and state offices, and just as quickly ran out of political steam.

Because many Anti-Masons espoused temperance, equality of opportunity, and evangelical morality, they gravitated to the Whig Party. Throughout the Northeast and Midwest, Whig politicians won election by proposing legal curbs on the sale of alcohol and local ordinances that preserved Sunday as a day of worship. The Whigs also secured the votes of farmers, bankers, and shopkeepers, who favored Henry Clay's American System. For these citizens of the growing Midwest, the Whigs' program of government subsidies for roads, canals, and bridges was as important as their moral agenda.

In the election of 1836, the Whig Party faced Martin Van Buren, the architect of the Democratic Party and Jackson's handpicked successor. Like Jackson, Van Buren denounced the American System and warned that its revival would create a "consolidated government." Positioning himself as a defender of individual rights, Van Buren also condemned the efforts of Whigs and moral reformers to enact state laws imposing temperance and national laws abolishing slavery. "The government is best which governs least" became his motto in economic, cultural, and racial matters.

To oppose Van Buren, the Whigs ran four candidates, each with a strong regional reputation. They hoped to garner enough electoral votes to throw the contest into the House of Representatives. However, the Whig tally — 73 electoral votes collected by William Henry Harrison of Ohio, 26 by Hugh L. White of Tennessee, 14 by Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, and 11 by W. P. Mangum of Georgia — fell far short of Van Buren's 170 votes. Still, the four Whigs won 49 percent of the popular vote, showing that the party's message of economic and moral improvement had broad appeal.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did the ideology of the Whigs differ from that of the Jacksonian Democrats?

Labor Politics and the Depression of 1837–1843

As the Democrats battled Whigs on the national level, they faced challenges from urban artisans and workers. Between 1828 and 1833, artisans and laborers in fifteen states formed Working Men's Parties. "Past experience teaches us that we have nothing to hope from the aristocratic orders of society," declared the New York Working Men's Party. It vowed "to send men of our own description, if we can, to the Legislature at Albany."

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to take notes on the impact of the realignment of political groups on the working class and women in the early nineteenth century.

The new parties' agenda reflected the values and interests of ordinary urban workers. The Philadelphia Working Men's Party set out to secure "a just balance of power . . . between all the various classes." It called for the abolition of private banks, chartered monopolies, and debtors' prisons, and it demanded universal public education and a fair system of taxation (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). It won some victories, electing a number of assemblymen and persuading the Pennsylvania legislature in 1834 to authorize tax-supported schools. Elsewhere, Working Men's candidates won office in many cities, but their parties' weakness in statewide contests soon took a toll. By the mid-1830s, most politically active workers had joined the Democratic Party.

The Working Men's Parties left a mixed legacy. They mobilized craft workers and gave political expression to their ideology of artisan republicanism. As labor intellectual

Becoming Literate: Public Education and Democracy

The struggle for a genuinely *democratic* polity—"government of the people, by the people, and for the people," as Lincoln put it—played out at the local and state level in battles over who should participate in the political arena. As legislators argued over extending the franchise, they considered the knowledge that citizens needed to participate responsibly in politics. Although primary education was publicly supported in most New England towns (giving that region nearly universal literacy), it received only spotty funding in the other northern states and almost none in the South (restricting literacy there to one-third of the white population). The following documents address the resulting debate over publicly supported education and citizenship.

1. **Editorial from the *Philadelphia National Gazette*, 1830.** *Pennsylvania was one of the first states to debate legislation regarding universal free public education.*

   The scheme of Universal Equal Education . . . is virtually "Agrarianism" [redistribution of land from rich to poor]. It would be a compulsory application of the means of the richer, for the direct use of the poorer classes. . . . One of the chief excitements to industry . . . is the hope of earning the means of educating their children respectably . . . that incentive would be removed, and the scheme of state and equal education be a premium for comparative idleness, to be taken out of the pockets of the laborious and conscientious.

2. **Thaddeus Stevens, speech before the Pennsylvania General Assembly, February 1835.** *Pennsylvania's Free Public School Act of 1834 was the handiwork of the Working Men's Party of Philadelphia (see p. 295). When over half of Pennsylvania's school districts refused to implement the law, the legislature threatened to repeal it. Thaddeus Stevens, later a leading antislavery advocate, turned back that threat through this speech to the Pennsylvania General Assembly.*

   It would seem to be humiliating to be under the necessity, in the nineteenth century, of entering into a formal argument to prove the utility, and to free governments, the absolute necessity of education. . . . Such necessity would be degrading to a Christian age and a free republic. If an elective republic is to endure for any great length of time, every elector must have sufficient information, not only to accumulate wealth and take care of his pecuniary concerns, but to direct wisely the Legislatures, the Ambassadors, and the Executive of the nation; for some part of all these things, some agency in approving or disapproving of them, falls to every freeman. If, then, the permanency of our government depends upon such knowledge, it is the duty of government to see that the means of information be diffused to every citizen. This is a sufficient answer to those who deem education a private and not a public duty—who argue that they are willing to educate their own children, but not their neighbor's children.

3. **"Letter from a Teacher" in Catharine E. Beecher, *The True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women*, 1851.** *The public school movement created new opportunities not just for children of middle and lower classes but also for the young Protestant women who contributed to the "Benevolent Empire" as professional educators. Beecher's academy in Hartford, Connecticut, sent out dozens of young women to establish schools.*

   I am now located in this place, which is the county-town of a newly organized county [in a midwestern state]. . . . The Sabbath is little regarded, and is more a day for diversion than devotion. . . . My school embraces both sexes and all ages from five to seventeen, and not one can read intelligibly.

4. **"Popular Education," 1833.** *This piece appeared in the* North American Review, *the nation's first literary and cultural journal and the mouthpiece of New England's intellectual elite.*

   [T]he mind of a people, in proportion as it is educated, will not only feel its own value, but will also perceive its rights. We speak now of those palpable rights which are recognised by all free states. . . . [T]he palpable rights of men, those of personal security, of property and of the free and unembarrassed pursuit of individual welfare, it

Orestes Brownson defined their distinctive vision, "All men will be independent proprietors, working on their own capitals, on their own farms, or in their own shops." However, this emphasis on proprietorship inhibited alliances between the artisan-based Working Men's Parties and the rapidly increasing class of dependent wage earners. As Joseph Weydemeyer, a close friend of Karl Marx, reported from New York in the early 1850s, many American craft workers "are incipient **bourgeois**, and feel themselves to be such."

The **Panic of 1837** threw the American economy—and the workers' movement—into disarray. The panic began when the Bank of England tried to boost

is obviously impossible to conceal from an educated and reading people. Such a people rises at once above the condition of feudal tenants. . . . It directs its attention to the laws and institutions that govern it. It compels public office to give an account of itself. It strips off the veil of secrecy from the machinery of power. . . . And when all this is spread abroad in newspaper details . . . of a people that can read; when the estimate is freely made, of what the government tax levies upon the daily hoard, and upon apparel, and upon every comfort of life, can it be doubted that such a people will demand and obtain an influence in affairs that so vitally concern it? This would be freedom.

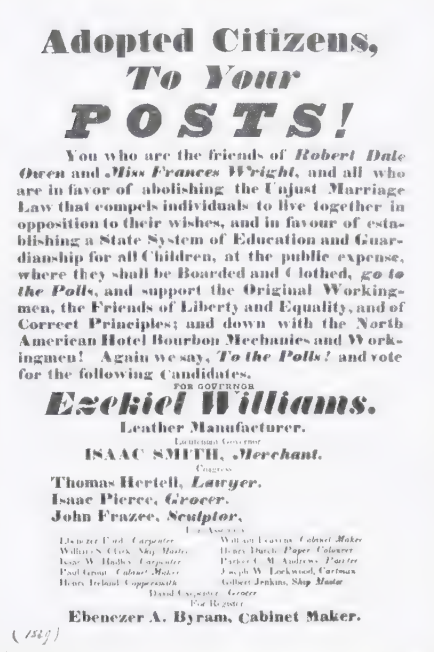
5. Judge Baker, sentencing hearing in the court case against Mrs. Margaret Douglass of Norfolk, Virginia, January 10, 1854. *Southern whites considered the acquisition of literacy by blacks, whether slave or free, as a public danger, especially after the Nat Turner uprising in Southampton County, Virginia, in 1831 (Chapter 10). A Virginia court sent Mrs. Margaret Douglass to jail for a month "as an example to all others" for teaching free black children to read so they might have access to books on religion and morality.*

There are persons, I believe, in our community, opposed to the policy of the law in question. They profess to believe that universal intellectual culture is necessary to religious instruction and education, and that such culture is suitable to a state of slavery. . . .

Such opinions in the present state of our society I regard as manifestly mischievous. It is not true that our slaves cannot be taught religious and moral duty, without being able to read the Bible and use the pen. Intellectual and religious instruction often go hand in hand, but the latter may well be exist without the former; . . . among the whites one-fou[r]th or more are entirely without a knowledge of letters, [nonetheless,] respect for the law, and for moral and religious conduct and behavior, are justly and prope[r]ly appreciated and practiced. . . .

The first legislative provision upon this subject was introduced in the year 1831, immediately succeeding the bloody scenes of the memorable Southampton insurrection; and . . . was re-enacted with additional penalties in the year 1848. . . . After these several and repeated recognitions of the wisdom and propriety of the said act, it may well be said that bold and open opposition to it [must be condemned] . . . as a measure of self-preservation and protection.

6. Working Men's Party poster for immigrant voters, New York, 1830.



Adopted Citizens,
To Your
POSTS!

You who are the friends of *Robert Dale Owen* and *Miss Frances Wright*, and all who are in favor of abolishing the Unjust Marriage Law that compels individuals to live together in opposition to their wishes, and in favour of establishing a State System of Education and Guardianship for all Children, at the public expense, where they shall be Boarded and Clothed, *go to the Polls*, and support the Original Workingmen, the Friends of Liberty and Equality, and of Correct Principles; and down with the North American Hotel Bourbon Mechanics and Workingmen! Again we say, *To the Polls!* and vote for the following Candidates.

FOR GOVERNOR
Ezekiel Williams.
Leather Manufacturer.

Lieutenant Governor
ISAAC SMITH, *Merchant.*

Congress
Thomas Hertell, *Lawyer.*
Isaac Pierce, *Grocer.*
John Frazee, *Sculptor.*

For Assembly
Daniel Ford, *Carpenter* — William Leavins, *Cabinet Maker*
William S. Cox, *Ship Master* — Henry Durell, *Paper Colourer*
Isaac W. Hadley, *Carpenter* — Parker C. M. Andrews, *Painter*
Paul Grout, *Cabinet Maker* — Joseph W. Lockwood, *Cartman*
Henry Ireland, *Coppersmith* — Gilbert Jenkins, *Ship Master*
David Carpenter, *Grocer*

For Register
Ebenezer A. Byram, *Cabinet Maker.*

Source: Joshua R. Greenberg, Advocating the Man/Picture Research Consultants & Archives

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What arguments does the editorial in the *Philadelphia National Gazette* (source 1) advance? How does Stevens (source 2) reframe this argument?
2. What does the letter from a former student of Beecher's (source 3) tell us about the links between educational reform and other social movements, such as Sabbatarianism (p. 308)?
3. How is the argument of the author in source 4 similar to, or different from, that in sources 1 and 2?
4. How does Judge Baker (source 5) justify the denial of education to African Americans?
5. What do the occupations of the Working Men's Party candidates suggest about its definition of "worker" (source 6)?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using these documents and materials in this chapter, write an essay that discusses public education, responsible citizenship, and social reform in America between 1800 and 1854.

the faltering British economy by sharply curtailing the flow of money and credit to the United States. Since 1822, British manufacturers had extended credit to southern planters to expand cotton production, and British investors had purchased millions of dollars of the canal bonds from the northern states. Suddenly deprived of British funds, American planters, merchants, and canal corporations had to withdraw gold from domestic banks to pay their foreign debts. Moreover, British textile mills drastically reduced their purchases of raw cotton, causing its price to plummet from 20 cents a pound to 10 cents or less.

Hard Times The Panic of 1837 struck hard at Americans of all social ranks. This anti-Democratic cartoon shows unemployed workers turning to drink; women and children begging in the streets; and fearful depositors withdrawing funds as their banks collapse. As the plummeting hot-air balloon in the background symbolizes, the rising "Glory" of an independent America was crashing to earth. Museum of the City of New York, USA/Bridgeman Images

Falling cotton prices and the drain of specie to Britain set off a financial panic. On May 8, the Dry Dock Bank of New York City ran out of specie, prompting worried depositors to withdraw gold and silver coins from other banks. Within two weeks, every American bank had stopped trading specie and called in its loans, turning a financial panic into an economic crisis. "This sudden overthrow of the commercial credit" had a "stunning effect," observed Henry Fox, the British minister in Washington. "The conquest of the land by a foreign power could hardly have produced a more general sense of humiliation and grief."

To stimulate the economy, state governments increased their investments in canals and railroads. However, as governments issued (or guaranteed) more bonds to finance these ventures, they were unable to pay the interest charges, sparking a severe financial crisis on both sides of the Atlantic in 1839. Nine state governments defaulted on their debts, and hard-pressed European lenders cut the flow of new capital to the United States.

The American economy fell into a deep depression. By 1843, canal construction had dropped by 90 percent, prices and wages had fallen by 50 percent, and unemployment in seaports and industrial centers had reached 20 percent. Bumper crops drove down cotton prices, pushing hundreds of planters and merchants into bankruptcy. Minister Henry Ward Beecher described a land "filled with lamentation . . . its inhabitants wandering like bereaved citizens among the ruins of an earthquake, mourning for children, for houses crushed, and property buried forever."

By creating a surplus of unemployed workers, the depression finished off the union movement and the Working Men's Parties. In 1837, six thousand masons, carpenters, and other building-trades workers lost their jobs in New York City, destroying their unions' bargaining power. By 1843, most local unions, all the national labor organizations, and all the workers' parties had disappeared.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors led to the demise of the Anti-Masonic and Working Men's political parties?

"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too!"

Many Americans blamed the Democrats for the depression of 1837–1843. They criticized Jackson for destroying the Second Bank and directing the Treasury Department in 1836 to issue the **Specie Circular**, an executive order that required the Treasury Department to accept only gold and silver in payment for lands in the national domain. Critics charged — mistakenly — that the Circular drained so much specie from the economy that it sparked the Panic of 1837.

The public turned its anger on Van Buren, who took office just before the panic struck. Ignoring the pleas of influential bankers, the new president refused to revoke the Specie Circular or take actions to stimulate the economy. Holding to his philosophy of limited government, Van Buren advised Congress that "the less government interferes with private pursuits the better for the general prosperity." As the depression deepened in 1839, this laissez-faire outlook commanded less and less political support. Worse, Van Buren's major piece of fiscal legislation, the Independent Treasury Act of 1840, delayed recovery by pulling federal specie out of Jackson's pet banks (where it had backed loans) and placing it in government vaults, where it had little economic impact.

Harrison's Log Cabin and Cider Campaign To boost the chances that William Henry Harrison would be elected president in 1840, Whig political strategists promoted him as the "log cabin and hard cider" candidate, in contrast to the aristocratic Martin Van Buren. On this patriotic cotton banner, Harrison, coming out the door of his cabin in shirtsleeves, greets a veteran who has lost a leg in service to his country. A third man bends down before a keg of hard cider, presumably intending to offer the visitor a drink. Despite Harrison's well-to-do background — the son of a prominent Virginia slaveowner, he had served as territorial governor of Indiana and in both the House and the Senate — the campaign presented him as a simple Ohio farmer. The populist appeal of the Whig campaign was misleading, but it succeeded in elevating Harrison to the White House. ©Collection of the New York Historical Society, USA/ Bridgeman Images

The Log Cabin Campaign The Whigs exploited Van Buren's weakness. In 1840, they organized their first national convention and nominated William Henry Harrison of Ohio for president and John Tyler of Virginia for vice president. A military hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe and the War of 1812, Harrison was well advanced in age (sixty-eight) and had little political experience. However, the Whig leaders in Congress, Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, wanted a president who would rubber-stamp their program for protective tariffs and a national bank. An unpretentious, amiable man, Harrison told voters that Whig policies were "the only means, under Heaven, by which a poor industrious man may become a rich man without bowing to colossal wealth."

The depression stacked the political cards against Van Buren, but the election turned as much on style as on substance. It became the great "log cabin campaign" — the first time two well-organized parties competed for votes through a new style of campaigning. Whig songfests, parades, and mass meetings drew new voters into politics. Whig speakers assailed "Martin Van Ruin" as a manipulative politician with aristocratic tastes — a devotee of fancy wines, elegant clothes, and polite refinement, as indeed he was. Less truthfully, they portrayed Harrison as a self-made man who lived contentedly in a log cabin and quaffed hard cider, a drink of the common people. In fact, Harrison's father was a wealthy Virginia planter who had signed the Declaration of Independence, and Harrison himself lived in a series of elegant mansions.

The Whigs boosted their electoral hopes by welcoming women to campaign festivities — a "first" for American politics. Many Jacksonian Democrats had long embraced an ideology of aggressive manhood, likening politically minded females to "public" women, prostitutes who plied their trade in theaters and other public places. Whigs took a more restrained view of masculinity and recognized that Christian women had already entered American public life through the temperance movement and other benevolent activities. In October 1840, Daniel Webster celebrated moral reform to an audience of twelve hundred women and urged them to back Whig candidates. "This way of making politicians of their women is something new under the sun," exclaimed one Democrat, worried that it would bring more Whig men to the polls. And it did: more than 80 percent of the eligible male voters cast ballots in 1840, up from

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did Whigs and Democrats view women in politics, and why did they hold those views?

fewer than 60 percent in 1832 and 1836 (see Figure 9.1, p. 283). Heeding the Whigs' campaign slogan "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too," they voted Harrison into the White House with 53 percent of the popular vote and gave the party a majority in Congress.

Tyler Subverts the Whig Agenda Led by Clay and Webster, the Whigs in Congress prepared to reverse the Jacksonian revolution. Their hopes were short-lived; barely a month after his inauguration in 1841, Harrison died of pneumonia, and the nation got "Tyler Too." But in what capacity: as acting president or as president? The Constitution was vague on the issue. Ignoring his Whig associates in Congress, who wanted a weak chief executive, Tyler took the presidential oath of office and declared his intention to govern as he pleased. As it turned out, that would not be like a Whig.

Tyler had served in the House and the Senate as a Jeffersonian Democrat, firmly committed to slavery and states' rights. He had joined the Whigs only to protest Jackson's stance against nullification. On economic issues, Tyler shared Jackson's hostility to the Second Bank and the American System. He therefore vetoed Whig bills that would have raised tariffs and created a new national bank. Outraged by this betrayal, most of Tyler's cabinet resigned in 1842, and the Whigs expelled Tyler from their party. "His Accidency," as he was called by his critics, was now a president without a party.

The split between Tyler and the Whigs allowed the Democrats to regroup. The party vigorously recruited small farmers in the North, smallholding planters in the South, and former members of the Working Men's Parties in the cities. It also won support among Irish and German Catholic immigrants — whose numbers had increased during the 1830s — by backing their demands for religious and cultural liberty, such as the freedom to drink beer and whiskey. A pattern of ethnocultural politics, as historians refer to the practice of voting along ethnic and religious lines, now became a prominent feature of American life. Thanks to these urban and rural recruits, the Democrats remained the majority party in most parts of the nation. Their program of equal rights, states' rights, and cultural liberty was attractive to more white Americans than the Whig platform of economic nationalism, moral reform, temperance laws, and individual mobility.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What principles united the Whig Party, and why did the Tyler presidency fail to fulfill its leaders' wishes?**

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we examined the causes and the consequences of the democratic political revolution. We saw that the expansion of the franchise weakened the political system run by notables of high status and encouraged the transfer of power to professional politicians — men like Martin Van Buren, who were mostly of middle-class origin.

We also witnessed a revolution in government policy, as Andrew Jackson and his Democratic Party dismantled the mercantilist economic system of government-supported economic development. On the national level, Jackson destroyed Henry Clay's American System; on the state level, Democrats wrote new constitutions that ended the Commonwealth System of government charters and subsidies to private businesses. Jackson's treatment of Native Americans was equally revolutionary; the Removal Act of 1830 forcefully resettled eastern Indian peoples west of the Mississippi River, opening their ancestral lands to white settlement.

Finally, we watched the emergence of the Second Party System. Following the split in the Republican Party during the election of 1824, two new parties — the Democrats and the Whigs — developed on the national level and eventually absorbed the members of the Anti-Masonic and Working Men's Parties. The new party system established universal suffrage for white men and a mode of representative government that was responsive to ordinary citizens. In their scope and significance, these political innovations matched the economic advances of both the Industrial Revolution and the Market Revolution.

CHAPTER 9 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW *Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.*

1. How did Jackson and the new Democratic Party overcome sectional differences?
2. What were the constitutional arguments for and against internal improvements, the tariff, and nullification?
3. What principles united the Whig Party, and why did the Tyler presidency fail to fulfill its leaders' wishes?
4. Review the events listed under "Politics and Power" on the thematic timeline on page 236. As the timeline indicates, the Working Men's and Anti-Masonic Parties rose and declined between 1827 and 1834, and then the Whig Party emerged. How do you explain the timing of these events?

AP® CONTENTS | EVENTS | PEOPLE *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

franchise (p. 274)
notables (p. 274)
political machine (p. 276)
spoils system (p. 277)
caucus (p. 277)
demographic transition (p. 278)
republican motherhood (p. 278)
American Colonization Society (p. 280)
Missouri Compromise (p. 281)
American System (p. 281)
internal improvements (p. 282)
corrupt bargain (p. 282)
Tariff of Abominations (p. 283)
nullification (p. 286)
states' rights (p. 286)
Second Bank of the United States (p. 286)
Indian Removal Act of 1830 (p. 291)
Trail of Tears (p. 292)
classical liberalism, or laissez-faire (p. 293)
Whigs (p. 293)
Panic of 1837 (p. 296)
Specie Circular (p. 299)

Key People

Martin Van Buren (p. 276)
Mary Wollstonecraft (p. 278)
Richard Allen (p. 280)
John Quincy Adams (p. 281)
Henry Clay (p. 281)
Andrew Jackson (p. 281)
John C. Calhoun (p. 281)
Roger B. Taney (p. 285)
John Tyler (p. 299)

Key Academic Terms

abject (p. 280)
prestige (p. 281)
egalitarian (p. 284)
tumultuous (p. 293)
bourgeois (p. 296)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. The chapter argues that a democratic revolution swept America in the decades after 1820 and uprooted the old system of politics. After reviewing the discussions of politics in Chapters 6 and 7, explain how party systems and political alignments changed over time and then assess the strength of this argument.
2. Look again at the cartoon depictions of Andrew Jackson, as King Andrew (p. 287) and the Great Father (p. 292). What point of view does each cartoonist support, and how effective are the cartoons in championing that view? How are today's negative political advertisements on television similar or different?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 274 for help in answering the question below.*

Based on the events in the chronology (and your reading of this chapter), which five-year period brought more significant changes to American political and economic life: 1829–1833, Andrew Jackson's first term as president, or 1837–1842, the years of panic and depression? Explain and defend your choice.

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–4 refer to the excerpt below.

"Be it enacted that whenever, by reason of unlawful obstructions, combinations, or assemblages of persons, it shall become impracticable . . . to execute the revenue laws, and collect the duties on imports in the ordinary way, in any collection district, . . .it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States . . . to employ . . . land or naval forces, or militia of the United States, as may be deemed necessary for the purpose of preventing the removal of such vessel or cargo, and protecting the officers of the customs in retaining the custody thereof. . . .

[T]he President shall be, and hereby is, authorized, promptly to employ such means to suppress the same, and to . . . cause the said laws or process to be duly executed. . . "

The Force Bill, 1833

1. The controversy generated by passage of the Force Bill reflected ongoing debates in the United States over
   a. the power of the presidency.
   b. federalism and states' rights.
   c. the legal use of military force.
   d. First Amendment rights of assembly and protest.
2. The provisions in the excerpt would have been most widely condemned by
   a. Massachusetts merchants.
   b. Pennsylvania small farmers.
   c. New York textile workers.
   d. South Carolina plantation owners.
3. Which of the following most directly resulted from the enactment of the Force Bill?
   a. An increase in federal tariff revenues
   b. An expansion of semisubsistence agriculture
   c. An increase in sectionalism
   d. An expansion of white male suffrage
4. The underlying principles in the excerpt are most consistent with those expressed in
   a. *Common Sense* (1776).
   b. the Northwest Ordinance (1787).
   c. the *Federalist Papers* (1787).
   d. Washington's Farewell Address (1796).

Questions 5–6 refer to the excerpt below.

"We believe the present plan of the General Government to effect our removal West of the Mississippi, and thus obtain our lands for the use of the State of Georgia, to be highly oppressive, cruel and unjust. And we sincerely hope there is no consideration which can induce our citizens to forsake the land of our fathers of which they have been in possession from time immemorial, and thus compel us, against our will, to undergo the toils and difficulties of removing with our helpless families hundreds of miles to unhealthy and unproductive country. We hope therefore the committee and Council will take into deep consideration our deplorable situation, and do everything in their power to avert such a state of things. And we trust by a prudent course their transactions with the General Government will enlist in our behalf the sympathies of the good people of the United States."

Cherokee Women's Petition, 1831

5. All of the following historical developments contributed to the concerns expressed in the petition EXCEPT
   a. the overcultivation of arable land in the Southeast.
   b. federal efforts to relocate Indian settlements.
   c. the expansion of frontier settlements.
   d. attempts by American Indians to retain control of tribal lands and natural resources.
6. Which of the following groups would have been most likely to support the sentiments expressed in the petition?
   a. Southern plantation owners
   b. Frontier settlers
   c. Leaders of rival American Indian nations
   d. States rights advocates

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS *Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.*

"There is no doubt that Jackson believed absolutely that he was pursuing a 'just and humane policy towards the Indians.' Given the greed of the white man and the certitude that the two races could not intermingle or live side by side, Jackson contended that only through removal could the Indians escape inevitable annihilation. Once relocated beyond the Mississippi the federal government might then exercise 'parental control' over their interests and in that way 'perpetuate their race.' Most Americans probably agreed with this policy. As 'hard and cruel as it was then thought,' wrote one contemporary . . . it 'is now universally felt to have been as kind as it was necessary.' . . . [T]he only sane policy for a just government, Jackson declared, was to get the Indian to a place of safety, which he fervently believed existed west of the Mississippi River."

Robert V. Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822–1832*, 1981

"Jackson never proposed exterminating the Indians or at least in public rhetoric, removing by force of arms those who wished to remain. But he was adept at devising conditions that would make those who chose not to remove . . . miserable. . . . [H]e seems to have regarded as inevitable the ultimate extinction of the Native Americans. . . . [T]heir doom was not to be regretted, however. . . . But whatever were Jackson's private reasons for . . . Indian removal — . . . political ambition, financial greed, and philosophical rationalization — there remained the political forces that he mobilized under the banner of the Democratic Party. The exaltation of the common man . . . the sense of America as . . . destined for continental expansion, the open acceptance of racism — these were popular, politically powerful themes that would have driven any Democratic President to press for a policy of Indian removal."

Anthony F. C. Wallace, *The Long Bitter Trail: Andrew Jackson and the Indians*, 1993

1. Using the two excerpts at the bottom of the previous page and above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Remini's and Wallace's historical interpretations of President Jackson's attitude toward American Indians.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1820 to 1840 that is not mentioned directly in the excerpts could be used to support Remini's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1820 to 1840 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wallace's interpretation.

The Expansion of Voting Rights for White Men, 1800

The Expansion of Voting Rights for White Men, 1830

2. Using the two maps at left and above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that caused the change in voting rights for white men illustrated in the maps.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of the change in voting rights for white men illustrated in the maps.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ANOTHER specific historical effect of the change in voting rights for white men illustrated in the maps.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between the first two-party system in the United States featuring political rivalry between the Federalist and Democratic Republican Parties prior to the 1820s and the Second American Party System featuring the rival Democratic and Whig Parties in the period after 1828.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between the first two-party system in the United States featuring political rivalry between the Federalist and Democratic-Republican Parties prior to 1820 and the Second American Party System featuring the rival Democratic and Whig Parties in the period after 1828.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ANOTHER specific historical difference between the first two-party system in the United States featuring political rivalry between the Federalist and Democratic-Republican Parties prior to 1820 and the Second American Party System featuring the rival Democratic and Whig Parties in the period after 1828.

10 CHAPTER

Religion, Reform, and Culture
1820–1848

Spiritual Awakenings

The Second Great Awakening

Ralph Waldo Emerson and Transcendentalism

Utopian Experiments

Urban Cultures and Conflicts

Sex in the City

Popular Fiction and the Penny Press

Urban Entertainments

African Americans and the Struggle for Freedom

Free Black Communities, North and South

The Rise of Abolitionism

The Women's Rights Movement

Origins of the Women's Rights Movement

From Antislavery to Women's Rights

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

What changes and conflicts emerged as Americans developed a national culture?

Amid a wild thunderstorm in the summer of 1830, an African American seamstress in Philadelphia woke to hear God speaking. "I rose up and walked the floor wringing my hands and crying under great fear," Rebecca Cox Jackson wrote later. She prayed for hours, plunged in "the chamber of death." Suddenly she felt ecstasy: "my spirit was light, my heart filled with love for God and all mankind. . . . I ran downstairs and opened the door to let the lightning in the house, for it was like sheets of glory to my soul." God had told her, Jackson believed, that sexual relations caused sin: she should leave her husband. Sharing this news with her astonished spouse, Jackson was reportedly so full of spiritual power that she placed her hands on a hot stove over and over and removed them unhurt.

Jackson left home and became a traveling preacher. In upstate New York she discovered the communal movement of Shakers, or United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, whose popular nickname came from their ecstatic dances in worship. Like Jackson, Shakers practiced sexual abstinence. They also recognized women as religious and community leaders. Inspired by visions of a "mother spirit," Jackson returned to Philadelphia and built her own African American Shaker community, which endured for decades after her death in 1871.

Like Rebecca Cox Jackson, many Americans of the 1830s and 1840s discovered new identities and callings. Influenced by the era's economic and political transformations, they believed they could perfect their lives and society as a whole. Mainstream reformers, especially in the emerging northeastern middle class, advocated church attendance and a strict moral code. Their efforts were driven in part by growing fears of disorder, as they watched the rise of urban saloons, prostitution, and a boisterous working-class street culture. Soon, more radical reformers promoted a bewildering assortment of ideas: rejection of church institutions, common ownership of property, immediate emancipation of slaves, and sexual equality. These activists challenged social hierarchies and provoked horrified opposition. As one fearful southerner argued, radicals favored a world with "No-Marriage, No-Religion, No-Private Property, No-Law and No-Government."

Such fears were not exaggerated. Rapid economic growth and geographical expansion had weakened traditional institutions, forcing individuals to fend for themselves. In 1835, Alexis de Tocqueville coined the word ***individualism*** to describe the result. Native-born white Americans were "no longer attached to each other by any tie of caste, class, association, or family," the French aristocrat lamented, and so lived in social isolation. But while Tocqueville mourned the loss of social ties, Americans built new movements for community, worship, and reform.

Great American Revivals As shown in this painting of an 1819 Methodist camp meeting, the Second Great Awakening attracted large crowds of men, women, and children to revivals in outdoor venues. In the South, many African Americans also attended. In an atmosphere of intense excitement, some people (like the man in the foreground) were helped by friends and family members after being overcome with awareness of their sins and the spiritual power of redemption and grace. The tents in the background show that participants camped for the duration of the meeting as preaching, prayer, and conversions continued for several days.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1816 ▸ African Methodist Episcopal Church founded

1821 ▸ Emma Willard founds Troy Female Seminary for young women

1823 ▸ Charles Grandison Finney begins Protestant revival campaigns

1827 ▸ *Freedom's Journal*, first African American newspaper, published in New York

1829 ▸ Violence drives over a thousand African Americans out of Cincinnati
▸ David Walker's *Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens of the World*

1830 ▸ Joseph Smith publishes *The Book of Mormon*

1830s ▸ Emergence of minstrel shows
▸ Peak membership of Shaker communities

1831 ▸ William Lloyd Garrison founds *The Liberator*
▸ Nat Turner's uprising in Virginia

1832 ▸ Ralph Waldo Emerson turns to transcendentalism
▸ American Temperance Society founded
▸ Charles Knowlton publishes first American birth control guide

1833 ▸ American Anti-Slavery Society founded

1834 ▸ New York activists create Female Moral Reform Society

1835 ▸ James Gordon Bennett founds *New York Herald*
▸ Abolitionists launch great postal campaign

1836 ▸ House of Representatives adopts gag rule barring antislavery petitions

1837 ▸ Horace Mann begins public school expansion in Massachusetts
▸ Grimké sisters defend public roles for women
▸ Abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy killed by a mob in Illinois

1839–1845 ▸ First wave of married women's property laws

1840 ▸ Liberty Party first runs James G. Birney for president

1840s ▸ Fourierist communities arise in Midwest

1841 ▸ Dorothea Dix promotes hospitals for mentally ill
▸ Catharine Beecher publishes *Treatise on Domestic Economy*

1844 ▸ Margaret Fuller publishes *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*

1845 ▸ Henry David Thoreau goes to Walden Pond

1846 ▸ Brigham Young leads Mormons to Salt Lake

1848 ▸ Seneca Falls Convention proposes women's equality
▸ John Humphrey Noyes establishes cooperative experiment at Oneida

1851 ▸ Herman Melville publishes *Moby-Dick*

1855 ▸ Dr. William Sanger surveys sex trade in New York City
▸ Walt Whitman publishes *Leaves of Grass*

Spiritual Awakenings

AP® EXAM TIP

As you read through this section, compare the Second Great Awakening of the early nineteenth century to the First Great Awakening that occurred in the early eighteenth century (Ch. 4).

At the time of the American Revolution, every state except Pennsylvania and Rhode Island had a legally established church that claimed everyone as a member and collected compulsory religious taxes. In the years that followed, the combined pressure of Enlightenment principles and religious dissent eliminated most state support for religion and allowed voluntary church membership. Americans in large numbers joined evangelical Methodist and Baptist churches that preached spiritual equality and developed egalitarian cultures marked by communal singing and emotional services.

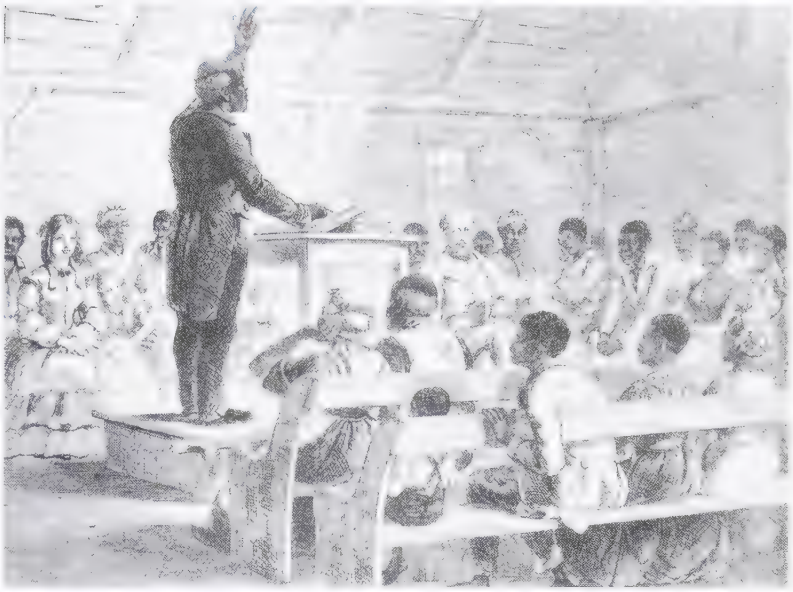
From the 1790s through the 1830s, the country experienced powerful waves of religious revival. One of the largest frontier camp meetings, at Cane Ridge in Kentucky in 1801, lasted for nine electrifying days and attracted almost 20,000 people. Similar religious excitement swept all regions of the country. Known to historians as the **Second Great Awakening**, this upheaval stimulated an array of long-lasting reform movements. By the time the Awakening subsided, New England intellectuals led by Ralph Waldo Emerson were developing a radical individualist theology known as transcendentalism. Other spiritual seekers, like Rebecca Cox Jackson, joined utopian communities to remake the world.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

The Second Great Awakening

In the South, evangelical religion was initially a disruptive force because many ministers spoke of spiritual equality and criticized slavery. Husbands and planters grew angry when wives became more assertive and blacks joined evangelical congregations. To retain white men in their churches, Methodist and Baptist preachers gradually adapted their religious message to justify the authority of yeomen patriarchs and slave-owning planters. Man was

naturally at "the head of the woman," declared one Baptist minister, while a Methodist conference told Christian slaves to be "submissive, faithful, and obedient." African Americans, both free and enslaved, developed a theology of their own (see Chapter 11).



African American Worship in the South After the 1831 revolt led by enslaved preacher Nat Turner, few southern African Americans were permitted to worship by themselves without whites' presence and supervision. In this rare sketch of a South Carolina church service, published in London in 1863, the plantation owners preside over the meeting, sharing the religious message while also making sure that the preacher's words don't challenge the hierarchies of slavery. Hulton Archive/Getty Image

The Second Great Awakening in the North

Many New Englanders rejected Calvinists' emphasis on human **depravity** and celebrated reason and free will. A new sect of Universalists, who preached universal salvation, gained tens of thousands of converts. Congregationalists discarded the concept of the Trinity — Father, Son, and Holy Spirit — and, taking the name *Unitarians*, emphasized reason. "The ultimate reliance of a human being is, and must be, on his own mind," argued William Ellery Channing, a famous Unitarian minister. A children's catechism conveyed the denomination's optimistic message: "If I am good, God will love me, and make me happy." Reflecting this optimism, ministers and popular writers linked individual salvation to religious benevolence. The mark of a true church, declared Christian social reformer Lydia Maria Child, is when members' "heads and hearts unite in working for the welfare of the human race."

By the 1820s, many Protestant Christians embraced that goal. Unlike the First Great Awakening, which split churches into warring factions, the second fostered cooperation among denominations. Between 1815 and 1826, religious leaders founded five interdenominational societies: the American Education Society, Bible Society, Sunday School Union, Tract Society, and Home Missionary Society. Based in northeastern cities, these societies dispatched hundreds of missionaries to the West and distributed thousands of Bibles and religious pamphlets.

One of the Awakening's most successful leaders was Presbyterian minister Charles Grandison Finney. Born into a poor farming family in Connecticut, Finney planned to become a lawyer before he underwent an intense religious experience in 1823 and chose the ministry. Beginning in towns along the Erie Canal, the young minister conducted emotional revival meetings. Finney's central message was that "God has made man a moral free agent" who could choose salvation. This doctrine of free will was particularly attractive to members of the new middle class, who emphasized self-discipline, sought to improve their material condition, and welcomed Finney's assurance that heaven was also in their grasp.

Finney's greatest triumph came in 1830, when he moved his revivals to Rochester, New York, a new commercial city on the Erie Canal. Preaching every day for six months and promoting group prayer in family homes, Finney converted influential merchants and manufacturers of Rochester. They promised to attend church, give up intoxicating beverages, and work hard. To encourage their employees to do the same, wealthy businessmen founded a Free Presbyterian Church — "free" because members did not have to pay for pew space. Other evangelicals founded churches to serve **transient** canal laborers, while pious businessmen set up a savings bank to encourage thrift among workers. Finney's wife, Lydia, and other middle-class women carried the evangelical message to the wives of the unconverted, set up Sunday schools for poor children, and formed the Female Charitable Society to assist the unemployed.

Finney's efforts were not completely successful. Skilled workers in strong craft organizations — boot makers, carpenters, stonemasons, and boatbuilders — protested

that they needed higher wages and better schools more urgently than sermons and prayers. Most poor people ignored Finney's revival, as did Irish Catholic immigrants, many of whom hated Protestants as religious heretics and political oppressors.

Nonetheless, revivalists from New England to the Midwest copied Finney's message and techniques. In New York City, wealthy silk merchants Arthur and Lewis Tappan founded the *Journal of Commerce* to promote business enterprise while advocating Finney's evangelical and reform ideas. Revivals swept through Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Indiana, where, a convert reported, "you could not go upon the street and hear any conversation, except upon religion." The success of the revivals "has been so general and thorough," concluded a Presbyterian general assembly, "that the whole customs of society have changed."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONSEQUENCES

What was Charles Finney's central message, and how did it change the "customs of society"?

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to be able to explain the conditions that influenced the rise of the temperance movement in the early nineteenth century.

The Benevolent Empire The reform impulse sweeping through Protestant denominations found fertile ground in America's growing cities. Members of the rising middle classes wanted to save the world; they also wanted safe cities and a disciplined workforce (AP® Interpreting the Past). By the 1820s, led by Congregational and Presbyterian ministers, upwardly mobile reformers created a network of organizations that historians call the **Benevolent Empire**. Their goal was to restore "the moral government of God" by reducing consumption of alcohol and other vices that they believed resulted in poverty. Reform-minded individuals had regulated their own behavior; now they tried to control the lives of working people — by persuasion if possible, by law if necessary.

The Benevolent Empire targeted age-old evils such as drunkenness, adultery, prostitution, and crime, but its methods were new. Instead of relying on church sermons, reformers created large-scale organizations such as the Prison Discipline Society and the General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath. Each organization had a managing staff, a network of hundreds of chapters, thousands of volunteer members, and a newspaper. Often acting in concert, these groups encouraged people to exercise self-control and acquire "regular habits." They persuaded local governments to ban public carnivals of drink and dancing, such as Negro Election Day (festivities in which African Americans symbolically took control of the government), which had been enjoyed by whites as well as blacks. Reformers created homes for abandoned children and asylums for the insane, who previously had often been confined by their families in attics and cellars.

Temperance advocates built the most successful movement. Beer and rum had long been a standard part of American holidays and everyday life. Grogshops dotted almost every block in working-class districts and became centers of disorder. During the 1820s and 1830s, alcohol consumption reached new heights, even among the elite; alcoholism, for example, killed Daniel Tompkins, vice president under James Monroe. Heavy drinking was devastating for wage earners, who could ill afford its costs. Though Methodist artisans and ambitious craftsmen swore off liquor to protect their skills, health, and finances, other workers drank heavily on the job — and not just during the traditional 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. "refreshers." A baker recalled how "one man was stationed at the window to watch, while the rest drank."

The evangelical Protestants who took over the American Temperance Society in 1832 set out to curb consumption of alcohol. The society grew quickly to two thousand chapters and more than 200,000 members. Its campaigns relied on revivalist methods — group confession and prayer, and using women as

Taking the "Cold Water" Pledge This 1841 pledge sheet, published in Philadelphia, illustrates the interlinked appeals of domesticity and temperance. As the man on the right signs a pledge to abstain from all liquor, his wife and adoring child look on with satisfaction. Signed copies of such illustrated pledges, celebrating family bonds and women's influence, hung in the parlors of many homes to remind husbands and fathers of their temperance promise. The men on the left, however, show that control over the antebellum movement against the "liquor evil" lay squarely in the hands of men. Library of Congress

What Motivated Antebellum Reformers?

Historians identify an early-nineteenth-century Market Revolution (Chapter 8) that changed the ways people worked, lived, and related to one another. Manufacturing shifted work from household to factory. Workers no longer lived within the households of their employers and were less influenced by them. European romanticism and expanded democratic participation encouraged individualism. Importantly, an evangelical movement of religious revivals also cast doubt on older Calvinist ideas of predestination, giving hope to believers that they and their communities could achieve Christ-like perfection.

For the large group of antebellum reformers who participated in missionary, temperance, health, Sabbath protection, and education movements — as well as smaller groups struggling for abolitionism and women's rights — these changes created problems and opportunities. With society changing rapidly and new problems arising, what could be done to make it better? Historians, including Paul E. Johnson and Steven Mintz, have debated the factors motivating antebellum reformers. Were these reformers asserting control in areas where they felt they had lost power and influence, or were they inspired by the chance to perfect humans and society?

PAUL E. JOHNSON

SOURCE: Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 138.

Evangelicalism was a middle-class solution to problems . . . generated in the early stages of manufacturing. Revivals provided entrepreneurs with a means of imposing new standards of work discipline and personal comportment upon themselves and the men who worked for them, and thus they functioned as powerful social controls. . . . A significant minority of workingmen participated willingly in that process. And that, of course, is the most total and effective social control of all.

STEVEN MINTZ

SOURCE: Steven Mintz, *Moralists & Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), xiv.

[A] growing number of Americans believed that the only way to stabilize the social order was to internalize self-restraints within the depths of individual character through religion and moral reform. But the roots of reform did not lie exclusively in fear and anxiety. Reform also arose out of a millennialist sense of possibilities that was both secular and religious in its origins. . . . [A] new "middle-class" reform gospel . . . sought simultaneously to free individuals from various forms of bondage; to eradicate such "relics of barbarism" as chattel slavery and corporal punishment; and to create a sober, educated, self-disciplined citizenry.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How does each historian describe the motivations of antebellum reformers?
2. How do these historians differ in their understanding of evangelicalism's role in antebellum reform?
3. How does this chapter's discussion of the economic transformation help you to understand why both historians put the middle class at the center of antebellum reform efforts?

spiritual guides — and were a stunning success (AP® Analyzing Voices). On one day in New York City in 1841, more than 4,000 people took the temperance pledge. Annual consumption of spirits fell dramatically, from an average of 5 gallons per person in 1830 to 2 gallons in 1845.

Despite this trend, temperance advocates were frustrated that thousands of Americans — especially working-class men — refused to join the cause. By the early 1850s they turned from the goal of individual persuasion toward prohibition — laws to forbid the manufacture and sale of alcohol. In 1851, the Maine legislature passed a statute outlawing sale of alcoholic beverages in the state. The Maine Supreme Court upheld the statute, arguing that the legislature had the "right to regulate by law the sale of any article, the use of which would be detrimental of the morals of the people." The success of this **Maine Law** shaped the reformers' goals for decades to come (Chapter 17).

Saving the Nation from Drink

The temperance crusade was the most successful antebellum reform movement. It mobilized more than a million supporters in all sections of the nation and significantly lowered the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Nonetheless, like other reform efforts, the antidrinking crusade divided over questions of strategy and tactics. The following passages, taken from the writings of leading temperance advocates, show that some reformers favored legal regulation while others preferred persuasion and voluntary abstinence.

LYMAN BEECHER

"Intemperance Is the Sin of Our Land"

A leading Protestant minister and spokesman for the Benevolent Empire, Lyman Beecher regarded drunkenness as a sin. His *Six Sermons on . . . Intemperance* (1829) condemned the recklessness of working-class drunkards and called on responsible members of the middle class to lead the way to a temperate society.

"Intemperance is the sin of our land, and, with our boundless prosperity, is coming in upon us like a flood; and if anything shall defeat the hopes of the world, which hang upon our experiment of civil liberty, it is that river of fire. . . .

In every city and town the poor-tax, created chiefly by intemperance, is [increasing the burden on taxpaying citizens]. . . . The frequency of going upon the town [relying on public welfare] has taken away the reluctance of pride, and destroyed the motives to providence which the fear of poverty and suffering once supplied. The prospect of a destitute old age, or of a suffering family, no longer troubles the vicious portion of our community. They drink up their daily earnings, and bless God for the poorhouse, and begin to look upon it as, of right, the drunkard's home. . . . Every intemperate and idle man, whom you behold tottering about the streets and steeping himself at the stores, regards your houses and lands as pledged to take care of him, puts his hands deep, annually, into your pockets. . . .

What then is this universal, natural, and national remedy for intemperance? IT IS THE BANISHMENT OF ARDENT SPIRITS FROM THE LIST OF LAWFUL ARTICLES OF COMMERCE, BY A CORRECT AND EFFICIENT PUBLIC SENTIMENT; SUCH AS HAS TURNED SLAVERY OUT OF HALF OUR LAND, AND WILL YET EXPEL IT FROM THE WORLD.

We are not therefore to come down in wrath upon the distillers, and importers, and venders of ardent spirits. None of us are enough without sin to cast the first stone. . . . It is the buyers who have created the demand for ardent spirits, and made distillation and importation a gainful traffic. . . . Let the temperate cease to buy—and the demand for ardent spirits will fall in the market three fourths, and ultimately will fail wholly. . . .

This however cannot be done effectually so long as the traffic in ardent spirits is regarded as lawful, and is patronized by men of reputation and moral worth in every part of the land. Like slavery, it must be regarded as sinful, impolitic, and dishonorable. That no measures will avail short of rendering ardent spirits a contraband of trade, is nearly self-evident."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"A New Class of Champions"

In Baltimore in 1840, a group of reformed alcoholics formed the Washington Temperance Society, which turned the antidrinking movement in a new direction. By talking publicly about their personal experiences of alcoholic decline and spiritual recovery, they inspired thousands to "sign the pledge" of total abstinence. (Its philosophy exists today in the organization Alcoholics Anonymous.) In 1842, Lincoln, an ambitious lawyer and Illinois legislator who did not drink, praised such "moral suasion" in an address to the Washingtonians of Springfield, Illinois.

"Although the temperance cause has been in progress for near twenty years, it is apparent to all that it is just now being crowned with a degree of success hitherto unparalleled. The

Temperance met resistance among workers who enjoyed their "refreshers" and Sunday beer. Even more controversial was Sabbatarianism, a movement to require business closings on the Christian Sabbath. As the Market Revolution spread, merchants and storekeepers conducted business on Sundays. Sabbatarians pressured state legislatures to halt such practices and urged Congress to repeal an 1810 law allowing mail to be transported—though not delivered—on Sundays. Members boycotted shipping companies that did business on the Sabbath and campaigned for municipal laws forbidding games and festivals on the Lord's day.

Provoking opposition from workers and freethinkers, these efforts had limited success. Men who labored twelve to fourteen hours a day, six days a week, wanted the freedom to spend their one day of leisure as they wished. To keep goods moving, shipping company managers demanded that the Erie Canal provide lockkeepers on

list of its friends is daily swelled by the additions of fifties, of hundreds, and of thousands.

The warfare heretofore waged against the demon intemperance has somehow or other been erroneous. . . . [Its] champions for the most part have been preachers [such as Beecher], lawyers, and hired agents. Between these and the mass of mankind there is a want of approachability. . . .

But when one who has long been known as a victim of intemperance bursts the fetters that have bound him, and appears before his neighbors 'clothed and in his right mind,' . . . to tell of the miseries once endured, now to be endured no more . . . there is a logic and an eloquence in it that few with human feelings can resist. . . .

In my judgment, it is to the battles of this new class of champions that our late success is greatly, perhaps chiefly, owing. . . . [Previously,] too much denunciation against dram-sellers and dram-drinkers was indulged in. This I think was both impolitic and unjust. . . . When the dram-seller and drinker were incessantly [condemned] . . . as moral pestilences . . . they were slow [to] . . . join the ranks of their denouncers in a hue and cry against themselves.

By the Washingtonians this system of consigning the habitual drunkard to hopeless ruin is repudiated. . . . They teach hope to all — despair to none. As applying to their cause, they deny the doctrine of unpardonable sin. . . .

If the relative grandeur of revolutions shall be estimated by the great amount of human misery they alleviate, and the small amount they inflict, then indeed will this be the grandest the world shall ever have seen. Of our political revolution of '76 we are all justly proud. It has given us a degree of political freedom far exceeding that of any other nation of the earth. . . . But, with all these glorious results, past, present, and to come, [this freedom] had its evils too. It [was abused by drunken husbands and thereby] breathed forth famine, swam in blood, and rode in fire; and long, long after, the orphan's cry and the widow's wail continued to break the sad silence that ensued. These were the price, the inevitable price, paid for the blessings it brought. . . .

Turn now to the temperance revolution. In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; in it, more of want supplied, more disease healed, more sorrow assuaged. By it no orphans starving, no widows weeping.

Glorious consummation! Hail, fall of fury! Reign of reason, all hail! ”

AMERICAN TEMPERANCE MAGAZINE

"You Shall Not Sell"

The *American Temperance Magazine*, like other antiliquor advocates, moved beyond the goal of moral suasion to work for legal prohibition of alcohol. Here the editor explains why.

SOURCE: David Brion Davis, *Antebellum American Culture: An Interpretive Anthology* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), 395–398, 403–409.

“ This is a utilitarian age. The speculative has in all things yielded to the practical. Words are mere noise unless they are things [and result in action].

In this sense, moral suasion is moral balderdash. 'Words, my lord, words' . . . are a delusion. . . . The drunkard's mental and physical condition pronounces them an absurdity. He is ever in one or other extreme — under the excitement of drink, or in a state of morbid collapse. . . . Reason with a man when all reason has fled, and it is doubtful whether he or you is the greater fool. . . . Moral suasion! Bah!

Place this man we have been describing out of the reach of temptation. He will have time to ponder. His mind and frame recover their native vigor. The public-house does not beset his path. . . . Thus, and thus only, will reformation and temperance be secured. And how is this accomplished? Never except through the instrumentality of the law. If it were possible to reason the drunkard into sobriety, it would not be possible to make the rumseller forego his filthy gains. Try your moral suasion on him. . . . The only logic he will comprehend, is some such ordinance as this, coming to him in the shape and with the voice of law — you shall not sell. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Lincoln's address suggest about his general political philosophy?
2. Compare Beecher's position to Lincoln's. In what ways are they similar? How are they different?
3. What positions do these selections take with respect to the appropriate role of government in regulating morality and personal behavior?

Sundays. Using laws to enforce a particular set of moral beliefs, they said, was "contrary to the free spirit of our institutions."

Ralph Waldo Emerson and Transcendentalism

Influential New England philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson ranged far beyond benevolent reform. He celebrated the overthrow of old hierarchies and the spiritual power of individuals, influencing thousands of ordinary Americans and a generation of writers in the **American Renaissance**, a mid-nineteenth-century flourishing of literature and philosophy. Its roots lay with Unitarian ministers from well-to-do New England families who questioned the constraints of their Puritan heritage. For inspiration, they turned to European **romanticism**, a new conception of self and society. Romantic

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What was the Benevolent Empire, and why did it emerge at this historical moment?

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to identify European influences that continued to impact the U.S. even as Americans developed their own unique cultural heritage.

The Founder of Transcendentalism
As this painting of Ralph Waldo Emerson by an unknown artist indicates, the young philosopher was an attractive man, his face brimming with confidence and optimism. With his radiant personality and incisive intellect, Emerson deeply influenced dozens of influential writers, artists, and scholars and enjoyed great success as a lecturer to the emerging middle class. Museum of the City of New York/Getty Images

thinkers, such as German philosopher Immanuel Kant and English poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge, rejected the ordered, rational world of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. They embraced human passion and sought deeper insight into the mysteries of existence. Through spiritual quest and self-knowledge, young Unitarians believed, each individual could experience the infinite and eternal.

Emerson's Individualism. As a Unitarian, Emerson already stood outside the mainstream of American Protestantism. In 1832, Emerson took a more radical step by resigning his Boston pulpit and rejecting organized religion. He moved to Concord, Massachusetts, and wrote influential essays probing what he called "the infinitude of the private man," the radically free person. In doing so, Emerson was launching the intellectual movement of **transcendentalism**. He argued that people needed to shake off inherited customs and institutions and discover their "original relation with Nature," in order to enter a mystical union with the "currents of Universal Being."

Transcendentalists' message of self-realization reached hundreds of thousands of people through Emerson's writings and lectures. Beginning in 1826, the lyceum movement — modeled on the public forum of the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle — arranged speaking tours by poets, preachers, scientists, and reformers. The lyceum became an important cultural institution in the North and Midwest, though not in the South, where the middle class was smaller and popular education had a lower priority. Emerson became the most popular speaker in America, eventually delivering fifteen hundred lectures in more than three hundred towns in twenty states.

Emerson's individualistic ethos spoke to the experiences of many middle-class Americans, who had left family farms to make their way in the urban world. His **pantheistic**, nature-centered view of God encouraged Unitarians in Boston to create Mount Auburn Cemetery, a beautiful landscape with burial markers for the dead of all faiths. Despite his own rejection of organized religion, Emerson's optimism also inspired many Protestant leaders of the Second Great Awakening, such as Finney, who urged believers to reject old doctrines and seek direct experiences of God's power.

Thoreau, Fuller, and Whitman New England intellectual Henry David Thoreau heeded Emerson's call to seek inspiration from the natural world. In 1845, depressed by his beloved brother's death, Thoreau built a cabin near Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts, and lived alone there for two years. In 1854, he published *Walden, or Life in the Woods*, an account of his search for meaning beyond the artificiality of civilized society:

> I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived.

Walden's most famous metaphor provides an enduring justification for independent thinking: "If a man does not keep pace with his companions, perhaps it is because he hears a different drummer." Beginning from this premise, Thoreau urged readers to avoid unthinking conformity and peacefully resist unjust laws.

As Thoreau sought self-realization for men, Margaret Fuller explored the possibilities of freedom for women. Born into a wealthy Boston family, Fuller mastered six languages and read broadly. Embracing Emerson's ideas, she started a transcendental discussion group for educated Boston women in 1839. While editing *The Dial*, the leading transcendentalist journal, Fuller also published *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1844). In it, Fuller endorsed the transcendental principle that all people could develop a life-affirming mystical relationship with God. Every woman therefore deserved psychological and social independence: the ability "to grow, as an intellect to discern, as a soul to live freely and unimpeded." She also called for equality in education and work: "We would have every arbitrary barrier thrown down [and] every path laid open to Woman as freely as to Man." Fuller traveled to Italy to report on the Revolution of 1848,

AP® EXAM TIP

A helpful exercise for the AP® exam is to trace the arguments for greater equality and opportunities for women in the early nineteenth century that ultimately would be expressed in the Seneca Falls Convention (see p. 328).

To see a longer excerpt of *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History.***

only to drown in a shipwreck on her way home to the United States. Her life and writings inspired a rising generation of women writers and reformers.

Emerson issued a declaration of literary independence, urging American authors to reject European influences and find inspiration in everyday life: "the ballad in the street; the news of the boat; the glance of the eye; the form and gait of the body." No one responded to that call more vibrantly than poet Walt Whitman. While working as a printer, teacher, journalist, and publicist for the Democratic Party, Whitman recalled that he had been "simmering, simmering"; Emerson "brought me to a boil." Poetry was the "direction of his dreams." In *Leaves of Grass*, a collection of wild, exuberant poems first published in 1855 and constantly revised and expanded, Whitman recorded in verse his efforts to transcend various "invisible boundaries": between solitude and community, between prose and poetry, even between the living and the dead. At the center of *Leaves of Grass* is the individual: "I celebrate myself, and sing myself." Through his Emersonian "original relation" with nature, Whitman claims perfect communion with others: "Every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you." For Emerson, Thoreau, and Fuller, the individual had a divine spark; for Whitman, America's collective democracy assumed a sacred character.

***Margaret Fuller*, 1848** At the age of thirty-eight, American transcendentalist author Margaret Fuller moved to Italy, where she reported on the Revolution of 1848 for the *New York Tribune*. There she fell in love with Thomas Hicks (1823–1890), a much younger American artist. Hicks rebuffed Fuller's romantic advances but painted this flattering portrait, softening her features and giving her a pensive look. Fuller took as a lover a petty noble and republican revolutionary, Giovanni Angelo, Marchese d'Ossoli, and gave birth to a son in September 1848. Two years later, the entire family died in a shipwreck while en route to the United States. Nidav Picture Library/Alamy Stock Phot

Limits of Transcendentalism Like many others, transcendentalists worried that the new market society — focused on work, profits, and consumption — was debasing Americans' spiritual lives. "Things are in the saddle," Emerson wrote, "and ride mankind." Seeking to revive intellectual life, transcendentalists created communal experiments. The most important was Brook Farm, just outside Boston, where Emerson, Thoreau, and Fuller were residents or frequent visitors. Members recalled that they "inspired the young with a passion for study, and the middle-aged with deference and admiration." But Brook Farm was an economic failure. The residents planned to produce their own food and exchange surplus milk, vegetables, and hay for manufactures. However, most members had few farming skills; only cash from affluent residents kept the enterprise afloat for five years. After a devastating fire in 1846, the community disbanded and sold the farm. With this failure, transcendentalists abandoned their quest for new social institutions. They accepted the emerging commercial order but tried to reform it, especially through the education of workers and the movement to abolish slavery.

In the meantime, Emerson's writings influenced two great novelists, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville, with more pessimistic worldviews. Both sounded powerful warnings about the dangers of individualism when it became unfettered egoism. The main characters of Hawthorne's novel *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), Hester Prynne and Arthur Dimmesdale, blatantly challenge their seventeenth-century New England community by committing adultery and producing a child. Their decision to ignore social restraints results not in liberation but in degradation: a profound sense of guilt and condemnation by the community.

Melville explored the limits of individualism in even more extreme and tragic terms and became a scathing critic of transcendentalism. His most powerful work, *Moby-Dick* (1851), tells the story of Captain Ahab's obsessive hunt for a mysterious white whale, which ends in the destruction of Ahab and almost his entire crew. Here, the quest for spiritual meaning in nature brings death, not transcendence, because Ahab lacks discipline and self-restraint. *Moby-Dick* was a commercial failure. Middle-class readers who devoured sentimental American fiction refused to follow Melville into the dark, dangerous realm of individualism gone mad. They emphatically preferred the optimistic views of Emerson or Finney.

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to note that liberal ideas about the perfectibility of man and Romanticism expressed in literary works influenced the rise of a distinctive American culture.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What were the main principles of transcendentalism, and how did they differ from the beliefs of most Protestant Christians?

MAP 10.1 Major Communal Experiments Before 1860

Some experimental communities settled along the frontier, but the vast majority chose rural areas in settled regions of the North and Midwest. Because they opposed slavery, communalists usually avoided the South. Most secular experiments failed within a few decades, as conflicts arose within the communities, or as founders lost their reformist enthusiasm or died off; some tightly knit religious communities, such as the Shakers and the Mormons, were longer-lived.

Utopian Experiments

Like the founders of Brook Farm, thousands of less affluent Americans rejected life in America's emerging market society and sought to create ideal communities, or **utopias**, in rural parts of the Northeast and Midwest (Map 10.1). They hoped to build models for different ways of living. Many rural communalists were farmers and artisans seeking refuge from the economic depression of 1837–1843. Others were religious idealists. By advocating common ownership of property (socialism) and unconventional forms of family life, communalists challenged traditional property rights and gender roles.

The first successful American communal movement was the one that attracted Rebecca Cox Jackson: Shakerism. In 1770, Ann Lee Stanley (Mother Ann Lee), a young cook in Manchester, England, had a vision that she was an incarnation of Christ. Four years later, she led a few disciples to America and established a church near Albany, New York. After her death in 1784, her followers formed disciplined religious communities. Members embraced common ownership of property; accepted strict oversight by church leaders; and pledged to abstain from alcohol, tobacco, politics, and war. Shakers' repudiation of sexual pleasure and marriage followed Mother Ann's teaching that "lustful gratifications of the flesh" were "the foundation of human corruption." Holding that God was "a dual person, male and female," Shakers placed community governance in the hands of both women and men — Elderesses and Elders.

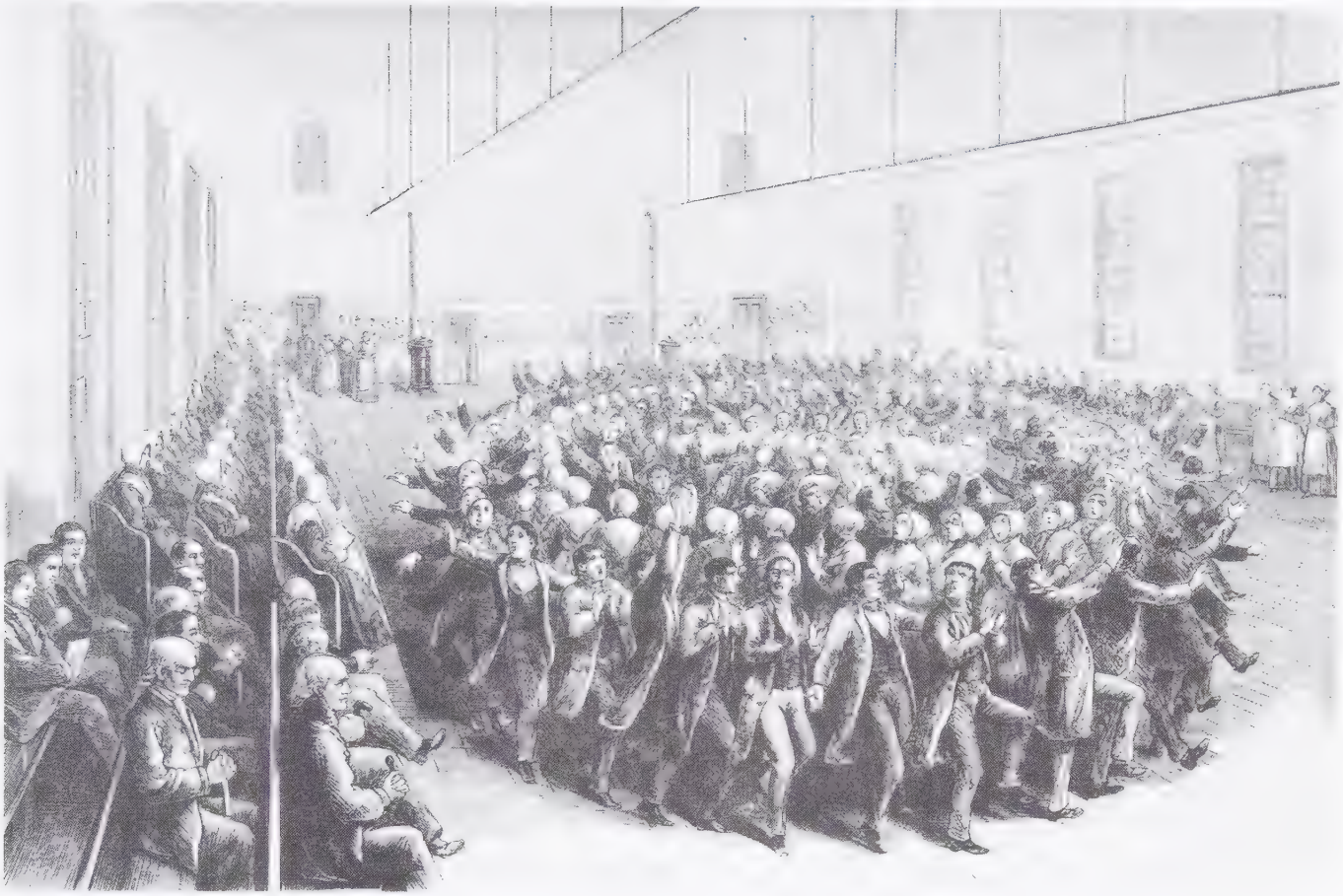
Shakers founded twenty communities, mostly in New England, New York, and Ohio. Their agriculture and crafts, especially furniture making, acquired a reputation for quality that made them self-sustaining and even comfortable. Because the Shakers **disdained** sexual intercourse, they relied on conversions and the adoption of thousands of young orphans to increase their numbers. During the 1830s, three thousand adults, mostly women, joined the Shakers, attracted by their communal intimacy and sexual equality. However, as the Benevolent Empire expanded public and private orphanages during the 1840s and 1850s, Shaker communities began to decline and, by 1900, virtually disappeared.

Other Americans championed the ideas of French reformer Charles Fourier, who devised an eight-stage theory of social evolution that predicted the imminent decline of individual property rights and capitalism, through the creation of cooperative communities whose members shared work and property. Fourier's leading disciple in America, Albert Brisbane, argued that **Fourierist socialism** would liberate workers from low wages and servitude to capitalist employers. Fourierists also called for "associated households" in which both sexes shared domestic labor, emancipating women from "slavish domestic duties."

Following the Panic of 1837, Fourierism found a receptive audience among educated farmers and craftsmen who yearned for economic stability and communal solidarity. In the 1840s, Fourierists started nearly one hundred cooperative communities,

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the impact of utopian and religious movements that resulted from the Second Great Awakening.



Shakers at Prayer Most Americans viewed the Shakers with a mixture of fascination and suspicion. They feared the sect's radical aspects, such as a commitment to celibacy and communal property, and considered the Shakers' dancing more an invitation to debauchery than a form of prayer. Those apprehensions surface in this engraving, *The Shakers of New Lebanon* (New York), which expresses both the powerful intensity and the collective character of this Shaker spiritual ritual. The work of the journalist-engraver Joseph Becker, the picture appeared in Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* in 1873. Bettmann/Getty Image

mostly in western New York and the Midwest. Members worked in cooperative groups and owned property in common, including stores, banks, schools, and libraries. Most communities quickly collapsed as members fought over work responsibilities and social policies. Fourierism's rapid decline revealed the difficulty of maintaining a utopian community in the absence of a charismatic leader or a compelling religious vision.

John Humphrey Noyes ascribed the Fourierists' failure to their secular outlook and praised Shakers as the true "pioneers of modern Socialism." Noyes was a well-to-do graduate of Dartmouth College who joined the ministry after hearing a sermon by Charles Grandison Finney. Dismissed as a pastor for holding unorthodox beliefs, Noyes turned to perfectionism, an evangelical Protestant movement of the 1830s that attracted thousands of New Englanders who had migrated to New York and Ohio. Perfectionists believed Christ had already returned to earth (the Second Coming) and therefore people could aspire to sinless perfection. Unlike most perfectionists, who lived conventional personal lives, Noyes rejected marriage. But instead of Shaker-style celibacy, Noyes embraced "complex marriage," in which all members of the community married one another. He rejected **monogamy** partly to free women from their status as the property of their husbands.

In 1839, Noyes set up a perfectionist community near his hometown of Putney, Vermont. Local outrage, however, forced Noyes to relocate in 1848 to an isolated site near Oneida, New York. To give women time and energy to participate fully in community

The Burning of Nauvoo Temple After the lynching of founding prophet Joseph Smith in 1844, and facing ongoing hostility and violence, Mormons were forced to flee Nauvoo, Illinois. Most fled to Utah in 1846 under the leadership of Brigham Young. They left behind not only homes and businesses but also the 53,000-square-foot Nauvoo Temple, built over six years at an immense price in building materials and human labor. With no ready non-Mormon buyers, church leaders were forced to sell the Temple for $500, a tiny fraction of the cost. On the night of October 8–9, 1848, as shown in this dramatic lithograph, arsonists burned the temple to the ground. Everett Collection

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Name three communal utopias of the 1830s and 1840s. Who joined each group and why?

affairs, Noyes urged them to avoid multiple pregnancies. He instructed men to help by avoiding orgasm during intercourse. Less positively, he encouraged sexual relations at a very early age and used his position of power to manipulate the sexual lives of his followers. Eventually dissenters reported on such practices to outsiders. When Noyes fled to Canada in 1879 to avoid prosecution for adultery, the community abandoned complex marriage but remained a successful cooperative silverware venture until the mid-twentieth century.

The historical significance of the Shaker, Fourierist, and Oneida projects does not lie in their numbers, which were small, or in their fine crafts. Rather, it stems from their radical questioning of traditional sexual norms and of the capitalist values and class divisions of the emerging market society. Their utopian communities stood as countercultural blueprints for a more egalitarian social and economic order.

Joseph Smith and Mormonism The era's most successful religious utopian movement emerged, like several others, from religious ferment among families of Puritan descent who lived along the Erie Canal — heirs to religious beliefs in supernatural powers and visions of the divine. The founder of Mormonism, Joseph Smith, was born in Vermont to a poor farming and shop-keeping family who migrated to Palmyra in central New York. In 1820, Smith began to have religious experiences: "A pillar of light above the brightness of the sun at noonday came down from above and rested upon me and I was filled with the spirit of God." Smith believed God had singled him out for special revelations. In 1830, he published *The Book of Mormon*, which he claimed to have translated from ancient hieroglyphics on gold plates shown to him by an angel named Moroni. *The Book of Mormon* told the story of ancient Jews from the Middle East who had migrated to the Western Hemisphere and were visited by Jesus Christ soon after his Resurrection. Smith's account explained the presence of Native peoples in the Americas and integrated the New World into the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Smith organized the **Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormons**. Seeing himself as a prophet in a sinful, excessively individualistic society, he emphasized the family as the heart of religious and social life. Like many Protestants, Smith encouraged practices that led to individual success in the age of capitalist markets and factories: frugality, hard work, and enterprise. But Smith also stressed communal discipline. His goal was a church-directed society that would restore primitive Christianity and encourage moral perfection.

Constantly harassed by violent threats, Smith struggled to find a secure place to settle. At one point he identified Jackson County in Missouri as the site of the "City of Zion," and his followers began to move there. But they met extreme hostility: Mormons were "enemies of mankind and ought to be destroyed," said one cleric, and Missouri's governor agreed, issuing an order for Mormons to be "exterminated or driven out." Smith and his growing congregation eventually settled in Nauvoo, Illinois, a town they founded on the Mississippi River. By the early 1840s Nauvoo had 30,000 residents. Mormons' prosperity and their secret rituals and rigid discipline — including bloc voting in Illinois elections — fueled resentment among their neighbors. Antagonism increased when Smith asked Congress to make Nauvoo a separate federal territory and declared himself a candidate for president of the United States.

In secret, Smith also preached a new revelation justifying **polygamy**, the practice of a man having multiple wives. Smith pointed to biblical precedent for this practice of patriarchal or **plural marriage**. The revelation caused some of Smith's followers to break with him; when word got out, polygamy enraged church enemies. In 1844, Illinois officials arrested Smith and charged him with treason for allegedly conspiring to create a Mormon colony in Mexican territory. An anti-Mormon mob stormed the jail in Carthage, Illinois, where Smith and his brother Hyrum were being held and murdered them.

Some Mormons who rejected polygamy remained in the Midwest, led by Smith's son, Joseph Smith III. About 6,500 Mormons, however, fled the United States under the guidance of Brigham Young, Smith's leading disciple. Beginning in 1846, they crossed the Great Plains into Mexican territory and settled the Great Salt Lake Valley in present-day Utah (Map 10.2). Using cooperative labor and an irrigation system based on communal water rights, Mormon pioneers quickly built successful agricultural communities.

MAP 10.2 The Mormon Trek, 1830–1848
Because of their unorthodox religious views and communal solidarity, Mormons faced hostility first in New York and then in Missouri and Illinois. After the murder of church founder Joseph Smith in 1844, Brigham Young led the majority of Latter-day Saints from Illinois westward to Omaha, Nebraska. From Omaha the migrants followed the path of the Oregon Trail to Fort Bridger and then struck off to the southwest to settle in the basin of the Great Salt Lake, along the Wasatch Range in what is now Utah. At the time, this land was part of northern Mexico and was occupied by Utes, Paiutes, and Shoshones. The United States's victory in the U.S.-Mexico War (Chapter 11) turned Deseret into U.S. territory only two years later.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS To what extent did antebellum intellectual and religious movements draw on the values of individualism, on the one hand, and of communal cooperation, on the other?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
COMPARE & CONTRAST
In what ways was Mormonism similar to, and different from, other utopian movements of the era?

Urban Cultures and Conflicts

As utopians organized communities in the countryside, rural migrants and foreign immigrants plunged into the exciting and risky world of the growing cities. In 1800, American cities had been overgrown towns: New York had only 60,000 residents; Philadelphia, 41,000. Then urban growth accelerated as a huge in-migration outweighed the high death rates that persisted for city dwellers (especially infants and children). By 1850, New York's population had ballooned to over half a million. Five other cities — Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Cincinnati — had more than 100,000 each. In the Northeast, by this time, the arrival of thousands of desperate immigrants fleeing the Irish famine (Chapter 12) made the working class seem even more alien and threatening. Cities generated new cultural practices that drew newcomers while also scandalizing middle-class reformers.

Sex in the City

Thousands of young men and women flocked to the city searching for adventure and fortune, but many found only a hard life. Young men labored for meager wages building tenements, warehouses, and workshops. Others worked as low-paid clerks or operatives in mercantile and manufacturing firms. Young women had an even harder time. Thousands toiled as live-in domestic servants, ordered about by the mistress of the household and often sexually exploited by the master. Others scraped out a bare living as needlewomen in New York City's booming ready-made clothes industry. Unwilling

to endure domestic service or subsistence wages, many young girls turned to prostitution. Dr. William Sanger's careful survey, commissioned in 1855 by worried city officials, found that six thousand women engaged in commercial sex. Three-fifths were native-born whites; the rest were foreign immigrants; most were between fifteen and twenty years old. Half were or had been domestic servants, half had children, and half were infected with syphilis.

Commercialized sex — and sex in general — became one of the allures of urban life for men. "Sporting men" boasted of their sexual conquests in racy journals like *Flash*. Otherwise respectable husbands kept mistresses in handy apartments, and working men frequented bawdy houses. New York City had two hundred **brothels** in the 1820s and five hundred by the 1850s. Prostitutes — so-called public women — openly advertised their wares on Broadway, the city's most fashionable thoroughfare, and welcomed clients on the infamous third tier of theaters. Many men considered illicit sex a right. "Man is endowed by nature with passions that must be gratified," declared *Sporting Whip*. Even Reverend William Berrian, pastor of the ultra-respectable Trinity Episcopal Church, admitted from the pulpit that he had resorted ten times to "a house of ill-fame."

TRAGIC
ALMANACK
1843
Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1842, by C. P. Huestis, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Southern District of New-York.
NEW-YORK:
Published at the SUN OFFICE, corner of Fulton and Nassau-sts.
C. P. HUESTIS, Engraver, 104 Nassau street.

A Violent Death Imagined in the Penny Press This cover of an 1843 New York almanac shows the commercial appeal of the sensational case of Mary Rogers, who is depicted here being abducted and thrown over a cliff by two sinister gentlemen. After it was discovered that Rogers, whose body was found floating in the East River, had likely died of a botched abortion, sympathy turned against the former "cigar girl." Even as the narrative of her death changed, her fate continued to suggest the risks of sexual danger and violence that faced young women in the growing cities.

Not all urban sex was commercial. Freed from family oversight, men formed homoerotic relationships; as early as 1800, the homosexual "fop" was an acknowledged character in Philadelphia. Heterosexual young people moved from partner to partner until they chanced on an ideal mate. Middle-class youth strolled Broadway in the latest fashions: elaborate bonnets and silk dresses for young women; flowing capes, leather boots, and silver-plated walking sticks for young men. Rivaling the elegance on Broadway were the colorful costumes of the working-class Bowery, the broad avenue that ran along the east side of lower Manhattan. By day, Bowery Boys worked as apprentices or journeymen. By night, they prowled the streets as "dandies," hair cropped at the back of the head "as close as scissors could cut," with long front locks "matted by a lavish application of *bear's grease*, the ends tucked under so as to form a roll and brushed until they shone like glass bottles." The "B'hoy," as he was called, cut a dashing figure as he walked along with a "Bowery Gal" in a bright dress and shawl. To some shocked observers, however, such couples represented disorder and disrespect for middle-class values of respectability and piety.

Popular Fiction and the Penny Press

Fostered by high literacy rates and advances in technology, publishing became one of the American city's most lucrative industries. By 1850 the United States had over six hundred magazines in publication. Boston and Philadelphia specialized in religious devotionals, sentimental and reform literature, and magazines for the growing middle class. Most Protestant denominations communicated with followers through monthly publications, as did homeopathic doctors, leaders of the Sunday School movement, and temperance advocates. For affluent women, *Godey's Lady's Book* depicted the latest Paris fashions and offered uplifting stories, poems, and advice on wifely and motherly duties. By publishing novels in serial form, magazines became an important springboard for popular fiction. America's expanding print culture also provided a forum for newly arrived groups to assert their American identities. Jewish authors included poet Penina Moïse of Charleston,

South Carolina, and Reform Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, editor of *The Israelite* and author of historical novels such as *The Jewish Heroine* (1855).

Print culture helped Americans navigate the chaotic, unstable world of the market economy. Advice books told aspiring young men how to dress and comport themselves and how to recognize deception and fraud. Other guidebooks counseled women and men on how to choose marriage partners and manage their domestic lives, by limiting family size, for example, to provide more nurture and education for each child. Despite repeated indictments for "obscenity," Massachusetts physician Charles Knowlton sold thousands of copies of *The Fruits of Philosophy* (1832), the first American guide to contraceptive practices.

Knowlton's sales were modest, however, in comparison with urban newspapers, which won huge audiences as the cost of printing fell and entrepreneurs developed new models for marketing and delivery. By the 1830s, young boys in New York hawked daily newspapers on the streets; four major **penny papers** had a combined circulation of 50,000, reaching many more readers as copies passed from hand to hand in tenements, workshops, and saloons. Within two years of its first issue in 1835, the *New York Herald* was selling 11,500 copies a day, the largest circulation of any American newspaper.

The *Herald*'s editor was colorful and controversial James Gordon Bennett, a brilliant businessman adept at attracting advertising revenue. Bennett pitched his paper to "the great masses of the community — the merchant, mechanic, working people — the private family as well as the public hotel — the journeyman and his employer." Unabashedly racist and strongly proslavery, Bennett won loyalty through his ardent support for building an "Empire in the West." The *Herald* also featured gossip, exposés, and above all, lurid and sensational accounts of violent crime, often falsified for dramatic effect. Disgusted, Walt Whitman denounced Bennett as a "reptile marking his path with slime wherever he goes. . . . A midnight ghoul, preying on rottenness and repulsive filth." Undeterred, Bennett built the *Herald* into a political force that exerted national influence by the time of the Civil War.

Fascinated by the urban underworld of crime, author Edgar Allan Poe drew on such sensational journalism to develop a new genre of popular fiction. Deserted by his father and orphaned at age three, Poe had a tumultuous relationship with the Richmond, Virginia, family who adopted him. He found a position at *The Southern Literary Messenger* before moving north to edit a series of gentlemen's magazines in Philadelphia and New York, quarreling all the time with owners and coworkers. Disdaining those who wrote for small literary audiences, Poe sought to represent and reach what he called "the popular mind." Despite his tormented career and early death from complications of alcoholism, Poe's dark stories of supernatural terror and secret crime, like "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," helped establish the genres of mystery and detective fiction.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the popular press and entertainment on the development of a unique American culture.

Urban Entertainments

City pastimes extended far beyond the printed page. In New York, working men could partake of traditional rural blood sports — rat and terrier fights, boxing matches — at Sportsmen's Hall, or they could seek drink and fun in billiard and bowling saloons. Other workers crowded the pit of the Bowery Theatre to see the "Mad Tragedian," Junius Brutus Booth, perform Shakespeare's *Richard III*.

BONE SQUASH'S BLACK JOKE
AL-MA-NIG.
FOR DE YEAR ARTER LAST,
CONTAININ' ALL OB DE NEW AN' ORIGINAL WEATHER; BRAN' NEW AN' ORIGINAL NIGGA' STORIES, BLACK JOKES, PUNS, PARODIES, SERENADES, SONGS, COON'S CONS, CUN-UN-DRI-FUMS, CUTS OB GREAT COONS, PORTRAITS OB GREAT POSSUMS, AN' DOG-BERRY-O-TYPES OB FUN, AS LARGE AS LIFE;
ALL CAREFULLY CALCULATED BY
A CELEBRATED MEAT-TE-OR-ALL-A-JEST (METEOROLOGIST) OB MIRTH, TO MAGNETIZE BOFE WHITE AN' BLACK, AN' BID DE BLUES "GET OUT OB DE WAY."
FISHER AND BROTHER:
No. 15 N. Sixth St., Phila.; 71 Chatham St., New York; 71 Court St., Boston; 63 Baltimore St., Baltimore.

Rampant Racism Minstrel shows and their music were just two facets of the racist culture of mid-nineteenth-century America. Exploiting the market for almanacs among farmers and city folk alike, the publishing firm of Fisher and Brother produced the *Black Joke Al-Ma-Nig* for 1852. Like other almanacs, it provided astrological charts, weather predictions, and a detailed calendar of events. Such racist caricatures of black faces and language influenced white views of African Americans well into the twentieth century. Courtesy The Library Company of Philadelphia

Dance and Social Identity in Antebellum America

Styles of dance and attitudes toward them tell us a great deal about cultural and social norms. When nineteenth-century Americans took to partying, their dances — regardless of the class or ethnic identity of the dancers — focused more on individual couples and allowed more room for improvisation and intimacy than the dance forms of the previous century.

1. **William Sidney Mount, *Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride*, 1830.** *In the eighteenth century, wealthy, fashionable Americans danced the French minuet, a ceremonious and graceful dance in which couples executed prescribed steps while barely touching. Ordinary white folks preferred the country dances brought by their ancestors from Europe, which also involved intricate steps, line formations, and limited physical contact. Mount (1807–1868) was self-taught, lived in rural Long Island, and depicted scenes of everyday life. This painting, replete with amorous pursuits, depicts a traditional contra dance in which the lead couple advances a few steps and then sashays to the back of the line, as another couple takes its place.*

Source: *Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride*, 1830. By William Sidney Mount, American, 1807-1868. Oil on canvas, 56.2 x 68.9 cm. (22 1/8 x 27 1/8 in.). Bequest of Martha C. Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815-1865 48.458. Photograph © 2016 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. All rights reserved

2. **"The Polka Fashions," from *Godey's Lady's Book*, 1845.** *"A magazine of elegant literature," according to its publisher, Louis A. Godey, the* Lady's Book *was the most widely circulated American periodical prior to the Civil War and an arbiter of good taste among the aspiring middle classes. Each issue contained a sheet of music for the latest dance craze. The* Lady's Book *cautiously endorsed the waltz, a sensuous dance that required a close embrace, but enthusiastically welcomed its cousin, the polka, whose lively tempo and rapid spinning had a wholesome and joyful quality. Introduced from Bohemia, the polka dominated the ballrooms of America's upper and middle classes in the 1840s and 1850s.*

© Private Collection/Bridgeman Images

3. **George Templeton Strong, diary entry, December 23, 1845.**

Well, last night I spent at Mrs. Mary Jones's great ball. Very splendid affair — "the Ball of the Season." . . . Two houses open, standing supper table, "dazzling array of beauty and fashion." "Polka" for the first time brought under my inspection. It's a kind of insane Tartar jig performed to disagreeable music of an uncivilized character.

Reform-minded couples enjoyed evenings at the huge Broadway Tabernacle, where they could hear an abolitionist lecture or see the renowned Hutchinson Family Singers lead a roof-raising rendition of their antislavery anthem, "Get Off the Track." Families could visit the museum of oddities (and hoaxes) created by P. T. Barnum, the great cultural entrepreneur and founder of Barnum & Bailey Circus.

The most popular theatrical entertainments were **minstrel shows**, which featured white actors in blackface presenting comic routines that combined racist caricature and social criticism. Minstrelsy began around 1830, when a few actors put on blackface and

4. **Description of juba dancing from Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation*, 1842.** *In New York's Five Points slum in 1842, Charles Dickens described a challenge dance featuring William Henry Lane, or Master Juba, a young African American who created juba dancing, a blend of Irish jig and African dance moves.*

> The corpulent black fiddler, and his friend who plays the tambourine, stamp upon the boarding of the small raised orchestra in which they sit, and play a lively measure. Five or six couples come upon the floor, marshalled by a lively young negro, who is the wit of the assembly, and the greatest dancer known. . . . Instantly the fiddler grins, and goes at it tooth and nail; there is new energy in the tambourine. . . . Single shuffle, double shuffle, cut and cross-cut; snapping his fingers, rolling his eyes, turning in his knees, presenting the backs of his legs in front, spinning about on his toes and heels like nothing but the man's fingers on the tambourine; dancing with two left legs, two right legs, two wooden legs, two wire legs, two spring legs — all sorts of legs and no legs — . . . having danced his partner off her feet, and himself too, he finishes by leaping gloriously on the bar-counter, and calling for something to drink.

5. **Poster advertising Barlow, Wilson, Primrose, and West's "Mammoth Minstrels' Colored Masquerade."** *Unlike slavery, minstrelsy survived the Civil War and remained popular until the early twentieth century, when it evolved into vaudeville. Barlow, Wilson, Primrose, and West's Mammoth Minstrels toured the United States, Europe, and Australia between 1877 and 1882, thrilling audiences with the clog dances that had devolved out of juba.*

Sources: (3) Luther S. Harris, *Around Washington Square: An Illustrated History of Greenwich Village* (Baltimore, 2003), 41; (4) Charles Dickens, *American Notes and Pictures from Italy* (C. Scribner: New York, 1868), 107.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What do sources 1 and 2 suggest about sexual manners among rural folk and genteel urbanites?
2. What does the polka (sources 3 and 4) reveal about changing cultural practices among the social elite?
3. Compare the juba and minstrelsy dances described above (sources 4 and 5) with the polka and contra dance forms (sources 1 and 2). How do each of the images reflect broader social developments?
4. The waltz, polka, and juba dances were popular during the Second Great Awakening, when (and long after) preachers often complained that "dance is destructive to Christian life." Why might ministers (and priests) take such a view?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using the material on class, religion, and culture in Chapters 9 and 11, and the insights you have gathered by a careful inspection of these sources, write an essay showing how dance and other entertainments reflect or reveal differences among American social groups.

Source: Private Collection/Photo © Barbara Singer/Bridgeman Images

performed song-and-dance routines (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). The most famous was John Dartmouth Rice, whose "Jim Crow" blended a shuffle-dance-and-jump with unintelligible lyrics delivered in "Negro dialect." By the 1840s hundreds of minstrel troupes toured the country. Minstrel players used African musical instruments, including banjos and castanets.

At least one traveling group, Gavitt's Original Ethiopian Serenaders, was actually composed of black musicians. But in the vast majority of shows, white performers used rambling lyrics and vicious stereotypes to depict African Americans as lazy, sensual, and

Paul Cuffee The life of merchant Paul Cuffee (1759–1817) illustrates how African Americans who achieved business success could use their newfound prosperity for community building and political activism. Born in Massachusetts, Cuffee was the son of a freed slave and a Wampanoag Indian woman. Like his parents and nine brothers and sisters, he was a devout Quaker. Cuffee became a boatbuilder and trader along the Massachusetts coast. After working on a whaling ship, he captained a blockade-running vessel during the American Revolution and spent several months in a British prison in New York. By the 1810s Cuffee had built a transatlantic merchant fleet crewed by black and Indian sailors. One of the wealthiest men of color in the United States, Cuffee built an interracial school for his children and those of white, black, and Native American neighbors. He also helped persuade the Massachusetts legislature to grant voting rights to black men. Library of Congress

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of free black communities on the development of the antislavery movement is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

irresponsible. Minstrel singers simultaneously criticized white society: their songs ridiculed the alleged drunkenness of Irishmen, parodied the halting English of German immigrants, denounced women's demands for political rights, and mocked the arrogance of upper-class men. Still, minstrelsy declared white supremacy most of all. The racial stereotypes of minstrelsy — which can be traced up through the era of radio and television and beyond — had an immense and enduring impact on American popular culture.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What new working-class cultural practices emerged in large antebellum cities, and why?

African Americans and the Struggle for Freedom

Between 1820 and 1840, in northern states that abolished slavery, free African American communities found their political voice. Chief among their goals was abolition of slavery. By the 1830s they began to work with white allies, who like other reformers drew on the religious enthusiasm of the Second Great Awakening. After the American Revolution, white antislavery activists had assailed human bondage as contrary to republicanism and liberty, but most had called for gradual emancipation with compensation to slave owners. Three decades later, white and black abolitionists built the nation's first interracial movement for justice, demanding immediate, uncompensated emancipation: an uncompromising stance that met with fierce denunciations and violence.

Free Black Communities, North and South

The free black population in the slave states lived primarily in coastal cities — Mobile, Memphis, New Orleans — and in the Upper South. Partly because skilled Europeans avoided the South, free blacks formed the backbone of the urban artisan workforce, laboring as carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers, butchers, and shopkeepers. Whatever their skills, free blacks faced many dangers. White officials often denied jury trials to free blacks accused of crimes; sometimes they forced people charged with vagrancy back into slavery. Some free blacks were simply kidnapped and sold.

Seeking opportunity and protection, some free blacks distanced themselves from plantation slaves and assimilated white culture and values. Indeed, mixed-race individuals sometimes joined the planter class. David Barland, one of twelve children born to a white Mississippi planter and his black slave Elizabeth, himself owned no fewer than eighteen slaves. But such men and women were rare. Most free African Americans identified with the great mass of slaves, some of whom were their relatives. Calls by white planters in the 1840s to re-enslave free African Americans reinforced black unity.

Almost half of free blacks in the United States in 1840 (some 170,000) lived in the free states of the North. However, few enjoyed unfettered freedom. In rural areas, blacks worked as farm laborers or tenant farmers; in towns and cities, they toiled as domestic servants, laundresses, or day laborers. Only a small number owned land. "You do not see one out of a hundred . . . that can make a comfortable living, own a cow, or a horse," a traveler in New Jersey noted. In most states, law or custom prohibited northern blacks from voting or attending public schools. They could testify in court against whites only in Massachusetts. The federal government did not allow African Americans to work for the postal service, claim public lands, or hold a passport. Furthermore, the Fugitive Slave Law (1793) allowed owners and hired slave catchers to seize suspected runaways and return them to bondage. As black activist Martin Delaney remarked in 1852: "We are slaves in the midst of freedom."

Of the few African Americans able to make full use of their talents, several achieved great distinction. Mathematician and surveyor Benjamin Banneker published an almanac and helped lay out the new capital in the District of Columbia; Joshua Johnston won praise for his portraiture. More impressive and enduring were the community

institutions created by free blacks. Throughout the North, largely unknown men and women founded schools, mutual-benefit organizations, and fellowship groups, often called **Free African Societies**. Discriminated against by white Protestants, they formed their own congregations and a new religious denomination — the **African Methodist Episcopal Church**. Founded in 1816, it spread across the Northeast and Midwest and even founded a few congregations in the slave states of Missouri, Kentucky, Louisiana, and South Carolina.

Leading African Americans in the North advocated a strategy of social uplift, encouraging free blacks to "elevate" themselves through education, temperance, and hard work. By securing "respectability," they argued, blacks could become the social equals of whites. To promote that goal, black businessmen and ministers founded an array of churches, schools, and self-help associations. Capping this effort, John Russwurm and Samuel D. Cornish of New York published the first African American newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, in 1827.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

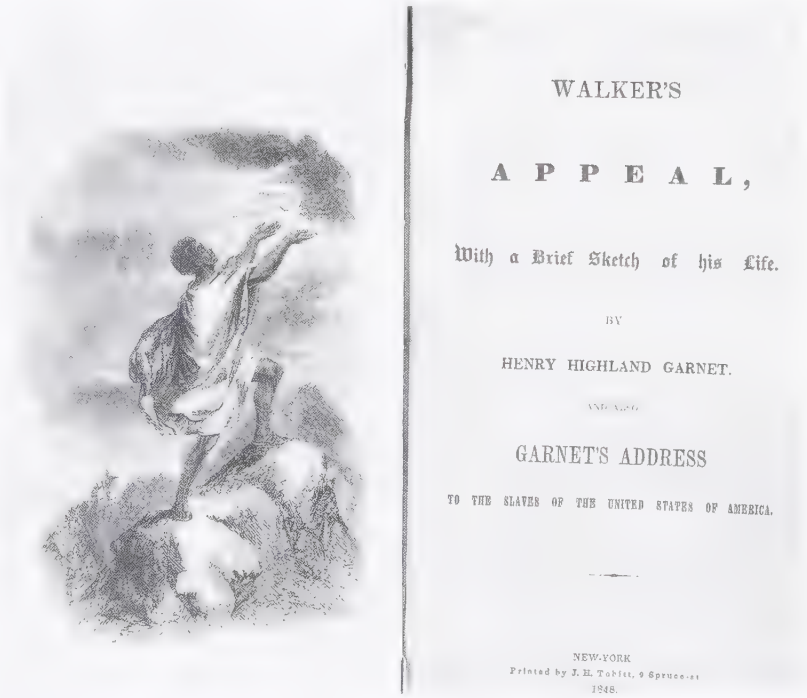
How were the lives of free African Americans different in the northern and southern states?

The Rise of Abolitionism

Free blacks' quest for respectability elicited a violent response in Boston, Pittsburgh, and other northern cities among whites who refused to accept African Americans as social equals. Motivated by racial contempt, white mobs terrorized black communities. White workers in northern towns laid waste to taverns and brothels where blacks and whites mixed and vandalized African American churches, temperance halls, and orphanages.

Responding to such attacks, David Walker published a stirring pamphlet, *An Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829), protesting black "wretchedness in this Republican Land of Liberty!!!!!" Walker was a free black from North Carolina who had moved to Boston, where he sold secondhand clothes and copies of *Freedom's Journal*. Self-educated, Walker ridiculed the religious pretensions of slaveholders and in biblical language warned of a slave revolt if justice were delayed. "We must and shall be free," he told white Americans. "And woe, woe, will be it to you if we have to obtain our freedom by fighting." Walker's call represented a radical challenge to the beliefs of white citizens, both North and South, including those who led the American Colonization Society (Chapter 9). Walker's *Appeal* quickly went through three printings and, carried by black merchant seamen, reached free African Americans in the South.

Nat Turner's Revolt While David Walker called for a violent rebellion, Nat Turner, a slave in Southampton County, Virginia, staged one — a chronological coincidence that had far-reaching consequences. As a child, Turner had taught himself to read and hoped for emancipation, but one master forced him into the fields, while another separated him from his wife. Becoming deeply spiritual, Turner had a religious vision in which "the Spirit" explained that "Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent,



A Call for Revolution David Walker, who ran a used clothing shop in Boston, spent his hard-earned savings to publish *An Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens of the World* (1829), a learned and passionate attack on racial slavery. Walker depicted Christ as an avenging "God of justice and of armies" and raised the banner of slave rebellion. A year later, a passerby found Walker in the doorway of his shop, dead from unknown causes. Library of

for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first." In August 1831, Turner and a group of relatives and friends rose in rebellion and killed at least 55 white men, women, and children. Turner, apparently seeking to seize weapons from a nearby armory and take up a defensive position in the Great Dismal Swamp, hoped hundreds of slaves would rally to his cause, but he mustered only 60. The white militia quickly dispersed his poorly armed force and took their revenge. One company of cavalry killed 40 blacks in two days. They put 15 of the severed heads on poles to warn "all those who should undertake a similar plot." Turner died by hanging, still identifying his mission with that of his Savior. "Was not Christ crucified?" he asked.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare actions of blacks in the South to those in the North in efforts to resist and end slavery.

Turner's Rebellion sowed terror across the South. For a brief moment, the American Colonization Society became wildly popular as Americans debated remedies for the violence inherent in the slave system. Deeply shaken, Virginia's legislature debated a law providing for gradual emancipation and colonization abroad. When the bill failed by a vote of 73 to 58, the possibility that southern planters would voluntarily end slavery ended forever. Instead, the southern states toughened their slave codes, limited black movement, banned independent slave preaching, and prohibited anyone from teaching slaves to read. Blaming northern "agitation," they met Walker's radical *Appeal* with radical measures of their own.

The American Anti-Slavery Society Rejecting Turner's and Walker's strategy of armed rebellion, a **cadre** of northern white Protestants launched a moral crusade to abolish the slave regime by pacifist means. If planters did not allow blacks their God-given status as free moral agents, these radicals warned, they faced eternal damnation at the hands of a just God. The most determined white advocate of **abolitionism** was William Lloyd Garrison. A Massachusetts-born printer, Garrison had worked during the 1820s in Baltimore on an antislavery newspaper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. In 1830 he went to jail, convicted of **libeling** a New England merchant engaged in the domestic slave trade. After his release Garrison moved to Boston and started his own weekly, *The Liberator* (1831–1865). Inspired by a bold pamphlet written by English Quaker Elizabeth Coltman Heyrick, Garrison demanded immediate abolition without compensation to slaveholders. "I will not retreat a single inch," he declared, "AND I WILL BE HEARD."

Garrison accused the American Colonization Society of perpetuating slavery. He assailed the U.S. Constitution as "a covenant with death and an agreement with Hell" because it implicitly accepted racial bondage. In 1833, Garrison and sixty other religious abolitionists, black and white, established the **American Anti-Slavery Society** (AA-SS). It won financial support from the influential New York merchants and editors Arthur and Lewis Tappan. Women abolitionists established separate groups, including the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, founded by Lucretia Mott in 1833.

AA-SS leaders launched a three-pronged attack. Using new steam-powered presses to print a million pamphlets, they first carried out a "great postal campaign" in 1835, flooding the nation, including the South, with antislavery literature. More publications followed, including Theodore Weld's *The Bible Against Slavery* (1837). Two years later, Weld teamed up with the Grimké sisters — Angelina, whom he married, and Sarah. The Grimkés had left their father's plantation in South Carolina, converted to Quakerism, and taken up the abolitionist cause. In *American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (1839), Weld and the Grimkés addressed a simple question: "What is the actual condition of the slaves in the United States?" Using evidence from southern newspapers and firsthand testimony, they showed slavery's inherent violence. Angelina Grimké told of a whipping house used by South Carolina slave owners: "One poor girl, [who was] sent there to be flogged, and who was accordingly stripped naked and whipped, showed me the deep gashes on her back — I might have laid my whole finger in them — large pieces of flesh had actually been cut out by the torturing lash."

Filled with such images of suffering, the book sold more than 100,000 copies in a single year.

Abolitionists' second tactic was to aid fugitive slaves. They provided lodging and jobs for escaped blacks in free states and helped build the **Underground Railroad**, an informal network of blacks and whites who assisted fugitives. In Baltimore, a free African American sailor loaned his identification papers to future abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who used them to escape to New York. Harriet Tubman and other runaways risked re-enslavement or death by returning repeatedly to the South to help others escape. "I should fight for . . . liberty as long as my strength lasted," Tubman explained, "and when the time come for me to go, the Lord let them take me." Thanks to the Railroad, about a thousand African Americans reached freedom in the North each year.

A petition campaign was the final element of abolitionists' program. Between 1835 and 1838, the AA-SS bombarded Congress with nearly 500,000 signatures of citizens demanding abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, an end to the interstate slave trade, and a ban on admission of new slave states. Along with many free blacks, thousands of deeply religious white farmers and small-town proprietors supported these efforts. The number of local abolitionist societies grew from two hundred in 1835 to two thousand by 1840, with nearly 200,000 members. The transcendentalist thinker Emerson condemned Americans for supporting slavery, while Thoreau, viewing the U.S.-Mexico War as a naked scheme to extend slavery, refused to pay taxes and submitted to arrest. In 1848, he published "Resistance to Civil Government," a foundational text for later advocates of civil disobedience. African American minister Henry Highland Garnet went further; his *Address to the Slaves of the United States of America* (1841) urged "Resistance! Resistance!" Still, abolitionists remained a small minority in the North, at most perhaps 10 percent of northerners and midwesterners.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did the ideology and tactics of the Garrisonian abolitionists differ from those of the American Colonization Society?

Hostility to Abolitionism The rhetoric of Walker and the AA-SS, combined with the shock of Turner's Rebellion, alarmed white Americans. Abolitionist agitation, ministers warned, risked "setting friend against friend" and "embittering one portion of the land against the other." Northern merchants and textile manufacturers supported southern planters who supplied them with cotton, as did hog farmers in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois and pork packers in Cincinnati and Chicago who profited from lucrative sales in the South. Wealthy men feared that attacks on slave property might become an assault on all property rights. Conservative clergymen condemned the public roles assumed by abolitionist women. Northern working men feared freed blacks would work for lower wages and take their jobs. Finally, whites almost universally opposed "amalgamation," the racial mixing and intermarriage that Garrison seemed to support by holding meetings of blacks and whites of both sexes together.

Racial fears and hatreds led to violent mob actions. In 1829, working-class whites in Cincinnati drove over a thousand African Americans from the city—enforcing, through vigilantism, an 1807 law that had banned all blacks from Ohio. Four years later, a mob of 1,500 New Yorkers stormed a church in search of Garrison and Arthur Tappan. Another white mob swept through Philadelphia's African American neighborhoods, clubbing and stoning residents and destroying homes and churches. In 1835, "gentlemen of property and standing"—lawyers, merchants, and bankers—broke up an abolitionist convention in Utica, New York. Two years later, a mob in Alton, Illinois, shot and killed Elijah P. Lovejoy, editor of the abolitionist *Alton Observer*. By pressing for emancipation and equality, abolitionists had revealed the extent of racial prejudice.

In the South, racial solidarity increased and whites banned all abolitionist writings, sermons, and lectures. Georgia's legislature offered a $5,000 reward to anyone who would kidnap Garrison and bring him to the South to be tried (or **lynched**) for inciting rebellion. In Nashville, vigilantes whipped a northern college student for distributing abolitionist pamphlets; in Charleston, a mob attacked the post office and destroyed

AP® EXAM TIP

Take notes comparing the debate over slavery in the 1840s and 1850s to the debate that occurred over the Missouri Compromise prior to 1820.

AN AFFECTING SCENE IN KENTUCKY.

The Complexities of Race This cartoon takes aim at Richard Mentor Johnson of Kentucky, the distraught man being comforted by abolitionists Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison. A longtime congressman and senator, Johnson was the Democrats' vice-presidential candidate in 1836. Although the party stood for the South and slavery—and condemned mixed-race unions—Johnson lived openly with an African American woman, Julia Chinn, whose daughters hold her portrait. Future Supreme Court justice John Catron noted with disgust that Johnson tried "to force his daughters into society" and that they and their mother "claimed equality." Racial prejudice cost Johnson some votes, but he won a plurality in the electoral college, and, on a party-line vote, Democrats in the Senate elected him Martin Van Buren's vice president. Library of Congress

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors caused radical abolitionism to emerge in the 1830s and 1840s?

sacks of abolitionist mail. After 1835, southern postmasters simply refused to deliver mail suspected to be of abolitionist origin. By that time, politicians joined the fray. President Andrew Jackson, a longtime slave owner, asked Congress to restrict use of the mails by abolitionist groups. Congress refused, but in 1836, the House of Representatives adopted the so-called **gag rule**. Under this informal agreement, which remained in force until 1844, the House automatically tabled abolitionist petitions, refusing even to discuss the explosive issue of slavery.

Assailed from the outside, abolitionists also divided internally over gender issues and political strategy. Many antislavery clergymen opposed public roles for women, but Garrison championed women's rights: "Our object is universal emancipation, to redeem women as well as men from a servile to an equal condition." In 1840, this issue split the movement. Women's rights advocates remained in the AA-SS, while opponents founded a new organization, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

At the same time, dissenters from Garrison's strategy of "moral suasion" focused their energies on electoral politics. Led by key African Americans who had escaped from slavery, this group broke with Garrison and argued that slavery would never end except through electoral action. They organized the **Liberty Party**, the first antislavery political party. In 1840, they nominated James G. Birney, a former Alabama slave owner,

for president. Birney won few votes, but his campaign began to open the way for further electoral action against slavery. In 1844, Birney's second run for president would have a far-ranging impact (Chapter 11). Political abolitionists would, over the next two decades, transform the political system.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did free African American communities shape American life and culture, and how did black civic leadership transform debates over slavery and race?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Which groups of Americans opposed the abolitionists, and why?

The Women's Rights Movement

The controversial role of abolitionist women reflected a broad shift in American culture. The post-Revolutionary ideal of republican motherhood (Chapter 9) recognized a limited civic role for women. By the 1830s and 1840s, republican motherhood was shaped by religious revivals and rapid expansion of the middle class. The result was **domesticity**, a set of ideals that emerged first among middle-class and elite families in the Northeast. Advocates of domesticity hailed "Woman's Sphere of Influence," celebrating women's special role as mothers and homemakers. Some even praised women's charitable efforts — as long as they didn't go too far. Almost all Americans believed married women should remain under their husbands' authority and that women should stay in the "separate sphere" of the home, away from politics. As one minister put it, women had no place in "the markets of trade, the scenes of politics and popular agitation, the courts of justice and the halls of legislation." But women's education and reform work raised questions about these long-standing norms of marriage and family authority. By the 1840s, a small group of northern women began to advocate women's equal rights.

Origins of the Women's Rights Movement

Women formed a crucial part of the Second Great Awakening and the Benevolent Empire. After 1800, more than 70 percent of the members of New England Congregational churches were women. The predominance of women prompted Congregational ministers to end traditional gender-segregated prayer meetings, and evangelical Methodist and Baptist preachers actively promoted mixed-sex praying. "Our prayer meetings have been one of the greatest means of the conversion of souls," a minister in central New York reported in the 1820s, "especially those in which brothers and sisters have prayed together."

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the ways that expanded opportunities outside the home — associated with the Second Great Awakening and Market Revolution — altered the role of women in the United States.

Far from leading to sexual promiscuity, as critics feared, mixing men and women in religious activities promoted greater self-discipline. Believing in female virtue, young women and the men who courted them postponed sexual intercourse until after marriage — previously a much rarer form of self-restraint. In many New England towns, more than 30 percent of the women who married between 1750 and 1800 bore a child within eight months of their wedding day; by the 1820s, the rate had dropped to 15 percent.

As women claimed spiritual authority, men tried to curb their power. In both the North and the South, evangelical Baptist churches that had once advocated spiritual equality now prevented women from voting on church matters or offering public testimonies of faith. Testimonies by women, one layman declared, were "directly opposite to the apostolic command in [Corinthians] xiv, 34, 35, 'Let your women learn to keep silence in the churches.'" Such injunctions merely changed the focus of women's religious activism. Embracing the ideal of republican motherhood, Christian women throughout the United States founded maternal associations to encourage proper child rearing. By the 1820s, journals such as *Mother's Magazine*, widely read in hundreds of towns and villages, gave women a sense of shared identity and purpose. Women also undertook missionary

Women's Education Even in education-conscious New England, before 1800 few girls attended free public primary schools for more than a few years. Subsequently, as this detail from *Scenes from a Seminary for Young Ladies* (c. 1810–1820) indicates, some girls stayed in school into their teenage years and studied a wide variety of subjects, including geography. Many graduates of these female academies became teachers, a new field of employment for women. Saint Louis Art Museum, Missouri, USA/Bridgeman Images

fund-raising, Sunday School teaching, and other religious activities. The ideal of domesticity justified such work, since it celebrated women as more pious, caring, patient, and self-sacrificing than men could be. In towns and on prosperous farms in the Northeast and Midwest, women drew on domesticity to claim new roles.

Domesticity and Education Outside the South — where literacy lagged for white women and was banned altogether for enslaved women — a post-Revolutionary surge in women's education gave the rising generation tools and confidence to pursue reform. Religious activism also advanced female education, as churches sponsored academies for girls from the middling classes. Emma Willard, the first American advocate of higher education for women, opened the Middlebury Female Seminary in Vermont in 1814 and later founded girls' academies in Waterford and famously at Troy, New York, in 1821.

The intellectual leader of the new women educators was Catharine Beecher, whose *Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841) advised women on how to make their homes examples of middle-class efficiency and domesticity. Though Beecher largely upheld woman's "separate sphere," she made an exception for teaching, arguing that "energetic and benevolent women" were better qualified than men to instruct the young.

By the 1820s, women educated in the nation's growing female seminaries and academies participated in a remarkable expansion of public education. From Maine to Wisconsin, women vigorously supported the movement led by reformer Horace Mann to increase elementary schooling and improve the quality of instruction. As secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education from 1837 to 1848, Mann lengthened the school year, established standards in key subjects, and recruited well-educated women as teachers. By the 1850s, a majority of teachers were women, both because local school boards heeded Beecher's arguments and because they discovered they could hire women at much lower wages than men. A female teacher earned $12 to $14 a month with room and board — less than a male farm laborer. But among the employments open to women, teaching became a respectable and relatively well-paid option, as well as a route into public life.

Moral Reform Keenly aware of the dangers around them, women in the growing cities made particularly bold efforts at reform. In 1834, middle-class women in New York City founded the **Female Moral Reform Society** and elected Lydia Finney, wife of revivalist Charles Grandison Finney, as its president. Rejecting the sexual double standard, its members demanded chaste behavior by men. Employing only women as agents, society members provided moral guidance for young female factory operatives, seamstresses, and servants. They visited brothels, where they sang hymns, searched for runaway girls, and pointedly recorded the names of clients. By 1840, the society had blossomed into a national association with 555 chapters and 40,000 members throughout the North and Midwest. Many local chapters founded homes of refuge for prostitutes; in New York and Massachusetts they won passage of laws that made seduction a crime.

Dorothea Dix became a model for women who set out to improve public institutions. Dix's paternal grandparents were prominent Bostonians, but her father, a Methodist minister, ended up an impoverished alcoholic. Emotionally abused as a

child, Dix grew into a compassionate young woman with a strong sense of moral purpose. She used money from her grandparents to set up charity schools to "rescue some of America's miserable children from vice." By 1832, she had published seven popular books, including *Conversations on Common Things* (1824), an enormously successful treatise on natural science and moral improvement.

In 1841, Dix took up a new cause. Discovering that insane women were jailed alongside male criminals, she persuaded Massachusetts lawmakers to enlarge the state hospital to house **indigent** mental patients. Exhilarated by that success, Dix began a national movement to establish public asylums for the mentally ill. By 1854, she had traveled more than 30,000 miles and had visited eighteen state penitentiaries, three hundred county jails, and more than five hundred almshouses and hospitals. Dix's reports and agitation prompted many states to improve their prisons and public hospitals. Like women's entry into education, Dix's career showed that ideas about women's "natural" maternalism and self-sacrifice did not necessarily confine them at home.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the ideal of domesticity limit the lives of middle-class women, and what new opportunities did it offer?

From Antislavery to Women's Rights

Women joined the antislavery movement, in part, because they understood the special horrors of slavery for women. In her autobiography, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, former slave Harriet Jacobs described how enslaved women were sexually coerced and raped by masters. "I cannot tell how much I suffered in the presence of these wrongs," she wrote. She reported that such sexual assaults incited additional cruelty by slave owners' wives, who were enraged by their husbands' promiscuity. Jacobs and others made pointed gender-based appeals to northern women. Angelina Grimké denounced the slave system in which "women are degraded and brutalized, . . . forcibly plundered of their virtue and their offspring." "*They are our sisters*," she wrote, "and to us, as women, they have a right to look for sympathy with their sorrows, and effort and prayer for their rescue."

AP® EXAM TIP

A good exercise to prep for the AP® exam is to compare the arguments for abolitionism with those for women's rights in the early nineteenth century.

As Garrisonian women attacked slavery, they frequently violated social **taboos** by speaking publicly. Maria W. Stewart, an African American, spoke to mixed crowds in Boston in the early 1830s. Soon scores of women were delivering lectures condemning slavery. When Congregationalist clergymen in New England assailed Angelina and Sarah Grimké for such activism in a pastoral letter in 1837, Sarah Grimké turned to the Bible for justification: "The Lord Jesus defines the duties of his followers . . . without any reference to sex or condition," she observed. "Men and women were created equal; both are moral and accountable beings."

In a pamphlet debate with Catharine Beecher, Angelina Grimké pushed the argument beyond religion by invoking Enlightenment principles to claim equal civic rights: "It is a woman's right to have a voice in all the laws and regulations by which she is governed, whether in Church or State." By 1840, female abolitionists were asserting that traditional gender roles resulted in the domestic slavery of women. They focused particularly on the laws of coverture (Chapter 4), which gave husbands all rights of property and child custody and even declared a wife's body to belong to her husband. Having acquired a public voice and political skills in the crusade for African American freedom, thousands of northern women now advocated greater rights for themselves.

Unlike radical utopians, women's rights advocates of the 1840s did not reject the institution of marriage or conventional divisions of labor within the family. Instead, they tried to strengthen the legal rights of married women by seeking legislation that permitted them to own property (AP® America in the World). This initiative won crucial support from affluent men, who feared bankruptcy in the volatile market economy and wanted to protect family assets by putting them in their wives' names. Fathers also desired their married daughters to have property rights to shield them (and their paternal inheritances) from financially irresponsible husbands. Such motives prompted legislatures in three states — Mississippi, Maine, and Massachusetts — to enact **married women's property laws** between 1839 and 1845. Then, in 1848, women activists in New York won a comprehensive statute that gave women full legal control over any

Women's Rights in France and the United States, 1848

During the political uprising in France in 1848, Pauline Roland and Jeanne Deroine unsuccessfully sought voting rights and an equal civil status for French women. However, the two women won election to the Central Committee of the Associative Unions, the umbrella organization of French trade unions. Imprisoned for their activism, they dispatched a letter to the Second Woman's Rights Convention, which met in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1851.

When their letter was read to the Convention, Ernestine Potowsky Rose (1810–1892) offered the following response, which indicated the different perspective and political strategy of the American women's movement.

PAULINE ROLAND AND JEANNE DEROINE

Letter to the Convention of the Women of America

Dear Sisters: Your courageous declaration of Woman's Rights has resounded even to our prison and has filled our souls with inexpressible joy. In France the [conservative] reaction [to the uprising of 1848] has suppressed the cry of liberty of the women of the future. . . . The Assembly kept silence in regard to the right of one half of humanity. . . . No mention was made of the right of woman in a Constitution framed in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. . . .

[However,] the right of woman has been recognized by the laborers and they have consecrated that right by the election of those who had claimed it in vain for both sexes. . . . It is by labor; it is by entering resolutely into the ranks of the working people that women will conquer the civil and political equality on which depends the happiness of the world. . . . Sisters of America! your socialist sisters of France are united with you in the vindication of the right of woman to civil and political equality. . . . [Only] by the union of the working classes of both sexes [can we achieve] . . . the civil and political equality of woman.

ERNESTINE ROSE

Speech to the Second Woman's Rights Convention

SOURCE: *History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (New York: Fowler & Wells, 1887), 1: 234–242.

After having heard the letter read from our poor incarcerated sisters of France, well might we exclaim, Alas poor France! Where is thy glory?

. . . But need we wonder that France, governed as she is by Russian and Austrian despotism, does not recognize . . . the Rights of Woman, when even here, in this far-famed land of freedom . . . woman, the mockingly so-called "better half" of man, has yet to plead for her rights. . . . In the laws of the land, she has no rights; in government she has no voice. . . . From the cradle to the grave she is subject to the power and control of man. Father, guardian, or husband, one conveys her like some piece of merchandise over to the other.

. . . Carry out the republican principle of universal suffrage, or strike it from your banners and substitute "Freedom and Power to one half of society, and Submission and Slavery to the other." Give women the elective franchise. Let married women have the same right to property that their husbands have. . . .

There is no reason against woman's elevation, but . . . prejudices. The main cause is a pernicious falsehood propagated against her being, namely that she is inferior by her nature. Inferior in what? What has man ever done that woman, under the same advantages could not do?

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What strategy to achieve women's rights do Roland and Deroine advocate? What strategy can be detected in Rose's remarks? In what ways are their perspectives similar to or different from one another?
2. What does this French-American comparison, along with your reading of this chapter, suggest about the nature and values of the American women's rights movement?

AP EXAM TIP

The role of the Seneca Falls Convention in the expansion of women's rights is a "must know" on the AP™ exam.

property they brought to a marriage. This law became the model for similar laws in fourteen other states.

Also in 1848, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott organized a gathering of women's rights activists in the small New York town of Seneca Falls. Seventy women and thirty men attended the **Seneca Falls Convention**, which issued a rousing

manifesto extending to women the egalitarian republican ideology of the Declaration of Independence. "All men and women are created equal," the Declaration of Sentiments declared. It denounced coverture and asserted that no man had the right to tell a woman what her "sphere" should be — a decision that belonged to "her conscience and her God." The Declaration called for women's higher education, access to property rights and the professions, rights of divorce, and an end to the sexual double standard. It also claimed women's "right to the elective franchise." The authors acknowledged that their struggle would be difficult because society worked to "destroy [woman's] confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect." But they called upon Americans to work for gender equality.

Most Americans — both male and female — dismissed the Seneca Falls declaration as nonsense. In her diary, one small-town mother lashed out at the female reformer who "talks of her wrongs in harsh tone, who struts and strides, and thinks that she proves herself superior to the rest of her sex." Still, the women's rights movement grew. In 1850, delegates to the first national women's rights convention in Worcester, Massachusetts, called on churches to eliminate theological notions of female inferiority. Addressing state legislatures, they proposed laws to allow married women to institute lawsuits and testify in court. After 1850 the movement held annual national conventions — though few southern-born women attended. Women's rights continued to have a strong abolitionist bent. Passionate speeches by African American women, in particular, reminded convention delegates of the continued plight of women in slavery.

No. VI.—*SOMETHING MORE OF BLOOMERISM.*

(BEHIND THE COUNTER THERE IS ONE OF THE "INFERIOR ANIMALS.")

Attacking the Women's Rights Movement Amelia Jenks Bloomer (1818–1894) wrote for her husband's newspaper, the *County Courier* of Seneca Falls, New York. In 1848 she attended the women's convention there and began her own biweekly newspaper, *The Lily*, focusing on temperance and women's rights. In 1851, Bloomer enthusiastically promoted — and serendipitously gave her name to — the comfortable women's costume devised by another temperance activist: loose trousers gathered at the ankles topped by a short skirt. Fearing women's quest for equal dress and equal rights, humorists such as John Leech ridiculed the new female attire. Here, bloomer-attired women smoke away and belittle the male proprietor as "one of the 'inferior animals,'" a thinly veiled effort by Leech to reassert men's "natural" claim as the dominant sex. From *[illegible]*, 1851. John Leech Archive. Picture Research Consultants & Archives

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What was the relationship between the abolitionist and women's rights movements?

Legislative campaigns for women's rights required talented organizers and speakers. The most prominent was Susan B. Anthony, a Quaker who had acquired political skills in the temperance and antislavery movements. Those experiences, Anthony reflected, taught her "the great evil of woman's utter dependence on man." Joining the women's rights movement, she worked closely with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, an elite New Yorker who wrote some of the movement's most eloquent manifestos. Anthony created an activist network of political "captains," all women, who relentlessly lobbied state legislatures. In 1860, her efforts secured a New York law granting women the right to control their own wages; to own property acquired by "trade, business, labors, or services"; and, if widowed, to assume sole guardianship of her children. Genuine individual equality for women, the dream of transcendentalist Margaret Fuller, had advanced a small step closer to reality. In ways large and small, new thinkers and reform movements had altered the character of American culture.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What new rights did women gain in the early nineteenth century, and which women most benefitted from these changes? What rights remained out of reach?

SUMMARY

Between the 1820s and the 1840s, Americans developed new republican ideas and practices. A sweeping series of Protestant revivals, known to historians as the Second Great Awakening, inspired thousands of Americans to evangelize and reform the world. In doing so they built movements to shelter orphans, reform prisons, combat prostitution, discourage alcohol consumption, and close businesses on the Christian Sabbath. Many of these efforts were aimed at the urban working classes, whom middle-class reformers viewed as undisciplined and sinful. Urban workers, however, often ignored reformers and built their own vibrant cultures of leisure and entertainment, including such enduring institutions as minstrel shows and the penny press.

Some reformers took more radical directions. Critics of the emerging market economy, ranging from pious Shakers to Fourierist socialists, founded utopian communities to experiment with different ways of organizing labor and family life. The most successful of these, the Mormons, met such hostility and violence from non-Mormons that they eventually trekked west to resettle in what is now Utah. New England intellectuals, led by Ralph Waldo Emerson, articulated transcendentalism, a romantic movement that emphasized spiritual connections with nature and the individual autonomy of each human soul. Transcendentalist thinkers joined the growing movement for immediate abolition of slavery, which originated in free African American communities in the North and also found support among some white northern evangelicals and Quakers. Some whites responded to abolitionist ideas — and to African American business success and political activism — with threats and riots. But the antislavery movement survived external pressures and internal disagreements. By the 1840s a small group of northern abolitionist women, inspired by ideals of equality and by the growth of women's education and reform activism, argued for women's rights.

CHAPTER 10 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. To what extent did antebellum intellectual and religious movements draw on the values of individualism, on the one hand, and of communal cooperation, on the other?
2. What new working-class cultural practices emerged in large antebellum cities, and why?
3. How did free African American communities shape American life and culture, and how did black civic leadership transform debates over slavery and race?
4. What new rights did women gain in the early nineteenth century, and which women most benefitted from these changes? What rights remained out of reach?
5. Review the events listed under "Culture and Society" on the thematic timeline on page 237, paying particular attention to the entries related to individualism and rights on the one hand and to various communal and religious movements on the other. What was the relationship between these somewhat contradictory cultural impulses? How were these two movements related to the social and economic changes in America in the decades after 1800?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

individualism (p. 302)
Second Great Awakening (p. 304)
Benevolent Empire (p. 306)
Maine Law (p. 307)
American Renaissance (p. 309)
romanticism (p. 309)
transcendentalism (p. 310)
utopias (p. 312)
Fourierist socialism (p. 312)
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormons (p. 314)
plural marriage (p. 315)
penny papers (p. 317)
minstrel shows (p. 318)
Free African Societies (p. 321)
African Methodist Episcopal Church (p. 321)
abolitionism (p. 322)
American Anti-Slavery Society (p. 322)
Underground Railroad (p. 323)
gag rule (p. 324)
Liberty Party (p. 324)
domesticity (p. 325)
Female Moral Reform Society (p. 326)
married women's property laws (p. 327)
Seneca Falls Convention (p. 328)

Key People

Rebecca Cox Jackson (p. 302)
Charles Grandison Finney (p. 305)
Ralph Waldo Emerson (p. 309)
Henry David Thoreau (p. 310)
Margaret Fuller (p. 310)
Walt Whitman (p. 311)
Mother Ann Lee (p. 312)
Joseph Smith (p. 314)
David Walker (p. 321)
Nat Turner (p. 321)
William Lloyd Garrison (p. 322)
Angelina and Sarah Grimké (p. 322)
Dorothea Dix (p. 326)
Susan B. Anthony (p. 329)
Elizabeth Cady Stanton (p. 329)

Key Academic Terms

depravity (p. 305)
transient (p. 305)
pantheism (p. 310)
disdain (p. 312)
monogamy (p. 313)
polygamy (p. 315)
brothel (p. 316)
cadre (p. 322)
libel (p. 322)
lynching (p. 323)
indigent (p. 327)
taboo (p. 327)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. How did Americans begin to define themselves, in this period, as members of the middle class or urban working class? How did each group expect men and women to behave, dress, and spend their time? What tensions and conflicts did these differences provoke?
2. Historians often refer to the decades between 1820 and 1850 as the era of "white men's democracy." To what extent do you think that name is appropriate for American intellectual and religious life during this period? What tools and strategies did African Americans use to seek inclusion in the "white men's democracy"? How did women, white and black, seek inclusion?
3. In what ways did the era of reform (1820–1848) increase the social and cultural freedoms that existed during the Revolutionary era (1770–1820), and for whom? Do you see any ways in which such freedoms diminished? If so, how and for whom?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 304 for help in answering the question below.*

Transformative social and political movements that arose in the United States between 1820 and 1848 included temperance, antislavery, and women's emancipation. What events in the chronology were landmark moments for each of these reform efforts? To what extent did each succeed or meet resistance to its demands, and why?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–2 refer to the excerpt below.

> "What is popularly called Transcendentalism among us, is Idealism; Idealism as it appears in 1842. As thinkers, mankind have ever divided into two sects, Materialists and Idealists; the first class founding on experience, the second on consciousness; the first class beginning to think from the data of the senses, the second class perceive that the senses are not final, and say, the senses give us representations of things, but what are the things themselves, they cannot tell. The materialist insists on facts, on history, on the force of circumstances, and the animal wants of man; the idealist on the power of Thought and of Will, on inspiration, on miracle, on individual culture."
>
> Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Transcendentalist," 1842

1. Which of the following contributed to the rise of ideas reflected in the passage during this period?
   a. European Romanticism
   b. The spread of mercantilism
   c. The presence of only one major political party
   d. Limited immigration
2. The excerpt was written primarily to
   a. criticize immigration policies after 1800.
   b. respond to the creation of the two-party political system.
   c. challenge traditional beliefs about American society.
   d. address injustices to American Indians.

Questions 3–5 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Above all, [Mormonism] provided desperately desired structure for lives beset by unpredictability, disorder, and change. It gave its adherents enormous social, psychological, and economic support. In social terms, in fact, Mormonism can be seen as perhaps the most successful, dynamic, and enduring version of the communitarianism of the l830s and 1840s. It provided isolated, struggling, often desperate families like the Smiths and Youngs from economically changing or declining countryside and small towns from the Northeast and Midwest with a new kind of economic security and cooperation."
>
> Donald Scott, "Mormonism and the Mainstream," 2004

3. The excerpt describes which of the following trends in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century?
   a. Efforts to bolster the reemerging market economy
   b. Conflicts among Americans over slavery
   c. The emergence of a distinctly American style of art
   d. The growth of utopian movements
4. Which of the following was the most direct cause leading to the developments described by Scott in the excerpt?
   a. The rise of a Second Great Awakening
   b. Growing regional separation between North and South
   c. Federally funded internal improvements
   d. The rise of Jacksonian democracy
5. The developments described by Scott could best be used to argue that during the antebellum period in the United States
   a. the expansion of universal white male suffrage limited religious expression.
   b. many Americans advanced their ideals by working independently of government institutions.
   c. technological advances favored factory production methods.
   d. federal and local governments effectively protected religious dissenters from persecution.

Questions 6–7 refer to the lithograph below.

The Drunkards Progress. From the First Glass to the Grave

Text within image reads: STEP 1. A glass with a Friend. STEP 2. A glass to keep the cold out. STEP 3. A glass too much. STEP 4. Drunk and riotous. STEP 5. The summit attained / Jolly companions / A confirmed drunkard. STEP 6. Poverty and Disease. STEP 7 Forsaken by Friends. STEP 8 Desperation and crime. STEP 9 Death by suicide. Library of Congress

6. The most likely purpose of the artist in creating the image was to
   a. promote the efforts of temperance societies to change the behavior of individuals.
   b. advocate for political rights and gender equality throughout the United States.
   c. support the efforts of the nativist American Party to limit Irish immigration.
   d. advance the work of early labor unions seeking wage equality for working women.
7. All of the following are true of the period pictured EXCEPT
   a. women's roles in social movements increased.
   b. Americans engaged in voluntary organizations to reform society.
   c. alcohol was prohibited by the U.S. Constitution.
   d. women sought increased equality and opportunities.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "Evangelicalism was a middle-class solution to problems . . . generated in the early stages of manufacturing. Revivals provided entrepreneurs with a means of imposing new standards of work discipline and personal comportment upon themselves and the men who worked for them, and thus they functioned as powerful social controls. . . . A significant minority of workingmen participated willingly in that process. And that, of course, is the most total and effective social control."
>
> Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium*, 1978

> "[A] growing number of Americans believed that the only way to stabilize the social order was to internalize self-restraint within the depths of individual character through religion and moral reform. But the roots of reform did not lie exclusively in fear and anxiety. Reform also arose out of a millennialist sense of possibilities that was both secular and religious in its origins. . . . [A] new "middle-class" reform gospel . . . sought simultaneously to free individuals from various forms of bondage; to eradicate such 'relics of barbarism' as chattel slavery and corporal punishment; and to create a sober, educated, self-disciplined citizenry."
>
> Steven Mintz, *Moralists and Modernizers: America's Pre-Civil War Reformers*, 1995

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Johnson's and Mintz's historical interpretations of reform in the period 1820 to 1848.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1820 to 1848 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Johnson's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1820 to 1848 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Mintz's interpretation.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical change in United States society that resulted from the efforts of female reformers between 1820 and 1848.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical change in United States society that resulted from the efforts of abolitionist reformers between 1820 and 1848.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical change in United States society that resulted from the efforts of women's suffrage reformers between 1820 and 1848.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Identify ONE factor that led to the creation of utopian communities in the period 1820–1848, and briefly explain how this factor shaped American culture.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause leading to the formation of utopian communities in the period 1820–1848.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical change in American culture caused by the influence of utopian communities in the period 1820 to 1848.

CHAPTER 11

Imperial Ambitions
1820–1848

The Expanding South

Planters, Small Freeholders, and Poor Freemen

The Settlement of Texas

The Politics of Democracy

The African American World

Evangelical Black Protestantism

Forging Families and Communities

Negotiating Rights

Manifest Destiny, North and South

The Push to the Pacific

The Plains Indians

The Fateful Election of 1844

The U.S.-Mexico War, 1846–1848

The "War of a Thousand Deserts"

Polk's Expansionist Program

American Military Successes

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How did the ideology of Manifest Destiny shape U.S. government policies and the experiences of ordinary people?

Since the nation's founding in 1776, visionaries believed that it would become both a republic and an empire, predicting a glorious expansion across the continent. "It belongs of right to the United States to regulate the future destiny of North America," declared the *New-York Evening Post* in 1803. Politicians soon took up the refrain. "Our natural boundary is the Pacific Ocean," asserted Massachusetts congressman Francis Baylies in 1823. "The swelling tide of our population must and will roll on until that mighty ocean interposes its waters." Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton concurred. "All obey the same impulse — *that of going to the West*," he wrote, "which, from the beginning of time has been the course of heavenly bodies, of the human race, and of science, civilization, and national power following in their train." Northerners and southerners alike viewed westward expansion as the durable foundation of American identity.

But in the 1820s, the United States was only one of the imperial powers vying for control of western North America. Mexico, which gained its independence from Spain in 1821, claimed a broad swath of the Southwest that stretched from Coahuila y Tejas on the Gulf coast to Alta California on the Pacific, and France, Mexico's principal creditor, had an interest in helping it to defend that claim. North of Alta California, Great Britain and the United States competed for control of a vast region known as the Oregon Country. Still farther north, Russia laid claim to a coastal strip stretching north to the arctic circle and west to the Bering Strait. And throughout these lands, Native American groups controlled access to resources. In particular, U.S. expansion directly threatened the sovereignty and independence of the Plains Indians, many of whom were formidable and well armed. Despite the confidence of politicians, U.S. control of the North American West was far from assured (Map 11.1).

President James Polk, an ardent imperialist, willingly assumed the risks associated with expansion. "I would meet the war which either England or France . . . might wage and fight until the last man," he told Secretary of State James Buchanan in 1846. Polk's aggressive expansionism sparked conflict. A war with Mexico intended to be "brief, cheap, and bloodless" became "long, costly, and sanguinary," complained Senator Benton. Polk oversaw massive territorial acquisitions — New Mexico, California, and the Oregon Country — but, in so doing, set the stage for a bitter debate over slavery.

John Gast, *American Progress* In 1845, journalist John O'Sullivan coined the term *Manifest Destiny* to describe Americans' suddenly urgent longing to extend the boundaries of the republic to the Pacific Ocean. More than a quarter century later, John Gast's *American Progress* (1872) gave visual form to that aspiration in an allegorical painting that was widely distributed through color lithographs. The goddess Liberty floats westward, holding a "School Book" in one hand and telegraph lines trailing from the other as symbols of the advance of Anglo-American civilization across the continent. Library of Congress

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

1810s
- Africans from Congo region influence black culture for decades

1818
- United States and Great Britain agree to joint control of Oregon Country

1820s
- Mexican government encourages migration to Coahuila y Tejas
- African Americans increasingly adopt Christian beliefs

1820
- Major Stephen H. Long labels the Great Plains the "Great American Desert"

1821
- Mexico gains independence from Spain

1830s
- Percentage of slave-owning white families falls
- Yeomen farm families retreat to hill country
- Lawyers become influential in southern politics

1835
- Mexico creates stronger central government, outlaws slavery

1836
- Texas declares its independence from Mexico

1842–1843
- Immigration to the Oregon Country increases dramatically

1844
- James K. Polk elected president

1845
- John L. O'Sullivan coins the phrase *Manifest Destiny*
- Texas admitted into Union

1846
- United States declares war on Mexico
- Treaty with Britain divides Oregon Country
- California's "Bear Flag Republic" declares independence

1847
- American troops capture Mexico City

MAP 11.1 Nonnative Claims to North America, 1821

In 1821, North America was a complex patchwork. Louisiana and Missouri were the first two states west of the Mississippi. Beyond the states' borders, the Michigan, Missouri, Arkansas, and East and West Florida Territories extended U.S. claims. To the south, the newly independent nation of Mexico claimed nearly as much territory as the United States did, while British Canada included a vast landscape to the north. Russia controlled the northern Pacific coast, while Mexico claimed Alta and Baja California. In between, Great Britain and the United States vied for the Oregon Country, which held the key to each nation's desire for an outlet to the Pacific. Underlying all these claims, a large and diverse population of Native Americans considered their own claims to be sovereign.

The Expanding South

For southerners, imperial ambitions meant territorial expansion and a commitment to the slave plantation system. With slavery's resurgence in the early nineteenth century, the social and political order of the South settled into new patterns. A small minority of planter elites came to dominate southern society, while a larger number of middling planters and aspiring slaveholders supported their ambitions. But the growing number of propertyless whites separated themselves from the plantation economy by moving onto marginal lands. Southern expansionists pushed into east Texas in the 1820s, while the planters of the Cotton South who dominated state legislatures adapted their aristocratic ideals to the demands of a democratic political order.

Planters, Small Freeholders, and Poor Freemen

Although the South was a **slave society**—a society in which the institution of slavery affected all aspects of life—most white southerners did not own slaves. The percentage of white families who held blacks in bondage steadily decreased—from 36 percent in 1830, to 31 percent in 1850, to about 25 percent a decade later. However, slave ownership varied by region. In some cotton-rich counties, 40 percent of the white families owned slaves; in the hill country near the Appalachian Mountains, the proportion dropped to 10 percent.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the impact of slavery on all classes in the South is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

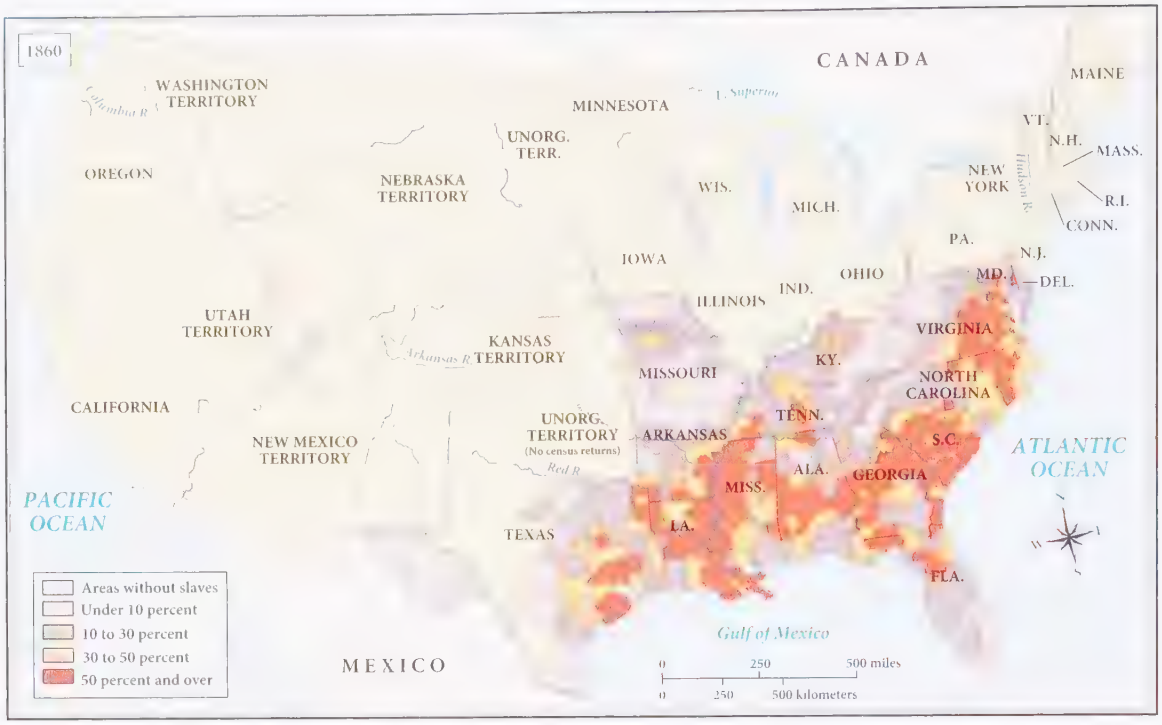
Planter Elites A privileged minority of 395,000 southern families owned slaves in 1860, their ranks divided into a strict hierarchy. The top one-fifth of these families owned twenty or more slaves. This elite—just 5 percent of the South's white population—dominated the economy, owning over 50 percent of the entire slave population of 4 million and growing 50 percent of the South's cotton crop (Map 11.2). The average wealth of these planters was $56,000 (about $1.6 million in purchasing power today); by contrast, a prosperous southern yeoman or northern farmer owned property worth a mere $3,200.

Wealthy southerners cast themselves as a **republican aristocracy**. "The planters here are essentially what the nobility are in other countries," declared James Henry Hammond of South Carolina. "They stand at the head of society & politics . . . [and form] an aristocracy of talents, of virtue, of generosity and courage." Wealthy planters feared federal government interference with their slave property, while on the state level, they worried about populist politicians who would mobilize poorer whites.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Many southern leaders criticized the growth of middle-class democracy in the Northeast and Midwest. "Inequality is the fundamental law of the universe," declared one planter. Others condemned professional politicians as "a set of demagogues" and questioned the legitimacy of universal suffrage. "Times are sadly different now to what they were when I was a boy," lamented David Gavin, a prosperous South Carolinian. Then, the "Sovereign people, alias mob" had little influence; now they vied for power with the elite. "[How can] I rejoice for a freedom," Gavin thundered, "which allows every bankrupt, swindler, thief, and scoundrel, traitor and seller of his vote to be placed on an equality with myself?"

Substantial proprietors, another fifth of the slave-owning population, held title to six to twenty bondsmen and -women. These middling planters owned almost 40 percent of the enslaved laborers and produced more than 30 percent of the cotton. Often they pursued dual careers as skilled artisans or professional men. Thus some of the fifteen slaves owned by Georgian Samuel L. Moore worked in his brick factory, while others labored on his farm. Dr. Thomas Gale used the income from his medical practice to buy a Mississippi plantation that annually produced 150 bales of cotton. In Alabama, lawyer Benjamin Fitzpatrick used his legal fees to buy ten slaves.



MAP 11.2 Distribution of the Slave Population in 1860
The center of the African American population shifted steadily westward, following the cotton boom. By 1860 the slave plantation system had pushed into east Texas, while the majority of blacks lived and worked along the Mississippi River and in an arc of fertile cotton lands — the "black belt" — sweeping from Mississippi through South Carolina.

Like Fitzpatrick, lawyers acquired wealth by managing the affairs of the slave-owning elite, representing planters and merchants in suits for debt, and helping small-holders and tenants register their deeds and contracts. Standing at the legal crossroads of their small towns, they rose to prominence and regularly won election to public office. Less than 1 percent of the male population, in 1828 lawyers made up 16 percent of the Alabama legislature and an astounding 26 percent in 1849.

Small Freeholders Smallholding slave owners were much less visible than the wealthy **grandees** and the middling lawyer-planters. These planters held from one to five black laborers in bondage and owned a few hundred acres of land. Some small-holders were well-connected young men who would rise to wealth when their father's death blessed them with more land and slaves. Others were poor but ambitious men trying to pull themselves up by their bootstraps, often encouraged by elite planters and proslavery advocates. "Ours is a proslavery form of Government, and the proslavery element should be increased," declared a Georgia newspaper. "We would like to see every white man at the South the owner of a family of negroes." Some aspiring planters achieved modest prosperity. A German settler reported from Alabama in 1855 that "nearly all his countrymen" who emigrated with him were slaveholders. "They were poor on their arrival in the country; but no sooner did they realize a little money than they invested it in slaves."

Bolstered by the patriarchal ideology of the planter class, middling farmers ruled with a firm hand. The male head of the household had legal authority over all the dependents — wives, children, and slaves — and, according to one South Carolina judge, the right on his property "to be as churlish as he pleases." Their wives had little power; like women in the North, under the laws of coverture, they lost their legal identity when they married (Chapter 10). To express their concerns, many southern women

joined churches, where they usually outnumbered men by a margin of two to one. Women especially welcomed the message of spiritual equality preached in evangelical Baptist and Methodist churches, and they hoped that the church community would hold their husbands to the same standards of Christian behavior to which they conformed. However, most churches supported patriarchal rule and told female members to remain in "wifely obedience" to their husbands.

Whatever their authority within the household, most southern freeholders lived and died as hardscrabble farmers. They worked alongside their slaves in the fields, struggled to make ends meet as their families grew, and moved regularly in search of opportunity. In 1847, James Buckner Barry left North Carolina with his new wife and two slaves to settle in Bosque County, Texas. There he worked part-time as an Indian fighter while his slaves toiled on a drought-ridden farm that barely kept the family in food. In South Carolina, W. J. Simpson struggled for years as a smallholding cotton planter and then gave up. He hired out one of his two slaves and went to work as an overseer on his father's farm.

Poor Freemen Less fortunate smallholders fell from the privileged ranks of the slave-owning classes. Selling their land and slaves to pay off debts, they joined the mass of propertyless tenants who farmed the estates of wealthy landlords. In 1860, in Hancock County, Georgia, there were 56 slave-owning planters and 300 propertyless white farm laborers and factory workers; in nearby Hart County, 25 percent of the white farmers were tenants. Across the South, about 40 percent of the white population worked as tenants or farm laborers. As the *Southern Cultivator* observed, they had "no legal right nor interest in the soil [and] no homes of their own."

Propertyless whites suffered the ill consequences of living in a slave society that **accorded** little respect to hardworking white laborers. Nor could they hope for a better life for their children, because slave owners refused to pay taxes to fund public schools. Moreover, wealthy planters bid up the price of slaves, depriving white laborers and tenants of easy access to the labor required to accumulate wealth. Finally, planter-dominated legislatures forced all white men, whether they owned slaves or not, to serve in the patrols and militias that deterred black uprisings. After touring the South, the future architect of New York's Central Park, Frederick Law Olmsted, concluded that the majority of white southerners "are poor. They . . . have little — very little — of the common comforts and consolations of civilized life. Their destitution is not material only; it is intellectual and it is moral."

Marking this moral destitution, poor whites enjoyed the psychological satisfaction that they ranked above blacks. As Alfred Iverson, a U.S. senator from Georgia, explained: a white man "walks erect in the dignity of his color and race, and feels that he is a superior being, with the more exalted powers and privileges than others." To reinforce that sense of racial superiority, planter James Henry Hammond told his poor white neighbors, "In a slave country every freeman is an aristocrat."

Rejecting that half-truth, many southern whites fled planter-dominated counties in the 1830s and sought farms in the Appalachian hill country and beyond — in western Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, the southern regions of Illinois and Indiana, and Missouri. Living as small farmers, they used family labor to grow foodstuffs for sustenance. To obtain cash or store credit to buy agricultural implements, cloth, shoes, salt, and other necessities, farm families sold their surplus crops, raised hogs for market sale, and — when the price of

North Carolina Emigrants: *Poor White Folks* Completed in 1845, James Henry Beard's (1811–1893) painting depicts a family moving north to Ohio. Unlike many optimistic scenes of emigration, the picture conveys a sense of resigned despair. The family members, led by a sullen, disheveled father, pause at a water trough while their cow drinks and their dog chews a bone. The mother looks apprehensively toward the future as she cradles a child; two barefoot older children listlessly await their father's command. New York writer Charles Briggs interpreted the painting as an "eloquent sermon on Anti-Slavery . . . , the blight of Slavery has paralyzed the strong arm of the man and destroyed the spirit of the woman." Although primarily a portrait painter, Beard questioned the ethics and optimism of American culture in *Ohio Land Speculator* (1840) and *The Last Victim of the Deluge* (1849), as well as in *Poor White Folks*. Cincinnati Art Museum, USA/Gift of the Proctor & Gamble Company/Bridgeman Images

cotton rose sharply—grew a few bales. Their goals were modest: on the family level, they wanted to preserve their holdings and buy enough land to set up their children as small-scale farmers. As citizens, smallholders wanted to control their local government and elect men of their own kind to public office. But most understood that the slave-based cotton economy sentenced family farmers to a subordinate place in the social order. They could hope for a life of independence and dignity only by moving north or farther west, where labor was "free" and hard work was respected.

By the 1830s, settlers from the South had carried both small farming and plantation slavery into Arkansas and Missouri. Between those states and the Rocky Mountains stretched great grasslands. An army explorer, Major Stephen H. Long, thought the plains region "almost wholly unfit for cultivation" and in 1820 labeled it the **Great American Desert**. The label stuck. Americans looking for land turned south, to Mexican territory. At the same time, elite planters struggled to control state governments in the Cotton South.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What social groups made up white southern society, and how did they interact?

The Settlement of Texas

After winning independence from Spain in 1821, the Mexican government pursued an activist settlement policy. To encourage migration to the newly reconfigured state of Coahuila y Tejas, it offered sizable land grants both to its own citizens and to American emigrants. Moses Austin, an American land speculator, settled smallholding farmers on his large grant, and his son, Stephen F. Austin, acquired even more land—some 180,000 acres—which he sold to newcomers. By 1835, about 27,000 white Americans and their 3,000 African American slaves were raising cotton and cattle in the well-watered plains and hills of eastern and central Texas. They far outnumbered the 3,000 Mexican residents, who lived primarily near the southwestern Texas towns of Goliad and San Antonio.

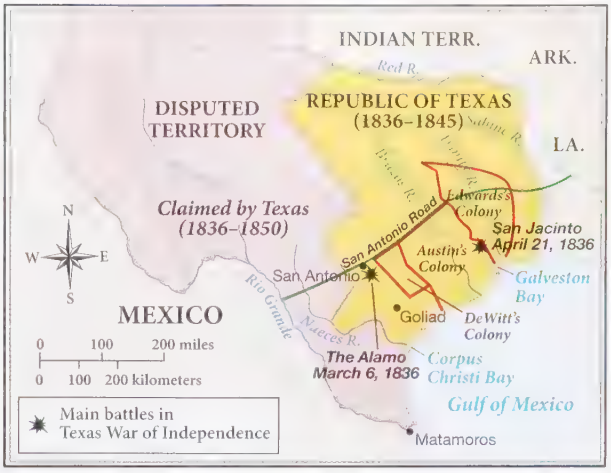
Houston, Capital of Texas, c. 1845–1850 This German lithograph by an unknown artist depicts the town of Houston, Texas, during one of the brief periods (1837–1839 and again in 1842) when it served as capital of the Republic of Texas. Though Houston was a small, boisterous port town surrounded by bayous on the Gulf Coast, this scene, bathed in moonlight, makes it look like a bucolic German village. The rolling hills bear little resemblance to Houston's flatter, more open topography. The neat, snug homes surrounding a church steeple suggest an orderly, peaceful community steeped in tradition. In fact, Houston—founded only a decade earlier—had grown rapidly and haphazardly, developed a reputation for drunkenness and brawling, and suffered in its early years from repeated yellow fever outbreaks. After the failed revolutions of 1848, German immigrants began arriving in the United States in large numbers. This lithograph was probably printed as part of a promotional campaign to lure them to Houston. Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas

When Mexico in 1835 adopted a new constitution creating a stronger central government and dissolving state legislatures, the Americans split into two groups. The "war party," led by Sam Houston and recent migrants from Georgia, demanded independence for Texas. Members of the "peace party," led by Stephen Austin, negotiated with the central government in Mexico City for greater political autonomy. They believed Texas could flourish within a decentralized Mexican republic, a "federal" constitutional system favored by the Liberal Party in Mexico (and advocated in the United States by Jacksonian Democrats). Austin won significant concessions for the Texans, including an exemption from a law ending slavery, but in 1835 Mexico's president, General Antonio López de Santa Anna, nullified them. Santa Anna wanted to impose national authority throughout Mexico. Fearing central control, the war party provoked a rebellion that most of the American settlers ultimately supported. On March 2, 1836, the American rebels

proclaimed the independence of Texas and adopted a constitution legalizing slavery.

To put down the rebellion, President Santa Anna led an army that wiped out the Texan garrison defending the **Alamo** in San Antonio and then captured Goliad, executing about 350 prisoners of war (see Map 11.3). Santa Anna thought that he had crushed the rebellion, but New Orleans and New York newspapers romanticized the deaths at the Alamo of folk heroes Davy Crockett and Jim Bowie. Drawing on anti-Catholic sentiment aroused by Irish immigration and the massacre at Goliad, they urged Americans to "Remember the Alamo" and depicted the Mexicans as tyrannical butchers in the service of the pope. American adventurers, lured by offers of land grants, flocked to Texas to join the rebel forces. Commanded by General Sam Houston, the Texans routed Santa Anna's overconfident army in the Battle of San Jacinto in April 1836, winning de facto independence. The Mexican government refused to recognize the Texas Republic but, for the moment, did not seek to conquer it.

The Texans voted for annexation by the United States, but President Martin Van Buren refused to bring the issue before Congress. As a Texas diplomat reported, the cautious Van Buren and other party politicians feared that annexation would spark a war with Mexico and, beyond that, a "desperate death-struggle . . . between the North and the South [over the extension of slavery]; a struggle involving the probability of a dissolution of the Union."



MAP 11.3 American Settlements, Texas War of Independence, and Boundary Disputes
During the 1820s the Mexican government encouraged Americans to settle in the sparsely populated state of Coahuila y Tejas. By 1835 the nearly 30,000 Americans far outnumbered Mexican residents. To put down an American-led revolt, General Santa Anna led 6,000 soldiers into Tejas in 1836. After overwhelming the rebels at the Alamo in March, Santa Anna set out to capture the Texas Provisional Government, which had fled to Galveston. But the Texans' victory at San Jacinto in April ended the war and secured de facto independence for the Republic of Texas (1836–1845). However, the annexation of Texas to the United States sparked a war with Mexico in 1846, and the state's boundaries remained in dispute until the Compromise of 1850.

The Politics of Democracy

As national leaders refused admission to Texas, elite planters faced political challenges in the Cotton South. Unlike the planter-aristocrats who ruled the colonial world, they lived in a republican society with a democratic ethos. The Alabama Constitution of 1819 granted suffrage to all white men; it also provided for a **secret ballot** (rather than voice-voting); apportionment of legislative seats based on population; and the election of county supervisors, sheriffs, and clerks of court. Given these democratic provisions, political factions in Alabama had to compete for votes. When a Whig newspaper sarcastically asked whether the state's policies should "be governed and controlled by the whim and caprice of the majority of the people," Democrats hailed the power of the common folk. They called on "Farmers, Mechanics, laboring men" to repudiate Whig "aristocrats . . . the soft handed and soft headed gentry."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What issues divided the Mexican government and the Americans in Texas, and what proposals sought to resolve them?

Taxation Policy Whatever the electioneering rhetoric, most Whig and Democrat political candidates were men of means. In the early 1840s, nearly 90 percent of Alabama's legislators owned slaves, testimony to the political power of the slave-owning minority. Still, relatively few lawmakers — only about 10 percent — were rich planters, a group voters by and large distrusted. "A rich man cannot sympathize with the poor," declared one candidate. Consequently, the majority of state and county officials in the Cotton South came from the ranks of middle-level planters and planter-lawyers. Astute politicians, they refrained from laying "oppressive" taxes on the people, particularly the white majority who owned no slaves. Between 1830 and 1860, the Alabama legislature obtained about 70 percent of the state's revenue from taxes on slaves and land. Another 10 to 15 percent came from levies on carriages, gold watches, and other luxury goods and on the capital invested in banks, transportation companies, and manufacturing enterprises.

To win the votes of taxpaying slave owners, Alabama Democrats advocated limited government and low taxes. They attacked their Whig opponents for favoring higher taxes and for providing government subsidies for banks, canals, railroads, and other

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the political, economic, and cultural causes in creating regional identities of the South is essential for success on the AP® exam.

Colonel and Mrs. James A. Whiteside, Son Charles and Servants James A. Whiteside (1803–1861) was a Tennessee lawyer, politician, land speculator, and entrepreneur, with investments in iron manufacturing, banking, steamboats, and railroads. In 1857, he became vice president of the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railroad. The following year, Whiteside persuaded the Scottish-born painter James Cameron (1817–1882) to move to Chattanooga, where Cameron completed this ambitious portrait of the colonel; his second wife, Harriet; their youngest child, Charles; and two enslaved "servants." The painting shows the family at home, with a view of Chattanooga and of Lookout Mountain, where the colonel had built a hotel. Whiteside died from pneumonia in 1861 after returning home from Virginia with his son James, who had fallen ill while serving in the Confederate army.

American Art, Chattanooga, Tennessee, Gift of Mr. & Mrs. Thomas B. Whiteside, 1957.7

internal improvements. "Voting against appropriations is the safe and popular side," one Democratic legislator declared, and his colleagues agreed; until the 1850s, they rejected most of the bills that would have granted subsidies to transportation companies or banks.

If tax policy in Alabama had a democratic thrust, elsewhere in the South it did not. In some states, wealthy planters used their political muscle to exempt slave property from taxation. Or they shifted the burden to backcountry freeholders, who owned low-quality pasturelands, by taxing farms according to acreage rather than value. Planter-legislators also spared themselves the cost of building fences around their fields by requiring small farmers to "fence in" their livestock. And, during the 1850s, wealthy legislators throughout the South used public funds to subsidize the canals and railroads in which they had invested, ignoring the protests of yeoman-backed legislators.

The Paradox of Southern Prosperity

Even without these internal improvements, the South had a strong economy. Indeed, it ranked fourth in the world in 1860, with a per capita income among whites higher than that of France and Germany. As a contributor to a Georgia newspaper argued in the 1850s, planters and yeomen should not complain about "tariffs, and merchants, and manufacturers" because "the most highly prosperous people now on earth, are to be found in these very [slave] States." Such arguments tell only part of the story. Nearly all African Americans — 40 percent of the population — lived in dire and permanent poverty. And, although the average southern white man was 80 percent richer than the average northerner in 1860, the southerner's *nonslave* wealth was only 60 percent of the northern average. Moreover, the wealth of the industrializing Northeast was increasing at a faster pace than that of the South. Between 1820 and 1860, slave-related trade across the Atlantic declined from 12.6 percent of world trade to 5.3 percent.

Influential southerners blamed the shortcomings of their plantation-based economy on outsiders: "Purely agricultural people," intoned slave-owning planter-politician James Henry Hammond, "have been in all ages the victims of rapacious tyrants grinding them down." And they steadfastly defended their way of life. "We have no cities — we don't want them," boasted U.S. senator Louis Wigfall of Texas in 1861. "We want no manufactures: we desire no trading, no mechanical or manufacturing classes. . . . As long as we have our rice, our sugar, our tobacco, and our cotton, we can command wealth to purchase all we want." So wealthy southerners continued to buy land and slaves, a strategy that neglected investments in the great technological innovations of the nineteenth century — water- and steam-powered factories, machine tools, steel plows, and crushed-gravel roads — that would have raised the South's productivity and wealth.

Urban growth, the key to prosperity in Europe and the North, occurred primarily in the commercial cities around the periphery of the South: New Orleans, St. Louis, and Baltimore. Factories — often staffed by slave labor — appeared primarily in the

Chesapeake region, which had a diverse agricultural economy and a surplus of enslaved workers. Within the Cotton South, wealthy planters invested in railroads primarily to grow and sell more cotton; when the Western & Atlantic Railroad reached the Georgia upcountry, the cotton crop there quickly doubled. Cotton and agriculture remained king.

Slavery also deterred Europeans from migrating to the South because they feared competition from bound labor. Their absence deprived the region of skilled artisans and of hardworking laborers to drain swamps, dig canals, smelt iron, and work on railroads. When entrepreneurs tried to hire slaves for these dangerous tasks, planters replied that "a negro's life is too valuable to be risked." Slave owners also feared that hiring out would make their slaves too independent. As a planter told Frederick Law Olmsted, such workers "had too much liberty . . . and got a habit of roaming about and taking care of themselves."

Thus, despite its increasing size and booming exports, the South remained an economic colony: Great Britain and the North bought its staple crops and provided its manufactures, financial services, and shipping facilities. In 1860, some 84 percent of southerners — more than double the percentage in the northern states — still worked in agriculture, and southern factories turned out only 10 percent of the nation's manufactures. The South's fixation on an "exclusive and exhausting" system of cotton monoculture and slave labor filled South Carolina textile entrepreneur William Gregg with "dark forebodings": "It has produced us such an abundant supply of all the luxuries and elegances of life, with so little exertion on our part, that we have become enervated, unfitted for other and more laborious pursuits."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the political power of slave owners affect tax policy and economic development in the southern states?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What were the strengths and limitations of the South's economy and social structure?**

The African American World

By the 1820s, the cultural life of most slaves reflected both the values and customs of their West African ancestors and the language, laws, and religious beliefs of the South's white population. This mix of African- and European-derived cultural values persisted for decades because whites discouraged blacks from assimilating and because slaves prized their diverse African heritages.

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to identify the efforts of free and enslaved blacks to maintain cultural identity while attempting to thrive in American society.

Evangelical Black Protestantism

The emergence of black Christianity illustrated the synthesis of African and European cultures. From the 1790s to the 1840s, the Second Great Awakening swept over the South, and evangelical Baptist and Methodist preachers converted thousands of white families and hundreds of enslaved blacks. Until that time, African-born blacks, often identifiable by their ritual scars, had maintained the religious practices of their homelands.

African Religions and Christian Conversion Africans carried their traditional religious practices to the United States. Some practiced Islam, but the majority relied on African gods and spirits. As late as 1842, Charles C. Jones, a Presbyterian minister, noted that the blacks on his family's plantation in Georgia believed "in second-sight, in apparitions, charms, witchcraft . . . [and other] superstitions brought from Africa." Fearing for their own souls if they withheld "the means of salvation" from African Americans, Jones and other zealous Protestant preachers and planters set out to convert slaves.

Other Protestant crusaders came from the ranks of pious black men and women who had become Christians in the Chesapeake. Swept to the Cotton South by the domestic slave trade, they carried with them the evangelical message of emotional conversion, ritual baptism, and communal spirituality. Equally important, these crusaders adapted Protestant doctrines to black needs. Enslaved Christians pointed out that blacks as well as whites were "children of God" and should be treated accordingly. **Black Protestantism** generally ignored the doctrines of original sin and predestination, and preachers didn't use biblical passages that encouraged unthinking obedience to authority. A white minister in Liberty County, Georgia, reported that when he urged slaves to obey their masters, "one half of my audience deliberately rose up and walked off."

Black Worship Indeed, some African American converts envisioned the deity as the Old Testament warrior who had liberated the Jews and so would liberate them. Inspired by a vision of Christ, Nat Turner led his bloody rebellion against slavery in Virginia (see Chapter 10). Other black Christians saw themselves as Chosen People: "de people dat is born of God." Charles Davenport, a Mississippi slave, recalled black preachers "exhort[ing] us dat us was de chillun o' Israel in de wilderness an' de Lawd done sont us to take dis lan' o' milk an' honey."

Black Kitchen Ball In this 1838 painting, *Kitchen Ball at White Sulphur Springs Virginia*, African American slaves dance to the music of a fiddle and a fife (on the right). These men and women were not field hands, but the household slaves of well-to-do plantation families vacationing at a mountain resort. Note the light complexions and Europeanized features of the most prominent figures, the result of either racial mixing or the cultural perspective of the artist. The painter, Christian Mayr, was born in Germany in 1805 and migrated to the United States in 1833. After working for years as a traveling portrait painter, Mayr settled in New York City in 1845 and died there in 1850. [illegible]

Still, African Americans expressed their Christianity in distinctive ways. The thousands of blacks who joined the Methodist Church respected its ban on profane dancing but praised the Lord in what minister Henry George Spaulding called the "religious dance of the Negroes." Spaulding described the African-derived "ring shout" this way: "Three or four, standing still, clapping their hands and beating time with their feet, commence singing in unison one of the peculiar shout melodies, while the others walk around in a ring, in single file, joining also in the song." The songs themselves were usually collective creations, devised spontaneously from bits of old hymns and tunes. Recalled an ex-slave:

> We'd all be at the "prayer house" de Lord's day, and de white preacher he'd splain de word and read whar Esekial done say — Dry bones gwine ter lib ergin. And, honey, de Lord would come a-shinin' thoo dem pages and revive dis ole nigger's heart, and I'd jump up dar and den and holler and shout and sing and pat, and dey would all cotch de words and I'd sing it to some ole shout song I'd heard 'em sing from Africa, and dey'd all take it up and keep at it, and keep a-addin' to it, and den it would be a spiritual.

By such African-influenced means, black congregations devised a distinctive and joyous brand of Protestant worship to sustain them on the long journey to emancipation and the Promised Land. "O my Lord delivered Daniel," the slaves sang. "O why not deliver me too?"

To read more about slave songs in the South, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did the Second Great Awakening affect the development of black religion?

Forging Families and Communities

Black Protestantism was one facet of an increasingly homogeneous African American culture in the rural South. Even in South Carolina — a major point of entry for imported slaves — only 20 percent of the black residents in 1820 had been born in Africa. The domestic slave trade mingled blacks from many states, erased regional differences, and prompted the emergence of a core culture in the Lower Mississippi Valley. A prime example was the fate of the **Gullah dialect**, which combined words from English and a variety of African languages in an African grammatical structure. Spoken by blacks in the Carolina lowcountry well into the twentieth century, Gullah did not take root on the cotton plantations of Alabama and Mississippi. There, slaves from Carolina were far outnumbered by migrants from the Chesapeake, who spoke black English. Like Gullah, black English used double negatives and other African grammatical forms, but it consisted primarily of English words rendered with West African pronunciation (for example, with *th* pronounced as *d* — "de preacher").

Nonetheless, African influences remained significant. At least one-third of the slaves who entered the United States between 1776 and 1809 came from the Congo region of West-Central Africa, and they brought their cultures with them. As traveler Isaac Holmes reported in 1821: "In Louisiana, and the state of Mississippi, the slaves . . . dance for several hours during Sunday afternoon. The general movement is in what they call the Congo dance." Similar descriptions of blacks who "danced the Congo and sang a purely African song to the accompaniment of . . . a drum" appeared as late as 1890.

African Americans also continued to respect African incest taboos by shunning marriages between cousins. On the Good Hope Plantation in South Carolina, nearly half of the slave children born between 1800 and 1857 were related by blood to one another; yet when they married, only one of every forty-one unions took place between cousins. White planters were not the source of this taboo: cousin marriages were frequent among the 440 South Carolina men and women who owned at least one hundred slaves in 1860, in part because such unions kept wealth within an extended family (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

Childhood in Black and White

A major theme of Harriet Beecher Stowe's powerful antislavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is the sin of separating black families and denying parental rights to enslaved mothers and fathers. The following documents reveal the dynamics of plantation family life, and particularly mother-child relations.

1. **Ex-slave Josephine Smith, interviewed at age ninety-four by Mary A. Hicks, Raleigh, North Carolina, 1930s.** *Slave children had loving but limited relationships with their mothers, who worked long hours in the fields and were sometimes sold away from their children.*

   I 'members seein' a heap o' slave sales, wid de niggers in chains, an' de spec'ulators sellin' an' buyin' dem off. I also 'members seein' a drove of slaves wid nothin' on but a rag 'twixt dere legs bein' galloped roun' 'fore de buyers. 'Bout de wust thing dat eber I seed do' wuz a slave woman at Louisburg who had been sold off from her three weeks old baby, an wuz bein' marched ter New Orleans.

   She had walked till she quz give out, an' she wuz weak enough ter fall in de middle o' de road. . . . As I pass by dis 'oman begs me in God's name fer a drink o' water, an' I gives it ter her. I ain't neber be so sorry fer nobody. . . . Dey walk fer a little piece an' dis 'oman fall out. She dies dar side o' de road, an' right dar dey buries her, cussin', dey tells me, 'bout losin' money on her.

2. **"Narrative of James Curry, a Fugitive Slave," *The Liberator*, January 10, 1840.** *The abolitionist newspaper* The Liberator *published heartrending accounts of death and separation in slave families and how "fictive kinship" assisted the survivors.*

   My mother's labor was very hard. She would go to the house in the morning, take her pail upon her head, and go away to the cow-pen, and milk fourteen cows. She then put on the bread for the family breakfast, and got the cream ready for churning, and set a little child to churn it, she having the care of from ten to fifteen children, whose mothers worked in the field. . . . Among the slave children, were three little orphans, whose mothers, at their death, committed them to the care of my mother. One of them was a babe. She took them and treated them as her own. The master took no care about them. She always took a share of the cloth she had provided for her own children, to cover these little friendless ones.

3. **Former slave Barney Alford, interview for the Works Progress Administration in Mississippi, 1930s.**

   Ole mammy "Lit" wus mity ole en she lived in one corner of de big yard en she keered fur all de black chilluns while de old folks wurk in de field. Mammy Lit wus good to all de chilluns en I had ter help her wid dem chilluns en keep dem babies on de pallet. Mammy Lit smoked a pipe, en sum times I wuld hide dat pipe, en she wuld slap me fur it, den sum times I wuld run way en go ter de kitchen whar my mammy wus at wurk en mammy Lit wuld hafter cum fur me en den she wuld whip me er gin. She sed I wus bad.

4. **"Mrs. Meriwether Administering Bitters," illustration from John Pendleton Kennedy, *Swallow Barn, Or, A Sojourn in the Old Dominion*, 1851.** *Bitters — strong alcoholic beverages flavored with bitter herbs — were administered as medicine in the nineteenth century, as in this depiction of a planter's wife tending to enslaved children. Kennedy's cheerful depictions of Virginia plantation life in this popular book, first published in 1832, reinforced the notion of slavery as a "positive good."*

Picture Research Consultants & Archives

5. G. M. J., "Early Culture of Children," 1855. *This excerpt from a Christian advice manual for mothers reflects the values of the mid-nineteenth-century white Protestant middle class.*

"Train up a child in the way he should go," is a law as imperative in the 19th century, as when first uttered by the lips of the wise man. Mothers are the natural executors of this law to their daughters. Nothing but the most unavoidable and pressing force of circumstances, should wrench this power from their hands. Who will guard with a mother's jealous eye the health, habits, morals, and religion of this most delicate part of creation. . . . How often I have been pained to see mothers place those delicate plants in the nursery with servants, whose tastes, feelings, morals, manners, and language are but a little removed from the lower animals of creation; there to receive impressions, and imbibe habits, which will grow with their growth, and strengthen with their strength, until like the branches of the giant oak, they shall expand and deepen into a shade that will forever conceal the parent stock.

6. Visiting Cards Created by Philadelphia Portrait Painter and Photographer Peregrine F. Cooper, As We Found Them (left), As They Are Now (right), 1864. *One of the ways to "train up a child in the way he should go" was to inculcate abolitionist sentiments early and often.*

Source: Peregrine F. Cooper/George Eastman House/Getty Images (both photos).

Sources: (1) WPA Slave Narrative Project, 1936–38, learnnc.org; (2) "Narrative of James Curry, a Fugitive Slave," *The Liberator*, January 10, 1840, learnnc.org; (3) The MS Gen Web Project, msgw.org/slaves/alford-xslave.htm; (5) *Home Garner; or the Intellectual and Moral Store House*, ed. Mary G. Clarke (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co., 1855), 115.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What do these sources reveal about slave communities? About the extent to which the ideology of "benevolent paternalism" governed the behavior of slave owners?
2. How does the engraving (source 4) compare to the descriptions of the care of slave children (sources 1–3)? What biases, if any, can you detect in these sources?
3. How would a person holding the beliefs described in source 5 react to the engraving of Mrs. Meriwether? To images showing slave "mammies" raising the master's children?
4. How do the images of enslaved children in source 6 pertain to "train[ing] up a child in the way he should go"? How effective are they? What emotions do they play upon?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Write an essay that assesses the economic, legal, and political arguments over slavery in light of the experiences of enslaved mothers and children.

AP EXAM TIP

Compare the experiences of enslaved Africans in different regions of the South.

Unlike white marriages, slave unions were not legally binding. According to a Louisiana judge, "slaves have no legal capacity to assent to any contract . . . because slaves are deprived of all civil rights." Nonetheless, many African Americans took marriage vows before Christian ministers or publicly marked their union in ceremonies that included the West African custom of jumping over a broomstick together. Once married, newly arrived young people in the Cotton South often chose older people in their new communities as fictive "aunts" and "uncles." The slave trade had destroyed their family but not their family values.

The creation of fictive kinship ties was part of a community-building process, a partial substitute for the family ties that sustained whites during periods of crisis. Naming children was another. Recently imported slaves frequently gave their children African names. Males born on Friday, for example, were often called Cuffee — the name of that day in several West African languages. Many American-born parents chose names of British origin, but they usually named sons after fathers, uncles, or grandfathers and daughters after grandmothers. Those transported to the Cotton South often named their children for relatives left behind. Like incest rules and marriage rituals, this intergenerational sharing of names evoked memories of a lost world and bolstered kin ties in the new one.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did African cultural practices affect the lives of enslaved African Americans?

Negotiating Rights

By forming stable families and communities, African Americans gradually created a sense of order in the harsh and arbitrary world of slavery. In a few regions, slaves won substantial control over their lives.

Working Lives During the Revolutionary era, blacks in the rice-growing lowlands of South Carolina successfully asserted the right to labor by the "task." Under the **task system**, workers had to complete a precisely defined job each day — for example, digging up a quarter-acre of land, hoeing half an acre, or pounding seven mortars of rice. By working hard, many finished their tasks by early afternoon, a Methodist preacher reported, and had "the rest of the day for themselves, which they spend in working their own private fields . . . planting rice, corn, potatoes, tobacco &c. for their own use and profit."

Antebellum Slave Quarters During the colonial period, owners often housed their slaves by gender in communal barracks. In the nineteenth century, slaves usually lived in family units in separate cabins. The slave huts on this South Carolina plantation were sturdily built but had few windows. Inside, they were sparsely furnished. From The New York Public Library

Slaves on sugar and cotton plantations led more regimented lives, thanks to the gang-labor system. As one field hand put it, there was "no time off [between] de change of de seasons. . . . Dey was allus clearin' mo' lan' or sump'." Many slaves faced bans on growing crops on their own. "It gives an excuse for trading," explained one owner, and that encouraged roaming and independence. Still, many masters hired out surplus workers as teamsters, drovers, steamboat workers, turpentine gatherers, and railroad builders; in 1856, no fewer than 435 hired slaves laid track for the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad. Many owners regretted the result. As an overseer remarked about a slave named John, "He is not as good a hand as he was before he went to Alabamy."

The planters' greatest fear was that enslaved African Americans — a majority of the population in most cotton-growing counties — would rise in rebellion. Legally speaking, owners had virtually unlimited power over their slaves. "The power of the master must be absolute," intoned Justice Thomas Ruffin of the North Carolina Supreme Court in 1829. But absolute power required brutal coercion, and only hardened or **sadistic** masters had the stomach for such violence. "These poor negroes, receiving none of the fruits of their labor, do not love work," explained one woman who worked her own farm; "if we had slaves, we should have to . . . beat them to make use of them."

Moreover, passive resistance by African Americans seriously limited their owners' power. Slaves slowed the pace of work by feigning illness and losing or breaking tools. One Maryland slave, faced with transport to Mississippi and separation from his wife, flatly refused "to accompany my people, or to be exchanged or sold," his owner reported. Masters ignored such feelings at their peril. A slave (or a relative) might retaliate by setting fire to the master's house and barns, poisoning his food, or destroying his crops. Fear of resistance, as well as critical scrutiny by abolitionists, prompted many masters to reduce their reliance on the lash and use positive incentives such as food and special privileges. Noted Frederick Law Olmsted: "Men of sense have discovered that it was better to offer them rewards than to whip them." Nonetheless, owners could always resort to violence, and countless masters regularly asserted their power by demanding sex from their female slaves. As ex-slave Bethany Veney lamented in her autobiography, from "the unbridled lust of the slave-owner . . . the law holds . . . no protecting arm" over black women.

Survival Strategies Slavery remained an exploitative system grounded in fear and coercion. Over the decades, hundreds of individual slaves responded by attacking their masters and overseers. But only a few blacks — among them Gabriel and Martin Prosser (1800) and Nat Turner (1831) (Chapter 10) — plotted mass uprisings. Most slaves recognized that revolt would be futile. The tasks of planning, organizing, and assembling weapons for such an action were all but impossible under the constraints of slavery. Whites, by contrast, were readily mobilized, well armed, and determined to maintain their position of racial superiority.

Escape was equally problematic. Blacks in the Upper South could flee to the North, but only by leaving their families and kin. Slaves in the Lower South escaped to sparsely settled regions of Florida, where some intermarried with the Seminole Indians. Elsewhere in the South, escaped slaves eked out a meager existence in inhospitable marshy areas or mountain valleys. Consequently, most African Americans remained on plantations; as Frederick Douglass put it, they were "pegged down to one single spot, and must take root there or die."

"Taking root" meant building the best possible lives for themselves. Over time, enslaved African Americans pressed their owners for a greater share of the product of their labor, much like unionized workers in the North were doing. Thus slaves insisted on getting paid for "overwork" and on the right to cultivate a garden and sell its produce. "De menfolks tend to de gardens round dey own house," recalled a Louisiana slave. "Dey raise some cotton and sell it to massa and git li'l money dat way." Enslaved women raised poultry and sold chickens and eggs. An Alabama slave remembered buying "Sunday clothes with dat money, sech as hats and pants and shoes and dresses." By the 1850s, thousands of African Americans were reaping the small rewards of this underground economy, and some accumulated sizable

CLASS No. 1.

Comprises those prisoners who were found guilty and executed.

Prisoners Names.	*Owners' Names.*	*Time of Commit.*	*How Disposed of.*
Peter	James Poyas	June 18	Hanged on Tuesday the 2d July, 1822, on Blake's lands, near Charleston.
Ned	Gov. T. Bennett,	do.	
Rolla	do.	do	
Batteau	do.	do.	
Denmark Vesey	A free black man	22	
Jessy	Thos. Blackwood	23	
John	Elias Horry	July 5	Do on the Lines near Ch.; Friday July 12.
Gullah Jack	Paul Pritchard	do.	
Mingo	Wm. Harth	June 21	
Lot	Forrester	27	
Joe	P. L. Jore	July 6	
Julius	Thos. Forrest	8	
Tom	Mrs. Russell	10	
Smart	Robt. Anderson	do.	
John	John Robertson	11	
Robert	do.	do.	
Adam	do.	do.	
Polydore	Mrs. Faber	do.	Hanged on the Lines near Charleston, on Friday, 26th July.
Bacchus	Benj. Hammet	do.	
Dick	Wm. Sims	13	
Pharaoh	— Thompson	do.	
Jemmy	Mrs. Clement	18	
Manidore	Mordecai Cohen	19	
Dean	— Mitchell	do.	
Jack	Mrs. Purcell	12	
Bellisle	Est. of Jos. Yates	18	
Naphur	do.	do	
Adam	do.	do.	
Jacob	John S. Glen	16	
Charles	John Billings	18	
Jack	N. McNeill	22	
Cæsar	Miss Smith	do.	Do. Tues. July 30.
Jacob Stagg	Jacob Lankester	23	
Tom	Wm. M. Scott	24	
William	Mrs. Garner	Aug. 2	Do. Friday, Aug. 9.

"An Account of the Late Intended Insurrection, Charleston, South Carolina" In 1820, Charleston had a free black population of 1,500 and an array of African American institutions, including the Brown Fellowship Society (for those of mixed racial ancestry) and an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church. In 1822, Charleston authorities accused a free black, Denmark Vesey, of organizing a revolt to free the city's slaves. Although historians long accepted the truth of that charge, recent scholarship suggests that Vesey's only offense was antagonizing some whites by claiming his rights as a free man and that fearful slave owners conjured up the plot. Regardless, South Carolina officials hanged Vesey and thirty-four alleged co-conspirators and tore down the AME church where they allegedly plotted the uprising. David M. Robertson, Denmark Vesey & Mapping and the City, Light, Uncovered

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Identify five responses that enslaved people could make to the demands placed upon them. What were the benefits and limitations of each?

property. Enslaved Georgia carpenter Alexander Steele owned four horses, a mule, a silver watch, two cows, a wagon, and large quantities of fodder, hay, and corn.

Whatever their material circumstances, few slaves accepted the legitimacy of their status. Although he was fed well and never whipped, a former slave told an English traveler, "I was cruelly treated because I was kept in slavery." In an address to a white audience on the Fourth of July, the escaped slave and abolitionist Frederick Douglass asked, "What, to the American slave, is your Fourth of July? I answer: a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What resources and strategies gave African American slaves a measure of control over their lives?

Manifest Destiny, North and South

AP® EXAM TIP

Trace the expansion of slavery that follows the geographic expansion of the United States associated with Manifest Destiny.

The institution of slavery cast a pall over national politics. The Missouri crisis of 1819–1821 (Chapter 9) frightened the nation's leaders. For the next two decades, the professional politicians who ran the Second Party System avoided policies, such as the annexation of the slaveholding Republic of Texas, that would prompt regional strife. Then, during the 1840s, many citizens embraced an ideology of expansion and proclaimed a God-given duty to extend American republicanism to the Pacific Ocean. But whose republican institutions: the hierarchical slave system of the South or the more egalitarian, reform-minded, capitalist-managed society of the North and Midwest? Or both? Ultimately, the failure to find a political solution to this question would rip the nation apart.

The Push to the Pacific

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of Manifest Destiny in the development of the United States is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

As expansionists developed continental ambitions, the term ***Manifest Destiny*** captured those dreams. John L. O'Sullivan, editor of the *Democratic Review*, coined the phrase in 1845: "Our manifest destiny is to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." Underlying the rhetoric of Manifest Destiny was a sense of Anglo-American cultural and racial superiority: the "inferior" peoples who lived in the Far West—Native Americans and Mexicans—would be subjected to American dominion, taught republicanism, and converted to Protestantism (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Long before American politicians became interested in the Far West, however, the region was enmeshed in trade systems that connected Pacific coast settlements with Asia, Europe, and eastern North America. Russian traders made contact with Aleut and Tlingit communities in Alaska in the late eighteenth century and developed a lucrative trade in sea otter pelts, which was controlled after 1799 by the Russian-American Company. British explorer James Cook mapped the Pacific coast in 1778 and learned of the great demand for sea otter pelts in China, prompting a series of British trading voyages to the Pacific Northwest. Between 1788 and 1814, American traders based in Boston overtook their British rivals and dominated the region's maritime trade. Then, in the nineteenth century, overland traders from the Pacific Fur Company of John Jacob Astor, the North West Company based in Montreal, and the Hudson's Bay Company all pushed westward to establish footholds in the region. Thus, the Native peoples of the Pacific Northwest had had sustained contact with Europeans for two generations before the United States became interested in settlement there.

What Explains American Enthusiasm for Manifest Destiny?

John O'Sullivan first used the term *Manifest Destiny* in an 1845 article in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*. He was writing in favor of the annexation of Texas, a politically divisive issue that had been at the center of the 1844 presidential election. Democrats especially embraced the article's call to "overspread and to possess the whole of the continent." This pro-expansionist sentiment rallied advocates of war with Mexico and emboldened others to challenge Great Britain for the Oregon Territory in the Pacific Northwest. Ultimately, champions of Manifest Destiny scored victories in the 1840s and 1850s that created the American empire they chased. But what motivated their enthusiasm? Reginald Horsman and Amy S. Greenberg take up this question but reach different conclusions.

REGINALD HORSMAN

SOURCE: Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 5–6.

By 1850 . . . Americans had evidence plain before them that they were a chosen people; from the English they had learned that the Anglo-Saxons had always been peculiarly gifted in the arts of government; from the scientists and ethnologists they were learning that they were of a distinct Caucasian race, innately endowed with abilities that placed them above other races; from the philologists . . . they were learning that they were the descendants of those Aryans who followed the sun to carry civilization to the whole world. . . . [M]any Americans found comfort in the strength and status of a distinguished racial heritage. The new racial ideology could be used to force new immigrants to conform to the prevailing political, economic, and social system, and it could also be used to justify the sufferings or deaths of blacks, Indians, or Mexicans. Feelings of guilt could be assuaged by assumptions of historical and scientific inevitability. . . . Agrarian and commercial desires and the search for national and personal wealth and security were at the heart of mid-nineteenth-century expansion, but the racial ideology that accompanied and permeated these drives helped determine the nature of America's specific relationships with other peoples encountered in the surge to world power.

AMY S. GREENBERG

SOURCE: Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 6, 11, 14, 17.

[T]he American encounter with potential new territories in the antebellum period was shaped by concerns at home, especially evolving gendered ideals and practices. . . . [B]y 1848 . . . two preeminent and dueling . . . masculinities [had emerged]: *restrained manhood* and *martial manhood*. . . . [T]hese two masculinities . . . competed for [dominance]. Territorial expansionism provided one important stage on which this battle was waged. . . . [A]ggressive expansionism, defined here as support for the use of war to gain new American territory . . . was supported by martial men, and . . . debates over Manifest Destiny also were debates over the meaning of American manhood and womanhood. . . . The restrained men who opposed aggressive expansionism also believed that America's Manifest Destiny was yet to be fulfilled, but they envisioned it unfolding . . . through trade and the spread of American social and religious institutions. . . . But in the 1850s the discourse of aggressive expansionism dominated the discussion of America's proper role in the world . . . and . . . led to an unintended victory for martial manhood. It ended up exacerbating the growing sectional conflict by promoting violence as a solution to discord.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Describe one major difference between Horsman's and Greenberg's explanations of Manifest Destiny in the antebellum period.
2. To what extent do Horsman and Greenberg agree on the consequences of Manifest Destiny?
3. From Chapter 11's discussion of the expanding American empire, identify two pieces of evidence supporting either Horsman's or Greenberg's interpretation of Manifest Destiny.

Oregon As a result of their overlapping trading activities, Britain and the United States agreed in 1818 to joint control of the Oregon Country, which allowed settlement by people from both nations. Under its terms, the British-run Hudson's Bay Company developed a lucrative fur business and oversaw Indian relations north of the Columbia River, while Methodist missionaries and a few hundred American farmers settled to the south, in the Willamette Valley (Map 11.4).

MAP 11.4 Territorial Conflict in Oregon, 1819–1846
As thousands of American settlers poured into the Oregon Country in the early 1840s, British authorities tried to keep them south of the Columbia River. However, the migrants — and fervent expansionists — asserted that Americans could settle anywhere in the territory, raising the prospect of armed conflict. In 1846, British and American diplomats resolved the dispute by dividing most of the region at the forty-ninth parallel while giving both nations access to fine harbors (Vancouver and Seattle) through the Strait of Juan de Fuca.

In 1842, American interest in Oregon increased dramatically. The U.S. Navy published a glowing report of fine harbors in the Puget Sound, which New England merchants trading with China were already using. Simultaneously, a party of one hundred farmers journeyed along the Oregon Trail, which fur traders and explorers had blazed from Independence, Missouri, across the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains (Map 11.5). Their letters from Oregon told of a mild climate and rich soil.

"Oregon fever" suddenly raged. A thousand men, women, and children — with a hundred wagons and five thousand oxen and cattle — gathered in Independence in April 1843. As the spring mud dried, they began their six-month trek, hoping to miss the winter snows. Another 5,000 settlers, mostly farm families from the southern border states (Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee), set out over the next two years. These pioneers overcame floods, dust storms, livestock deaths, and a few armed encounters with Native peoples before reaching Oregon, a journey of 2,000 miles.

By 1860, about 250,000 Americans had braved the **Oregon Trail**, with 65,000 heading for Oregon, 185,000 to California, and others staying in Wyoming, Idaho, and Montana. More than 34,000 migrants died, mostly from disease and exposure; fewer than 500 deaths resulted from Indian attacks. The walking migrants wore paths 3 feet deep, and their wagons carved 5-foot ruts across sandstone formations in southern Wyoming — tracks that are visible today. Women found the trail especially difficult; in addition to their usual chores and the new work of driving wagons and animals, they lacked the support of female kin and the security of their domestic space. About 2,500 women endured pregnancy or gave birth during the long journey, and some did not survive. "There was a woman died in this train yesterday," Jane Gould Tortillott noted in her diary. "She left six children, one of them only two days old."

The 10,000 migrants who made it to Oregon in the 1840s mostly settled in the Willamette Valley. Many families squatted on 640 acres and hoped Congress would legalize their claims so that they could sell surplus acreage to new migrants. The settlers quickly created a race- and gender-defined polity by restricting voting to a "free male descendant of a white man."

***Oregon City on the Willamette River*, 1850–1852** Americans quickly populated the Far West and re-created there the small-town life of the eastern states. This painting by John Mix Stanley, completed in 1850–1852, captures Oregon City in an early stage of development, when the ground along the river was little more than cleared dirt. On the south bank are a church, several large merchandise warehouses, and numerous houses. On the riverbank opposite, a few smaller structures have begun to appear. In the foreground are two Native Americans, who had a very different way of life and would be steadily pushed off the lands of their ancestors. Courtesy of Cotsen

California About 3,000 other early migrants ended up in the Mexican province of California. They left the Oregon Trail along the Snake River, trudged down the California Trail, and mostly settled in the interior along the Sacramento River, where there were few Mexicans. A remote outpost of Spain's American empire, California had few non-native residents until the 1770s, when Spanish authorities built a chain of forts and

MAP 11.5 The Great Plains: Settler Trails, Indian Raiders, and Traders

By the 1850s, the Mormon, Oregon, and Santa Fe trails ran across "Indian Country," the semiarid, bison-filled Great Plains west of the ninety-fifth meridian, and then through the Rocky Mountains. Tens of thousands of Americans set out on these trails to found new communities in Utah, Oregon, New Mexico, and California. This mass migration exposed sedentary Indian peoples to American diseases, guns, and manufactures. However, raids by Comanches and Sioux affected their lives even more significantly, as did the Euro-American traders who provided a ready market for Indian horses and mules, dried meat, and bison skins.

religious missions along the Pacific coast. When Mexico achieved independence in 1821, its government took over the Franciscan-run missions and freed the 20,000 Indians whom the monks had persuaded or coerced into working on them. Some mission Indians rejoined their tribes, but many intermarried with mestizos (Mexicans of mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry). They worked on huge ranches—the 450 estates created by Mexican officials and bestowed primarily on their families and political allies. The owners of these vast properties (averaging 19,000 acres) mostly raised Spanish cattle, prized for their hides and tallow.

William Henry Jackson, *California Crossing, South Platte River*, detail, 1867 The South Platte River was wide (stretching from the foreground to the low bluff in the middle of the picture) but shallow, allowing relatively easy passage for the migrants' cattle and covered wagons. Wagon trains followed the course of the various branches of the Platte River for more than 300 miles across the Great Plains. During the late spring and early summer, wagons often stretched as far as the eye could see. National Park Service/Picture Research Consultants & Archive

The ranches soon linked California to the American economy. New England merchants dispatched dozens of agents to buy leather for the booming Massachusetts boot and shoe industry and tallow to make soap and candles. Many agents married the daughters of the elite Mexican ranchers — the **Californios** — and adopted their manners, attitudes, and Catholic religion. A crucial exception was Thomas Oliver Larkin, a successful merchant in the coastal town of Monterey. Although Larkin worked closely with Mexican politicians and landowners, he remained strongly American in outlook.

Like Larkin, the American migrants in the Sacramento River Valley did not assimilate into Mexican society. Some hoped to emulate the Americans in Texas by colonizing the country and then seeking annexation. However, in the early 1840s, these settlers numbered only about 1,000, far outnumbered by the 7,000 Mexicans who lived along the coast.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What developments prompted thousands of Americans to follow the Oregon Trail to the Pacific coast?

The Plains Indians

AP® EXAM TIP

Describe the impact of Manifest Destiny on different American Indian groups.

As the Pacific-bound wagon trains rumbled across Nebraska along the broad Platte River, the migrants encountered the unique ecology of the Great Plains. A vast sea of wild grasses stretched from Texas to Saskatchewan in Canada, and west from the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains. Tall grasses flourished in the eastern regions of the future states of Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas, where there was moderate rainfall. To the west, in the semiarid region beyond the ninety-fifth meridian, the migrants found short grasses that sustained a rich wildlife dominated by buffalo and grazing antelopes. Nomadic buffalo-hunting Indian peoples roamed the western plains, while

the eastern river valleys were home to semisedentary tribes and, since the 1830s, the Indian peoples whom Andrew Jackson had "removed" to the west. A line of military forts — stretching from Fort Jesup in Louisiana to Fort Snelling, then in the Wisconsin Territory — policed the boundary between white settlements and what Congress in 1834 designated as Permanent Indian Territory.

For centuries, the Indians who lived on the eastern edge of the plains, such as the Pawnees and the Mandans on the Upper Missouri River, subsisted primarily on corn and beans, supplemented by buffalo meat. They hunted buffalo on foot, driving them over cliffs or into canyons for the kill. To the south, the nomadic Apaches acquired horses from Spanish settlers in New Mexico and ranged widely across the plains. The Comanches, who migrated down the Arkansas River from the Rocky Mountains around 1750, developed both a horse-based culture and imperial ambitions. Skilled buffalo hunters and fierce warriors, the Comanches slowly pushed the Apaches to the southern edge of the plains. They also raided Spanish settlements in New Mexico, incorporating captured women and children into their society.

After 1800, the Comanches gradually built up a **pastoral** economy, raising horses and mules and selling them to northern Indian peoples and to Euro-American farmers in Missouri and Arkansas. Many Comanche families owned thirty to thirty-five horses or mules, far more than the five or six required for hunting buffalo and fighting neighboring peoples. The Comanches also exchanged goods with merchants and travelers along the Santa Fe Trail, which cut through their territory as it connected Missouri and New Mexico. By the early 1840s, goods worth nearly $1 million moved along the trail each year.

George Catlin, *Comanche Feats of Horsemanship*, 1834 When artist George Catlin accompanied the dragoons of the U.S. Army into Indian Territory in the 1830s, the Comanches were masters of the southern plains. They hunted buffalo, raised horses and mules for sale, and used their skills as horsemen to dominate other Indian peoples and control the passage of Americans along the Santa Fe Trail. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC/Art Resource, NY

By the 1830s, the Kiowas, Cheyennes, and Arapahos had also adopted this horse culture and, allied with the Comanches, dominated the plains between the Arkansas and Red rivers. The new culture brought sharper social divisions. Some Kiowa men owned hundreds of horses and had several "chore wives" and captive children who worked for them. Poor men, who owned only a few horses, had difficulty finding marriage partners and often had to work for their wealthy kinsmen.

While European horses made Plains Indians wealthier and more mobile, European diseases and guns thinned their ranks. A devastating smallpox epidemic spread northward from New Spain in 1779–1781 and killed half of the Plains peoples. Twenty years later, another smallpox outbreak left dozens of deserted villages along the Missouri River. Smallpox struck the northern plains again from 1837 to 1840, killing half of the Assiniboines and Blackfeet and nearly a third of the Crows, Pawnees, and Cheyennes. "If I could see this thing, if I knew where it came from, I would go there and fight it," exclaimed a distressed Cheyenne warrior.

European weapons also altered the geography of Native peoples. Around 1750, the Crees and Assiniboines, who lived on the far northern plains, acquired guns by trading wolf pelts and beaver skins to the British-run Hudson's Bay Company. Once armed, they drove the Blackfoot peoples westward into the Rocky Mountains and took control of the Saskatchewan and Upper Missouri River basins. When the Blackfeet obtained guns and horses around 1800, they emerged from the mountains and pushed the Shoshones and Crows to the south. Because horses could not easily find winter forage in the snow-filled plains north of the Platte River, Blackfoot families kept only five to ten horses and remained hunters rather than pastoralists.

The powerful Lakota Sioux, who acquired guns and ammunition from French, Spanish, and American traders along the Missouri River, also remained buffalo hunters. A nomadic war-prone people who lived in small groups, the Lakotas largely avoided major epidemics. They kept some sedentary peoples, such as the Arikaras, in subjection and raided others for their crops and horses. By the 1830s, the Lakotas were the dominant tribe on the central as well as the northern plains. "Those lands once belonged to the Kiowas and the Crows," boasted the Oglala Sioux chief Black Hawk, "but we whipped those nations out of them, and in this we did what the white men do when they want the lands of the Indians."

The Sioux's prosperity also came at the expense of the bison, which provided them with a diet rich in protein and with hides and robes to sell. The number of hides and robes shipped down the Missouri River each year by the American Fur Company and the Missouri Fur Company increased from 3,000 in the 1820s, to 45,000 in the 1830s, and to 90,000 annually after 1840. North of the Missouri, the story was much the same. The 24,000 Indians of that region — Blackfeet, Crees, and Assiniboines — annually killed about 160,000 bison. The women dried the meat to feed their people and to sell to white traders and soldiers. The women also undertook the arduous work of skinning and tanning the hides, which they fashioned into tepees, robes, and sleeping covers. Over time, Indian hunters increased the kill and traded surplus hides and robes — about 40,000 annually by the 1840s — for pots, knives, guns, and other Euro-American manufactures. As among the Kiowas, trade increased social divisions. "It is a fine sight," a traveler noted around 1850, "to see one of those big men among the Blackfeet, who has two or three lodges, five or six wives, twenty or thirty children, fifty to a hundred head of horses; for his trade amounts to upward of $2,000 per year."

Although the Blackfeet, Kiowas, and Lakotas contributed bison hides to the national economy, they did not fully grasp their market value as winter clothes, leather accessories, and industrial drive belts. Consequently, they could not demand the best price. Moreover, the increasing size of the kill diminished the bison herds. Between 1820 and 1870, the northern herd shrank from 5 million to less than 2 million. When the Assiniboines' cultural hero Inkton'mi had taught his people how to kill the bison, he told them that the animals "will live as long as your people. There will be no end of them until the end of time." Meant as a perpetual guarantee, by the 1860s Inkton'mi's

words prefigured the end of time—the demise of traditional bison hunting and, perhaps, of the Assiniboines as well.

The Fateful Election of 1844

The election of 1844 changed the American government's policy toward the Great Plains, the Far West, and Texas. Since 1836, southern leaders had supported the annexation of Texas, but cautious party politicians, pressured by northerners who opposed the expansion of slavery, had rebuffed them. Now rumors swirled that Great Britain was encouraging Texas to remain independent; wanted California as payment for the Mexican debts owed to British investors; and had designs on Spanish Cuba, which some slave owners wanted to add to the United States. To thwart such imagined schemes, southern expansionists demanded the immediate annexation of Texas.

At this crucial juncture, Oregon fever altered the political landscape in the North. In 1843, Americans in the Ohio River Valley and the Great Lakes states organized "Oregon conventions," and Democratic and Whig politicians alike called for American sovereignty over the entire Oregon Country, from Spanish California to Russian Alaska (which began at 54°40′ north latitude). With northerners demanding Oregon, President John Tyler, a proslavery zealot, called for the annexation of Texas. Disowned by the Whigs because he thwarted Henry Clay's nationalist economic program, Tyler hoped to win reelection in 1844 as a Democrat. To **curry** favor among northern expansionists, Tyler supported claims to all of Oregon.

In April 1844, Tyler and John C. Calhoun, his proslavery, expansionist-minded secretary of state, sent the Senate a treaty to bring Texas into the Union. However, the two major presidential hopefuls, Democrat Martin Van Buren and Whig Henry Clay, opposed Tyler's initiative. Fearful of raising the issue of slavery, they persuaded the Senate to reject the treaty.

Nonetheless, expansion into Texas and Oregon became the central issue in the election of 1844. Most southern Democrats favored Texas annexation and refused to support Van Buren's candidacy. The party also passed over Tyler, whom they did not trust. Instead, the Democrats selected Governor James K. Polk of Tennessee, a slave owner and an avowed expansionist. Known as "Young Hickory" because he was a protégé of Andrew Jackson, Polk shared his mentor's iron will, boundless ambition, and determination to open up lands for American settlement. Accepting the false claim in the Democratic Party platform that both areas already belonged to the United States, Polk campaigned for the "Re-occupation of Oregon and the Re-annexation of Texas." He insisted that the United States defy British claims and occupy "the whole of the territory of Oregon" to the Alaskan border. **"Fifty-four forty or fight!"** became his jingoistic cry.

The Whigs nominated Henry Clay, who again advocated his American System of high tariffs, internal improvements, and national banking. Clay initially dodged the issue of Texas but, seeking southern votes, ultimately supported annexation. Northern Whigs who opposed the admission of a new slave state refused to vote for Clay and cast their ballots for James G. Birney of the Liberty Party (Chapter 10). Birney garnered less than 3 percent of the national vote but took enough Whig votes in New York to cost Clay that state—and the presidency.

Following Polk's narrow victory, congressional Democrats called for immediate Texas statehood. However, they lacked the two-thirds majority in the Senate needed to ratify a treaty of annexation. So the Democrats admitted Texas using a joint resolution of Congress, which required just a majority vote in each house, and Texas became the twenty-eighth state in December 1845. Polk's strategy of linking Texas and Oregon had put him in the White House and Texas in the Union. Shortly, it would make the expansion of the South—and its system of slavery—the central topic of American politics (AP® Analyzing Voices).

IN YOUR OWN WORDS Did the idea of Manifest Destiny cause westward migration and political support for territorial expansion, or did it only justify actions taken for other reasons?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

Why did some Great Plains peoples flourish between 1750 and 1860 while others did not?

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of the election on westward expansion policies of 1844 is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why did party politicians initially oppose the annexation of Texas, and how did this view change during the election of 1844?

The U.S.-Mexico War: Expansion and Slavery

Conflict with Mexico prompted debates over the Polk administration's aggressive efforts to acquire territory and spread slavery. Here, Polk's critics face off against the expansionists.

JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN, EDITOR

"Manifest Destiny," from *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, July 1845

SOURCE: Sean Wilentz, ed., *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787–1848* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1991), 525–528.

"Texas is now ours . . . [Britain and France tried] to intrude themselves [into Texas affairs] . . . for the avowed object of thwarting our policy and hampering our power, limiting our greatness and checking the fulfillment of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions. . . .

The independence of Texas was complete and absolute. It was an independence, not only in fact, but of right. . . . What then can be more preposterous than all this clamor by Mexico and the Mexican interest, against Annexation, as a violation of any rights of hers . . . ?

Nor is there any just foundation for the charge that Annexation is a great pro-slavery measure — calculated to increase and perpetuate that institution. Slavery had nothing to do with it. . . . That it will tend to facilitate and hasten the disappearance of Slavery from all the northern tier of the present Slave States, cannot surely admit of serious question. The greater value in Texas of the slave labor now employed in those States, must soon produce the effect of draining off that labor southwardly. . . .

California will, probably, next fall away. . . . Already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon emigration has begun to pour down upon it, armed with the plough and the rifle, and marking its trail with schools and colleges, courts and representative halls, mills and meeting-houses. A population will soon be in actual occupation of California. . . . And they will have a right to independence — to self-government . . . a better and a truer right than the artificial title of sovereignty in Mexico, a thousand miles distant, inheriting from Spain a title good only against those who have none better. "

JAMES BUCHANAN, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE

Letter to John Slidell, Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico, November 1845

SOURCE: Victoria Bissell Brown and Timothy J. Shannon, eds., *Going to the Source: The Bedford Reader in American History* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2004), 1: 260–262.

"In your negotiations with Mexico, the independence of Texas must be considered a settled fact, and is not to be called in question. . . .

It may, however, be contended on the part of Mexico, that the Nueces and not the Rio del Norte [Rio Grande], is the true western boundary of Texas. I need not furnish you arguments to controvert this position. . . . The jurisdiction of Texas has been extended beyond that river [the Nueces] and . . . representatives from the country between it and the Del Norte have participated in the deliberations both of her Congress and her Convention. . . .

The case is different in regard to New Mexico. Santa Fe, its capital, was settled by the Spaniards more than two centuries ago; and that province has been ever since in their possession and that of the Republic of Mexico. The Texans never have conquered or taken possession of it. . . . [However,] a great portion of New Mexico being on this side of the Rio Grande and included within the limits already claimed by Texas, it may hereafter, should it remain a Mexican province, become a subject of dispute. . . . It would seem to be equally

The U.S.-Mexico War, 1846–1848

In the Southwest, as in the Oregon Country, dramatic change came quickly in the 1840s. Comanches, Kiowas, Apaches, and Navajos who had traded peacefully with northern Mexicans for decades began, instead, to make war on their ranches and towns, ruining the region's economy and devastating many of its settlements. The Mexican government proved unable to suppress these attacks. Recognizing an opportunity to gain even more territory, Polk determined to go to war if necessary to acquire all the Mexican lands between Texas and the Pacific Ocean. What he and many Democrats

the interest of both Powers, that New Mexico should belong to the United States. . . .

It is to be seriously apprehended that both Great Britain and France have designs upon California. . . . This Government . . . would vigorously interpose to prevent the latter from becoming either a British or a French Colony. . . . The possession of the Bay and harbor of San Francisco, is all important to the United States. . . . Money would be no object. ”

CHARLES SUMNER, CONSCIENCE WHIG AND FUTURE REPUBLICAN SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS

Letter to Robert Winthrop, Whig Congressman from Massachusetts, October 25, 1846

SOURCE: Sean Wilentz, ed., *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787–1848* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1991), 541.

“ If we regard Texas as a province of Mexico, its boundaries must be sought in the geography of that republic. If we regard it as an independent State, they must be determined by the extent of jurisdiction which the State was able to maintain. Now it seems clear that the river Nueces was always recognized by Mexico as the western boundary; and it is undisputed that the State of Texas, since its Declaration of Independence, never exercised any jurisdiction beyond the Nueces. . . .

In the month of January, 1846, the President of the United States directed the troops under General Taylor, called the Army of Occupation, to take possession of this region [west of the Nueces River]. Here was an act of aggression. As might have been expected, it produced collision. The Mexicans, aroused in self-defence, sought to repel the invaders. . . .

Here the question occurs, What was the duty of Congress in this emergency? Clearly to withhold all sanction to unjust war, — to aggression upon a neighboring Republic. . . . The American forces should have been directed to retreat, not from any human force, but from wrongdoing; and this would have been a true victory.

Alas! This was not the mood of Congress. With wicked speed a bill was introduced, furnishing large and unusual supplies of men and money. . . . This was adopted by a vote of 123 to 67; and the bill then leaped forth, fully armed, as a measure of open and active hostility against Mexico. ”

WALT WHITMAN, POET AND EDITOR OF THE *BROOKLYN EAGLE*

Editorial, September 1, 1847

SOURCE: Sean Wilentz, ed., *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787–1848* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1991), 543.

“ The question whether or no there shall be slavery in the new territories . . . is a question between the grand body of white workingmen, the millions of mechanics, farmers, and operatives of our country, with their interests on the one side — and the interests of the few thousand rich, ‘polished,’ and aristocratic owners of slaves at the South, on the other side.

Experience has proved . . . that a stalwart mass of respectable workingmen, cannot exist, much less flourish, in a thorough slave State. Let any one think for a moment what a different appearance New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio, would present — how much less sturdy independence and family happiness there would be — were slaves the workmen there, instead of each man as a general thing being his own workman. . . .

Slavery is a good thing enough . . . to the rich — the one out of thousands; but it is destructive to the dignity and independence of all who work, and to labor itself. . . . All practice and theory . . . are strongly arrayed in favor of limiting slavery to where it already exists. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What arguments do Buchanan and Sumner make about the boundaries of Texas, the issue that sparked the fighting? Whose argument is more persuasive and why?
2. Do O'Sullivan's and Buchanan's assertions support or undercut the claim that the U.S.-Mexico War was an aggressive act of imperialism?
3. Why does Whitman oppose the expansion of slavery? Given Whitman's views, who might have gotten his vote in the election of 1848? Why?
4. Two of the sources are newspaper editorials; two are letters written by or addressed to public officials. How does the nature of each of these sources influence its content?

consciously ignored was the domestic crisis that a war of conquest to expand slavery would unleash.

The "War of a Thousand Deserts"

Since gaining independence in 1821, Mexico had not prospered. Its federal system of government tended to serve the northern frontier states poorly, while two decades of political instability resulted in a stagnant economy and modest tax revenues, which debt payments to European bankers quickly devoured. In the 1830s and 1840s, Comanche warriors conducted dozens of campaigns against the settlements of the Mexican north.

Mexico's central government lacked the resources to respond effectively, and the northern territories were devastated. Always sparsely settled—California and New Mexico had a Spanish-speaking population of only 75,000 in 1840—many northern ranches and communities were abandoned in what one historian has called the "War of a Thousand Deserts." Nevertheless, Mexican officials vowed to preserve their nation's historic boundaries. When its breakaway province of Texas prepared to join the American Union, Mexico suspended diplomatic relations with the United States.

Polk's Expansionist Program

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the U.S.-Mexico War as a continuation of expansionism that began in the colonial period.

President Polk moved quickly to acquire Mexico's other northern provinces. He hoped to foment a revolution in California that, like the 1836 rebellion in Texas, would lead to annexation. In October 1845, Secretary of State James Buchanan told merchant Thomas Oliver Larkin, now the U.S. consul for the Mexican province, to encourage influential Californios to seek independence and union with the United States. To add military muscle to this scheme, Polk ordered American naval commanders to seize San Francisco Bay and California's coastal towns in case of war with Mexico. The president also instructed the War Department to dispatch Captain John C. Frémont and an "exploring" party of soldiers into Mexican territory. By December 1845, Frémont's force had reached California's Sacramento River Valley.

MAP 11.6 The U.S.-Mexico War, 1846–1848
After moving west from Fort Leavenworth in present-day Kansas, American forces commanded by Captain John C. Frémont and General Stephen Kearny defeated Mexican armies in California in 1846 and early 1847. Simultaneously, U.S. troops under General Zachary Taylor and Colonel Alfred A. Doniphan won victories over General Santa Anna's forces south of the Rio Grande. In mid-1847, General Winfield Scott mounted a successful seaborne attack on Veracruz and Mexico City, ending the war.

With these preparations in place, Polk launched a secret diplomatic initiative: he sent Louisiana congressman John Slidell to Mexico, telling him to secure the Rio Grande boundary for Texas and to buy the provinces of California and New Mexico for $30 million. Insulted by U.S. disregard for Mexico's sovereignty, government officials refused to meet with Slidell (AP® America in the World).

Events now moved quickly toward war. Polk ordered General Zachary Taylor and an American army of 2,000 soldiers to occupy disputed lands between the Nueces River (the historic southern boundary of Spanish Texas) and the Rio Grande, which the Republic of Texas had claimed as its border with Mexico. "We were sent to provoke a fight," recalled Ulysses S. Grant, then a young officer serving with Taylor, "but it was essential that Mexico should commence it." When the armies clashed near the Rio Grande in May 1846, Polk delivered the war message he had drafted long before. Taking liberties with the truth, the president declared that Mexico "has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." Ignoring pleas by some Whigs for a negotiated settlement, an overwhelming majority in Congress voted for war—a decision greeted with great popular acclaim. To avoid a simultaneous war with Britain, Polk

Financing War

To explain the outcome of war, we usually focus on the combatants' military assets, but a nation's finances also play a crucial role. In the U.S.-Mexico War, the United States benefitted from low federal expenditures and a reliable tax system. Mexico, though it had been one of Spain's most valuable colonies, struggled financially after it gained independence in 1821. Higher expenses and widespread tax evasion caused large deficits, making it difficult to borrow the funds it needed to fight. The United States kept expenses low, nearly eliminated the federal debt, and ran small deficits, which made it easier to finance the war effort. The following tables illustrate this comparison.

Mexico: Tax Revenues, 1790–1844

1790	$10,466,831
1808	$58,829,740
1816	$47,920,070
1840	$15,452,919
1844	$20,592,058

United States: Tax Revenues, 1790–1844

1792	$3,670,000
1808	$17,061,000
1816	$47,678,000
1840	$19,480,000
1844	$29,321,000

Mexico: Revenues and Expenses, 1840–1844

	Revenues	Expenses	Deficit
1840	$15,452,919	$21,255,097	$5,802,173
1841	$14,724,788	$22,997,219	$8,272,431
1842	$15,968,774	$30,639,711	$14,670,937
1843	$19,602,180	$34,035,277	$14,433,097
1844	$20,592,058	$31,304,102	$10,712,044

United States: Revenues and Expenses, 1840–1844

	Revenues	Expenses	Deficit
1840	$19,480,000	$24,318,000	$4,837,000
1841	$16,860,000	$26,566,000	$9,706,000
1842	$19,976,000	$25,206,000	$5,230,000
1843	$8,303,000	$11,858,000	$3,555,000
1844	$29,321,000	$22,338,000	($6,984,000)

SOURCES: Barbara A. Tenenbaum, *The Politics of Penury: Debts and Taxes in Mexico, 1821–1856* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986); *Historical Statistics of the United States: Millennial Edition Online* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why do you think Mexico's tax collection system might have been more effective when it was a colony of Spain than it was once the nation gained independence? Why did the United States have a different experience?
2. Compare the nations' revenues, expenses, and deficits in the years 1840–1844. What are the most significant differences?

retreated from his demand for "fifty-four forty or fight" and in June 1846 accepted British terms that divided the Oregon Country at the forty-ninth parallel.

American Military Successes

American forces in Texas quickly established their military superiority. Zachary Taylor's army crossed the Rio Grande; occupied the Mexican city of Matamoros; and, after a fierce six-day battle in September 1846, took the interior Mexican town of Monterrey. Two months later, a U.S. naval squadron in the Gulf of Mexico seized Tampico, Mexico's second most important port. By the end of 1846, the United States controlled much of northeastern Mexico (Map 11.6).

Street Fighting in the Calle de Iturbide, 1846 Monterrey, which had resisted Spanish troops during Mexico's war for independence (1820–1821), was captured by the Americans only after bloody house-to-house fighting in the U.S.-Mexico War (1846–1848). Protected by thick walls and shuttered windows, Mexican defenders pour a withering fire on the dark-uniformed American troops and buckskin-clad frontier fighters. A large Catholic cathedral looms in the background, its foundations obscured by the smoke from the Mexicans' cannons. West Point Museum, United States Military Academy, West Point, NY

Fighting also broke out in California. In June 1846, naval commander John Sloat landed 250 marines in Monterey and declared that California "henceforward will be a portion of the United States." Simultaneously, American settlers in the Sacramento River Valley staged a revolt and, supported by Frémont's force, captured the town of Sonoma, where they proclaimed the independence of the "**Bear Flag Republic**." To cement these victories, Polk ordered army units to capture Santa Fe in New Mexico and then march to southern California. Despite stiff Mexican resistance, American forces secured control of California early in 1847.

Polk expected these victories to end the war, but he underestimated the Mexicans' national pride and the determination of President Santa Anna. In February 1847 in the Battle of Buena Vista, Santa Anna nearly defeated Taylor's army in northeastern Mexico. With most Mexican troops deployed in the north, Polk approved General Winfield Scott's plan to capture the port of Veracruz and march 260 miles to Mexico City. An American army of 14,000 seized the Mexican capital in September 1847. That American victory cost Santa Anna his presidency, and a new Mexican government made a forced peace with the United States.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How was the American acquisition of California similar to, and different from, the American-led creation of the Texas Republic?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What were the roles of Plains Indians, Anglo-American immigrants to Texas, the Mexican government, the U.S. government, and the American public in sparking the U.S.-Mexico War?**

SUMMARY

This chapter explored the imperial ambitions of the United States and the competition among nations for control of western North America. It began by tracing the contours of the southern social order that emerged with the expansion of slave plantation agriculture. It followed the migration of ambitious slaveholders into the Mexican state of Coahuila y Tejas, considered the challenges that aristocratic planters faced in a democratic political order, and analyzed the patterns of work, family, community life, and culture that structured African American experience.

The American ideology of Manifest Destiny, which held that God intended that the dominion of the United States should extend across the entire North American continent, informed U.S. efforts to claim the Oregon Country and California and shaped the country's interactions with the independent Plains Indians, many of whom were formidable powers in their own right. Finally, the chapter examined the aftermath of the presidential election of 1844, which brought James K. Polk to power and set the nation's course toward war with Mexico. In Chapter 12, we will consider the effects of that war on American society and politics.

CHAPTER 11 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What were the strengths and limitations of the South's economy and social structure?
2. What resources and strategies gave African American slaves a measure of control over their lives?
3. Did the idea of Manifest Destiny cause westward migration and political support for territorial expansion, or did it only justify actions taken for other reasons?
4. What were the roles of Plains Indians, Anglo-American immigrants to Texas, the Mexican government, the U.S. government, and the American public in sparking the U.S.-Mexico War?
5. Review the events listed under "Migration and Settlement" on the thematic timeline on page 237, and then discuss how southern expansion, the end of the Atlantic slave trade in 1808, and the subsequent rise of the internal slave trade affected the experiences and identities of the African American population.

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

slave society (p. 335)
republican aristocracy (p. 335)
Great American Desert (p. 338)
Alamo (p. 339)
secret ballot (p. 339)
black Protestantism (p. 342)
Gullah dialect (p. 343)
task system (p. 346)
Manifest Destiny (p. 348)
Oregon Trail (p. 350)
Californios (p. 352)
"Fifty-four forty or fight!" (p. 355)
Bear Flag Republic (p. 360)

Key People

Sam Houston (p. 338)
Stephen Austin (p. 338)
Antonio López de Santa Anna (p. 338)
James K. Polk (p. 355)
Zachary Taylor (p. 358)
John C. Frémont (p. 358)

Key Academic Terms

grandee (p. 336)
accord (p. 337)
sadistic (p. 347)
pastoral (p. 353)
curry (p. 355)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. How were the American territorial acquisitions of the 1840s similar to, and/or different from, those of the Treaty of Paris of 1783 and the Louisiana Purchase (discussed in Chapters 6 and 7)?
2. In the painting *American Progress* (p. 333), why does John Gast choose Liberty to lead the republic westward? How does he interpret the American experience, and what stories does he tell in the image's foreground, middle ground, and background? How does the evidence in the chapter challenge Gast's interpretation of westward expansion?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 334 for help in answering the question below.

Focusing on developments in the 1830s and 1840s, what were the similarities and differences between the outcomes of Manifest Destiny in the North and the South?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

Letter from Frances Kemble of Georgia, the English wife of American plantation owner Pierce Butler, to a friend, 1838–1839:

"Upon my word . . . I used to pity the slaves, and I do pity them with all my soul; but, oh dear! Oh dear! Their case is a bed of roses to that of their owners. . . . I was looking over this morning, with a most indescribable mix of feelings, a pamphlet published in the South upon the subject of the religious instruction of the slaves, and the difficulty of the task undertaken by these reconcilers of God and Mammon [earthly wealth] seems to me nothing short of piteous [pitiful]. 'We must give our involuntary servants (they seldom call them slaves, for it is an ugly word in the American mouth) Christian enlightenment,' they say; and where shall they begin? 'Whatsoever you would that men should do unto you, do you also unto them'? No; but 'Servants, obey your masters;' and there, I think, they naturally come to a full stop. . . . The pamphlet suggested to me the necessity for . . . a slave Bible. If these heaven-blinded Negro enlighteners persist in their pernicious [diabolical] plan of making Christians of their cattle, something of the sort must be done. . . ."

Sean Wilentz, *Major Problems in the Early Republic, 1787–1848*, p. 255

1. The excerpt best reflects which of the following?
   a. The emergence of a new national culture combining American elements and European influences
   b. The development of a women's rights movement that sought to create greater equality and opportunities
   c. The growth of a distinctive Southern regional identity
   d. Reform efforts aimed at changing Americans' individual behaviors
2. The excerpt most directly challenges the belief held by many in the 1830s that
   a. slavery was a positive part of the Southern way of life.
   b. the public and private spheres of daily life should be separate.
   c. an emerging wealthy elite resulted in the growth of a laboring poor population.
   d. voluntary organizations could successfully change individual behaviors.
3. In the decade following the publication of the excerpt, which of the following trends was most directly a response to the issues described in the excerpt?
   a. The creation of African American communities and strategies to protect their dignity and family structures
   b. The rise of democratic and individualistic beliefs and a response to rationalism
   c. Regional interests overriding national concerns
   d. The overcultivation of arable lands in the Southeast leading to the cultivation of lands further west

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

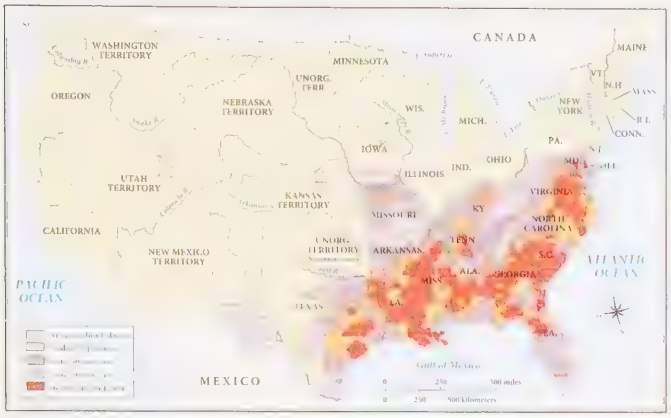
"The strong desire to establish peace with Mexico on liberal and honorable terms, and the readiness of this government to regulate and adjust our boundary and other causes of difference with that power on such fair and equitable principles as would lead to permanent relations of the most friendly nature, induced me in September last to seek the reopening of diplomatic relations between the two countries. . . . An envoy of the United States repaired to Mexico with full powers to adjust every existing difference. But . . . his mission has been unavailing. The Mexican Government not only refused to receive him or listen to his propositions, but after a long-continued series of menaces have at last invaded our territory and shed the blood of our fellow citizens on our own soil."

President James K. Polk, Message to Congress, 1846

4. The conflict between the United States and Mexico was primarily driven by differing
   a. forms of government.
   b. religious faiths and beliefs.
   c. claims to land.
   d. economic priorities.
5. Which following ideas contributed most directly to the reasoning behind Polk's message?
   a. Transcendentalism
   b. Free-Soil ideals
   c. Perfectionism
   d. Manifest Destiny
6. Which of the following developments best represents the most direct result of the developments described in the excerpt?
   a. The arrival of substantial numbers of immigrants to the United States
   b. The rise of a strongly anti-Catholic nativist movement
   c. Heated controversies over whether to allow slavery in western territories
   d. The establishment of the Second Party System in American politics

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.



Distribution of the Slave Population in 1860

1. Using the map above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development in the nineteenth century that contributed to the emergence of the patterns depicted in the map.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ANOTHER specific historical event or development in the nineteenth century that contributed to the patterns depicted in the map.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that resulted from the patterns depicted in the map.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity between rich plantation owners and subsistence farmers in the American South between 1820 and 1860.
   - **b.** Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference between rich plantation owners and subsistence farmers in the American South between 1820 and 1860.
   - **c.** Briefly describe ANOTHER specific historical difference between rich plantation owners and subsistence farmers in the American South between 1820 and 1860.

"By 1850 . . . Americans had evidence plain before them that they were a chosen people: from the English they had learned that the Anglo-Saxons had always been peculiarly gifted in the arts of government; from the scientists and ethnologists they were learning that they were of a distinct Caucasian race, innately endowed with abilities that placed them above other races . . . . [M]any Americans found comfort in the strength and status of a distinguished racial heritage. The new racial ideology could be used to force new immigrants to conform to the prevailing political, economic, and social system, and it could also be used to justify the sufferings or deaths of blacks, Indians, or Mexicans. Feelings of guilt could be assuaged by assumptions of historical and scientific inevitability. . . . Agrarian and commercial desires and the search for national and personal wealth and security were at the heart of mid-nineteenth century expansion, but the racial ideology that accompanied and permeated these drives helped determine the nature of America's specific relationships with other peoples encountered in the surge to world power."

Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*, 1981

"[T]he American encounter with potential new territories in the antebellum period was shaped by concerns at home, especially evolving gendered ideals and practices. . . . [A]ggressive expansionism, defined here as support for the use of war to gain new American territory . . . was supported by martial men, and . . . debates over Manifest Destiny also were debates over the meaning of American manhood and womanhood. . . . [T]he restrained men who opposed aggressive expansionism also believed that America's Manifest Destiny was yet to be fulfilled, but they envisioned it unfolding . . . through trade and the spread of American social and religious institutions. . . . But in the 1850s the discourse of aggressive expansionism dominated the discussion of America's proper role in the world . . . and . . . led to an unintended victory for martial manhood. It ended up exacerbating the growing sectional conflict by promoting violence as a solution to discord."

Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, 2005

3. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly describe ONE major difference between Horsman's and Greenberg's historical interpretations of antebellum expansion.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development during the period 1820 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Horsman's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development during the period 1820 to 1860 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Greenberg's interpretation.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent of change in the practices of political democracy supported by political parties in the period from 1801 to 1840.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: Thomas Jefferson, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801.

"[T]hough the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will to be rightful must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal law must protect, and to violate would be oppression . . . every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists. . . .

About to enter, fellow-citizens, on the exercise of duties which comprehend everything dear and valuable to you, it is proper you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our Government, and consequently those which ought to shape its Administration. . . . Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none; the support of the State governments in all their rights . . . the preservation of the General Government in its whole constitutional vigor . . . economy in the public expense . . . encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid . . . freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus, and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles . . . guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. . . . They should be the creed of our political faith[.]"

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Article from The Charleston (South Carolina) newspaper, *L'Oracle Francais-Americain*, July 18, 1807.

"We can make the British People know that all the miseries they may feel in consequence of a suspension of intercourse with us, is to be attributed to the wicked and impolitic conduct of their own ministry.

All of this and much more our government can do by scratch of a pen — by renouncing all intercourse with a government which has shewn to the world that it is totally unworthy of our confidence and connection.

But should any of all those measures fail to restore the British ministry to a sense of justice, and war must be the ultimate resort, we wish them to know that America can be one of her most formidable foes. . . .

We can with ease deprive them of Canada and Nova Scotia and deliver that people from a galling yoke, which they are now willing and only want an opportunity to throw off.

We can expel them from the continent of America."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: John Randolph, a Democratic-Republican congressman from Virginia, in a speech to the House of Representatives on the proposed tariff of 1816.

"[W]e have another proof that the present government have renounced the true republican principles of Jefferson's administration on which they raised themselves to power, and that they have taken up, in their stead, those of John Adams. . . . [T]heir principle now is old Federalism, vamped up into something bearing the superficial appearance of republicanism. . . . I am convinced that it would be impolitic, as well as unjust, to aggravate the burdens of the people for the purpose of favoring the manufacturers; for [in the Constitution] this government created and gave power to Congress to regulate commerce and equalize duties [tariffs] on the whole of the United States. . . . It eventuates in this: whether you, as a planter will consent to be taxed, in order to hire another man to go to work in a shoemaker's shop, or to set up a spinning jenny. For my part I will not agree to it. . . . No, I will buy where I can get manufactures cheapest; I will not agree to lay a duty on the cultivators of the soil to encourage exotic manufactures; because, after all, we should only get much worse things at a much higher price, and we, the cultivators of the country, would in the end pay all."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, 1831.

"In the absence of great parties, the United States abound with lesser controversies; and public opinion is divided into a thousand minute shades of difference upon questions of very little moment. The pains which are taken to create parties are inconceivable, and at the present day it is no easy task. In the United States there is no religious animosity, because all religion is respected, and no sect is predominant; there is no jealousy of rank, because the people is everything, and none can contest its authority; lastly, there is no public indigence to supply the means of agitation, because the physical position of the country opens so wide a field to industry that man is able to accomplish the most surprising undertakings with his own native resources. Nevertheless, ambitious men are interested in the creation of parties, since it is difficult to eject a person from authority upon the mere ground that his place is coveted by others. The skill of the actors in the political world lies therefore in the art of creating parties. A political aspirant in the United States begins by discriminating his own interest, and by calculating upon those interests which may be collected around and amalgamated with it; he then contrives to discover some doctrine or some principle which may suit the purposes of this new association, and which he adopts in order to bring forward his party and to secure his popularity; just as the imprimatur of a King was in former days incorporated with the volume which it authorized, but to which it nowise belonged. When these preliminaries are terminated, the new party is ushered into the political world."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky, Speech in the U.S Senate, July 10, 1832.

"A bill to re-charter the bank [of the United States], has recently passed Congress, after much deliberation. . . . Notwithstanding this state of things, the president has rejected the bill, and transmitted to the Senate an elaborate message, communicating at large his objections. . . .

There are some parts of this message that ought to excite deep alarm; and that especially in which the president announces, that each public officer may interpret the Constitution as he pleases. His language is, 'Each public officer, who takes an oath to support the Constitution, swears that he will support it as he understands it, and not as it is understood by others.'

. . . I conceive . . . that the president has mistaken the purport [meaning] of the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. No one swears to support it as he understands it, but to support it simply as it is in truth. . . . [I]f [every official] . . . is bound to obey the Constitution only *as he understands it;* what would be the consequence? . . . We should have nothing settled, nothing stable, nothing fixed. There would be general disorder and confusion throughout every branch of administration, from the highest to the lowest officers — universal nullification. For what is the doctrine of the president but that of South Carolina applied throughout the Union? The president independent both of Congress and the Supreme Court! only bound to execute the laws of the one and the decisions of the other, as far as they conform to the Constitution of the United States, *as far as he understands it*!

. . . [W]e are about to close one of the longest and most arduous sessions of Congress under the present Constitution; and when we return among our constituents, what account of the operations of their government shall we be bound to communicate? . . . that the president has promulgated a rule of action for those who have taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, that must, if there be practical conformity to it, introduce general nullification, and end in the absolute subversion of the government."

DOCUMENT 6

Source: Letter from Fairfax Catlett, member of the Republic of Texas delegation to the United States, to Sam Houston, President of the Republic of Texas, September 5, 1837.

"The proposition for annexation was fairly made. . . . No means were left untried to secure a[n] . . . answer from the Executive. But it was all in vain. As might have been expected from a knowledge of Mr Van Buren's character . . . he has mildly but decisively declined the proposition to treat upon the subject. It is the opinion of most of the members with whom I have conversed, that the question . . . will be forced up [in Congress] by the South some time next winter and will then produce a hurricane in that body more alarming than any which has ever rocked this Union to its centre. The Southern men with but few exceptions appear to regard the annexation of Texas as their last and forlorn hope. Should the measure fail and the Northern Abolitionists gain the ascendancy in Congress . . . it will be a question between the slave holding and non slave holding interests, (and there will be no middle ground upon which the two great parties can meet and compromise their differences). . . . With regard to Mr Van Buren's policy respecting the annexation of Texas I conceive it to be simply as follows[.] He would like to get Texas, but he is afraid of the consequences. . . . For by coming out as an open advocate of the measure, he would lose the North en masse . . . and dash his party into chaos. He would have to change his ground altogether and commence an entirely new system of operations. . . . The question is one of tremendous import, for it involves the destiny of North America for fifty years to come. . . . I doubt not that Mr Van Buren is fully alive to all the momentous bearings of the question upon the future welfare of the Union, and that he dreads the approach of the debate in Congress. . . . Yet it was not the less necessary that the proposition should be made. It has been made, declined, and it now rests with the Congress of the United States to determine whether Texas shall add another star to the cluster of the Union or — commence the conquest of the whole of Mexico. But the negotiation may be regarded as closed for the present."

DOCUMENT 7

Source: The Democratic Party Platform, 1840.

1. Resolved, That the federal government is one of limited powers, derived solely from the constitution, and the grants of power shown therein, ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

2. Resolved, That the constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence and carry on, a general system of internal improvements. . . .

4. Resolved, That justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country — that every citizen and every section of the country, has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete and ample protection of person and property from domestic violence, or foreign aggression. . . .

7. Resolved, That congress has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states, and that such states are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts by abolitionists or others, made to induce congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following three questions to answer.

2. **Compare and contrast the effects of the Market Revolution on the economic development of the Northern and Southern regions of the United States between 1800 and 1848.**

3. **Compare and contrast the challenges faced by African Americans and women in their respective struggles for political and social equality between 1800 and 1848. In the development of your argument, explain the reasons for the similarities and differences.**

4. **Compare and contrast the effectiveness of opponents and proponents of Western Expansion in their efforts to shape national policy on expansion between 1800 and 1848. In the development of your argument, explain the reasons for the similarities and differences.**

PART 5

CHAPTER 12
Sectional Conflict and Crisis, 1844–1861

CHAPTER 13
Bloody Ground: The Civil War, 1861–1865

CHAPTER 14
Reconstruction, 1865–1877

CHAPTER 15
Conquering a Continent, 1860–1890

Consolidating a Continental Union

1844–1877

Should historians of the United States call the mid-nineteenth century the Civil War era? Many do, but in *America's History* we choose a slightly different emphasis. Like other scholars, we argue that the Civil War and the end of slavery brought extraordinary changes in U.S. politics, law, society, and culture. We devote a full chapter to the political crisis of the 1850s; one to the Civil War itself; one to the turmoil of Reconstruction, the postwar struggle over power and policy in the ex-Confederacy and nationwide; and one to the consolidation of the West, a process that began before the Civil War and continued after the end of Reconstruction.

The first Republican president, Abraham Lincoln, engineered the triumph of the Union, but on terms few expected when the war began. Instead of a short, heroic conflict between white northerners and southerners, the Civil War turned into an agonizing "hard war" that lasted four weary years. Emancipation, which few white Unionists expected at the start, proved essential to winning the war, as did the participation and sacrifice of African Americans, 180,000 of whom served in the U.S. Army for the first time.

Union victory ended slavery—a momentous achievement. It did not, however, resolve the bitter disagreements that had caused the war in the first place. In fact, conflicting points of view only multiplied in the decades after Confederate defeat. That's why, in Part 5, we place the Civil War in broader context. In one of history's astonishing upsets, the Republican Party—which did not exist until 1854—not only won national power by 1860 but, because of the South's secession, wielded it freely to remake federal policies. Those policies increased U.S. control over the trans-Mississippi West, transformed economic and political relationships among the nation's regions, and set the stage for U.S. global power. ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

Sectional Conflict and Civil War

The U.S.-Mexico War prompted a decade-long debate over whether slavery should expand into the newly conquered lands. The Compromise of 1850, a complex legislative agreement designed to solve the conflict, won little support in either North or South, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 precipitated even further conflict. Southern Whigs abandoned their party for the Democrats, while northern Whigs became Republicans or anti-immigrant Know-Nothings. By 1860 Democrats also split on sectional lines, enabling the election of Republican president Abraham Lincoln.

Starting with South Carolina, eleven southern states seceded in response to Lincoln's election and created the Confederate States of America. Elsewhere, citizens rallied to preserve the Union. In the long Civil War that followed, the military forces of the Union and Confederacy were at first evenly matched. However, as neither side proved able to crush the other, the North's superior financial and industrial resources gradually gave it the advantage, as did Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation in 1863. Linking Union victory to the end of slavery undermined European support for the Confederacy and added thousands of African Americans to the northern armies, helping Union forces sweep across the South and end the war.

Alabama Department of Archives and History

Expanding Federal Power

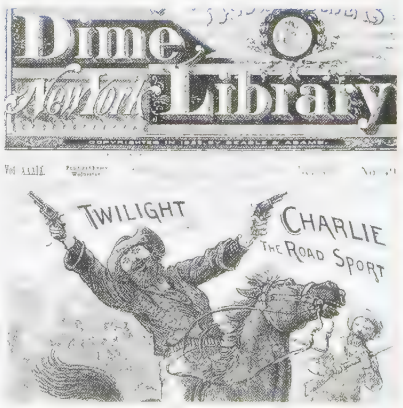
The Civil War created a powerful American state, as the Union government mobilized millions of men and billions of dollars. Republicans created an elaborate network of national banks and — for the first time in U.S. history — a significant federal bureaucracy. Congress intervened forcefully to integrate the national economy and promote industrialization. These policies, along with the nation's dynamic postwar economy, set the nation on a course toward global power.

The Civil War increased federal authority in other ways. Three Republican-sponsored constitutional amendments limited the powers of the states and imposed new definitions of citizenship — prohibiting slavery, enfranchising black men, and forbidding state actions that denied people equal protection under the law. The U.S. Army, which occupied parts of the ex-Confederacy as late as 1877, also suppressed Indian resistance and extended national control in the West.

Library of Congress

A Continental Empire

The United States claimed large swaths of western territory in the 1840s, through victory in the U.S.-Mexico War and the California gold rush that followed. But it was post–Civil War railroad building and economic expansion that truly brought the West into the orbit of federal authority. This expansion intensified conflicts between Native peoples, Mexican Americans, and Anglo newcomers. By 1890, most Native peoples had been forced onto reservations, while thousands of Mexicans also found themselves dispossessed. The legacies of the Civil War, therefore, were as significant in the West as in the former Confederacy. Western minerals, lumber, cattle, wheat, and oil proved essential to the transformation we will discuss in Part 6: the United States's economic transformation and rise to global economic power.



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AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

Consolidating a Continental Union 1844–1877

The Granger Collection, New York

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes.

Which events reflect the causes and consequences of the Civil War, as well as Union and Confederate actions during the war itself? Which events show how the United States asserted control over the trans-Mississippi West, and who resisted that process and why? Which events in each set of conflicts were military, economic, or legal and constitutional? How would you compare and contrast these different modes of nation-building?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1840	• Free Soil Party forms (1848) • Foreign Miner's Tax enacted in California (1850)	• James K. Polk elected president (1844) • Wilmot Proviso approved by House but not by Senate (1846)	• Gold discovered in California (1848)
1850	• American (Know-Nothing) Party forms (1851) • *Dred Scott v. Sandford* allows slavery in all U.S. territories (1857) • John Brown raids federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry (1859)	• Compromise of 1850 • Kansas-Nebraska Act tests popular sovereignty (1854) • Republican Party forms (1854) • Rep. Preston Brooks canes Sen. Charles Sumner on Senate floor (1856)	• Comstock silver lode discovered in Nevada (1859)
1860	• General Butler declares refugee slaves "contraband of war" (1861) • Dakota Sioux uprising in Minnesota (1862) • Lincoln issues preliminary emancipation proclamation (Sept. 1862) • Union initiates draft, sparking riots in New York City (1863) • Lincoln delivers Gettysburg Address (1863) • Ex-Confederate states pass Black Codes to limit freedpeople's rights (1865) • Civil Rights Act passed over President Johnson's veto (1866) • Wyoming Territory grants women suffrage (1869)	• Lincoln elected president (1860) • Deep South states secede (1860–1861) • Confederate forces fire on Fort Sumter (April 1861) • Upper South secedes (1861) • Confederates win First Battle of Bull Run (July 1861) • Union wins battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg (July 1863) • Lincoln reelected (1864) • Robert E. Lee surrenders to Grant (April 1865) • Lincoln assassinated (1865) • Reconstruction Act (1867) • Impeachment of Andrew Johnson (1868) • Fourteenth Amendment (1868) • Ulysses S. Grant elected president (1868)	• Legal Tender Act authorizes greenback currency (1862) • Explosion kills munitions workers in Pittsburgh (1862) • Long Drive of Texas longhorns begins (1865) • Transcontinental railroad completed (1869)
1870	• Utah Territory grants women suffrage (1870) • *Minor v. Happersett:* Supreme Court rules that Fourteenth Amendment does not extend national voting rights to women (1875) • Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos win Battle of Little Big Horn (1876)	• Congress passes Enforcement Laws to suppress Klan (1870) • Fifteenth Amendment (1870) • Grant reelected; Crédit Mobilier scandal (1872) • *Slaughterhouse Cases* (1873) • Sweeping Democratic gains in congressional elections (1874) • *Munn v. Illinois* (1877)	• Panic of 1873 ushers in severe economic depression (1873) • United States begins to move to gold standard (1873)
1880	• Rise of the Ghost Dance movement • Dawes Severalty Act (1887)		
1890	• Massacre of Sioux Ghost Dancers at Wounded Knee, South Dakota (1890)		

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
	• Great Irish famine prompts mass immigration to United States (1845–1851) • "Forty-niners" seek gold in California (1849)		• Congress supports Polk's recommendation and declares war on Mexico (1846) • Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo transfers Mexican lands to United States (1848)	1840
• Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852)			• Treaty of Kanagawa opens U.S. coaling stations in Japan (1854) • Ostend Manifesto urges U.S. seizure of Cuba (1854) • William Walker deposes Nicaraguan government, sets up "filibuster" regime (1856) • President Buchanan seeks to buy and annex Cuba as a slave state (1858)	1850
• U.S. Sanitary Commission formed (1861) • Morrill Act funds public state universities (1862) • Louisa May Alcott publishes *Hospital Sketches* (1863) • Women's rights advocates form Woman's Loyal National League (1863)	• African Americans escape slavery and become "contrabands" behind Union lines (1861–1865)	• Homestead Act passed (1862) • Yosemite Valley reserved as public park (1864) • Sherman's army devastates Georgia and South Carolina (1864–1865)	• Britain and France refuse recognition to the Confederacy; Britain impounds Confederate ships being built in British shipyards (1863) • Burlingame Treaty with China (1868)	1860
• Ku Klux Klan at peak of power (1870) • Victoria Woodhull declares support for "free love" (1871) • Beecher-Tilton scandal dominates headlines (1875)	• Nez Perce forcibly removed from homelands in Northwest (1877) • Exoduster migration to Kansas (1879)	• General Mining Act (1872) • Yellowstone National Park created (1872) • John Wesley Powell presents *Report on . . . Arid Region of the United States* (1879)		1870
• Sitting Bull tours with Buffalo Bill's Wild West (1885)	• Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo surrenders (1886)	• Dry cycle begins on the Great Plains (1886)		1880
				1890

CHAPTER 12

Sectional Conflict and Crisis

1844–1861

A Divisive War, 1844–1850

"Free Soil" in Politics

California Gold and Racial Warfare

1850: Crisis and Compromise

The End of the Second Party System, 1850–1858

The Abolitionist Movement Grows

The Whig Party's Demise

Immigrants and Know-Nothings

The West and the Fate of the Union

Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Triumph, 1858–1860

Lincoln's Political Career

The Union Under Siege

The Election of 1860

Secession Winter, 1860–1861

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

What caused the political turmoil that led to the rise of the Republican Party, Democratic division, and southern secession?

The U.S.-Mexico War was immensely popular with millions of Americans. Those who opposed it took big risks, as young Abraham Lincoln discovered to his dismay. In December 1847, as a freshman Whig congressman from Illinois, Lincoln introduced a bill demanding that President Polk identify the exact geographical spot where the war had begun, which Polk claimed had been in U.S. territory. Lincoln, like other critics, believed U.S. troops had been trespassing on Mexican soil. But Lincoln's "spot resolution" went nowhere. Ridiculing the young congressman, a newspaper in his home state nicknamed him "Spotty Lincoln" and a Democrat defeated him in the next election. Lincoln went back to his law practice in Springfield.

Soon afterward, in 1849, tales of California gold generated great excitement over the riches waiting in newly won territories. Thousands of American men rushed west, joining counterparts from Mexico, Chile, Hawaii, Britain, and elsewhere to gather gold from the beds of California's rivers and streams. San Francisco became an overnight boomtown. Alas, few struck it rich, and the chaotic quest for gold led to vigilantism, ugly racial conflicts, and the deliberate near-extermination of California's Native peoples.

Like the lure of California gold, U.S. dreams of territorial expansion gave way to harsher truths in the 1850s. The process of incorporating the **Mexican cession**—lands the United States had acquired in the war—reignited fierce debates over the expansion of slavery. Though only a small minority of white northerners were abolitionists, by the 1850s many feared the "slave power" of southern interests and wanted western territories reserved as "free soil" for white farmers. Rising politicians—among them Lincoln, who returned to politics to help found the Illinois Republican Party—vowed to block the expansion of slavery, pointing out that the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 barred slavery in the Midwest. Southerners, in turn, insisted that the Constitution protected slaveholders' property rights throughout the nation. As early as 1850, some radicals called for secession while others launched military expeditions into Latin America to add territory to slavery's empire. As conflict accelerated, violence erupted in California, Kansas, Virginia, and even on the Senate floor. The dispute shattered old alliances, ultimately fragmenting both major parties. By 1861 it ignited a political firestorm that engulfed the Union.

Fugitive Slave Law Convention in Cazenovia, New York, 1850 This daguerreotype, a detail from the only known photograph of an abolitionist meeting before the Civil War, shows the movement's diversity and determination. Over 2,000 abolitionists gathered in upstate New York for the convention, including about 50 fugitive slaves. Frederick Douglass, center left, presided. The group denounced the federal Fugitive Slave Act, which Congress was then debating; issued a letter of solidarity with those still enslaved; and raised money to free William Chaplin, a Washington, D.C., man who was imprisoned for helping a slave escape. Though the convention did not stop passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, it showed the growing militancy and political ambition of those who denounced the cruelty of slavery.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1844
- James K. Polk elected president

1845–1851
- Great Irish famine prompts mass immigration to United States

1846
- Congress supports Polk's recommendation and declares war against Mexico

1846
- Wilmot Proviso approved by House but not by Senate

1848
- Gold found in California; gold rush begins
- Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo transfers Mexican lands to United States
- Free Soil Party forms

1850
- Compromise of 1850 passes, including Fugitive Slave Act
- Foreign Miner's Tax enacted in California

1851
- American (Know-Nothing) Party forms

1852
- Harriet Beecher Stowe publishes *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

1854
- Treaty of Kanagawa opens U.S. coaling stations in Japan
- Ostend Manifesto urges U.S. seizure of Cuba
- Kansas-Nebraska Act tests policy of popular sovereignty
- Republican Party forms

1856
- Rep. Preston Brooks canes Sen. Charles Sumner on Senate floor
- William Walker deposes Nicaraguan government, sets up "filibuster" regime

1857
- *Dred Scott v. Sandford* allows slavery in all U.S. territories

1858
- President James Buchanan urges Congress to admit Kansas under the proslavery Lecompton constitution
- Buchanan seeks to buy and annex Cuba as a slave state
- United States fights brief "Mormon War" for federal control of Utah

1859
- John Brown raids federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry

1860
- Abraham Lincoln elected president in four-way contest
- South Carolina secedes (December)

1861
- Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas secede before February 1
- Confederate States of America formed (February)
- Lincoln inaugurated (March)
- Confederate forces fire on Fort Sumter when Lincoln administration directs an attempted food resupply (April)
- Lincoln calls for three-month volunteer troops to suppress rebellion
- Four Upper South states (Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee) secede

A Divisive War, 1844–1850

"The United States will conquer Mexico," Ralph Waldo Emerson had predicted as the war began, but "Mexico will poison us." He was right. The U.S.-Mexico War roused bitter sectional conflict, even while it was being fought. Some northern Whigs — among them Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts (son of John Quincy Adams) and Chancellor James Kent of New York — opposed the war on moral grounds, calling it "causeless & wicked & unjust." These **conscience Whigs** accused Polk of waging the war to add new slave states and increase slave-owning Democrats' control of the federal government. Swayed by such arguments, troops deserted in droves (leading to the highest desertion rate of any American war), and antiwar activists denounced enlistees as "murderers and robbers."

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the connection between the U.S.-Mexico War and growing conflict over slavery is essential for the AP® exam.

"Free Soil" in Politics

When voters repudiated Polk's war policy in the election of 1846, Whigs took control of the House. They called for a congressional pledge that the United States would not seek any land from the Mexican republic. Polk's expansionist policies also split the Democrats. As early as 1839, Ohio Democrat Thomas Morris had warned that "the power of slavery is aiming to govern the country." In 1846, David Wilmot, an antislavery Democratic congressman from Pennsylvania, took up that refrain and proposed the **Wilmot Proviso**, a ban on slavery in any territories gained from the war with Mexico. Whigs and antislavery Democrats in the House of Representatives quickly passed the bill, dividing Congress along sectional lines. Fearful that southern voters would heed radical calls for secession, a few proslavery northern senators joined their southern colleagues to kill the proviso. But the dispute had just begun.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Slavery in the Mexican Cession At the war's end, President Polk, Secretary of State Buchanan, and Senators Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi called for annexation of a huge swath of Mexican territory south of the Rio Grande. John C. Calhoun and others, however, feared this would require the assimilation of many mixed-race people. They favored only annexation of sparsely settled New Mexico and California. "Ours is a government of the white man," proclaimed Calhoun; it should never welcome "any but the Caucasian race." To unify the Democratic Party, Polk and Buchanan accepted Calhoun's policy. In 1848, Polk signed, and the Senate ratified, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which the United States agreed to pay Mexico $15 million in return for more than one-third of its territory (Map 12.1).

Congress also created the Oregon Territory in 1848 and, two years later, passed the Oregon Donation Land Claim Act, which granted farm-sized plots of land to settlers who took up residence before 1854. Soon, treaties with Native peoples erased Indian titles to much of the new territory. With the claiming of Oregon, New Mexico, and California, American conquest of the Far West rapidly advanced.

Commentators debated whether the arid lands of the Southwest were suitable for slavery or cotton culture. Debates over expansion dominated the election of 1848. The Senate's rejection of the Wilmot Proviso revived charges that southern politicians were leading a **"slave power" conspiracy** to dominate the federal government. They pointed out that the Constitution allowed slaveholding states to count each slave as three-fifths of a person for purposes of electoral representation, though of course slaves did not vote; thus, whites in areas with large numbers of slaves had disproportionate political

As part of the Compromise of 1850, Texas ceded to the United States some of the disputed lands. These lands and other parts of the Mexican cession were then organized into the territories of New Mexico and Utah.
Dotted lines show the eventual state boundaries for Mexican cession territories.
Territory ceded by Mexico to U.S., 1848
UNITED STATES
N
W
E
S
After winning independence from Mexico in 1836, the Republic of Texas remained an independent nation until admitted to the U.S. as the twenty-eighth state in December 1845.
Claim waived by Texas, 1850
Gadsden Purchase, 1853
REPUBLIC OF TEXAS (1836–1845)
Under terms of the Compromise of 1850, California became a free state.
PACIFIC OCEAN
In the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, the United States acquired additional land from Mexico to facilitate the construction of a railroad from Texas to California.
Galveston Bay
Corpus Christi Bay
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
0 100 200 miles
0 100 200 kilometers

MAP 12.1 The Mexican Cession, 1848
In the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), Mexico ceded to the United States its vast northern territories — the present-day states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and half of Colorado. These new territories, President Polk boasted to Congress, "constitute of themselves a country large enough for a great empire, and the acquisition is second in importance only to that of Louisiana in 1803."

power. Northerners also argued that Democrats were favoring southern interests in their appointments and policies.

AP® EXAM TIP

Outline the ways the debate over slavery after the U.S.-Mexico War illustrates both continuity and change over time.

To protest this perceived bias, thousands of ordinary northerners, such as farmer Abijah Beckwith of Herkimer County, New York, joined the **free soil movement**. Slavery, Beckwith wrote in his diary, was an "aristocratic" institution, a danger to "the great mass of the people [because it] . . . threatens the general and equal distribution of our lands into convenient family farms." Free soil ideas drew on a popular movement for access to public lands that had been growing since the 1820s. Increasingly, frontier congressmen pressured the U.S. government to give land to poor farmers — a demand ultimately fulfilled by the Homestead Act of 1862 (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Free soilers quickly organized for the election of 1848. Compared with abolitionists, the new Free Soil Party placed less emphasis on slavery as a sin. Instead, like Beckwith, the new party's leaders depicted slavery as a threat to republicanism and the Jeffersonian ideal of a freeholder society, arguments that won broad support among aspiring white farmers. Hundreds of men and women in the Great Lakes states joined free soil organizations formed by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. So, too, did Frederick Douglass, the foremost black abolitionist, who attended the first Free Soil Party convention in the summer of 1848 and endorsed its strategy. Douglass believed Free Soilers could achieve far more political clout than abolitionists could, ultimately undermining slavery. William Lloyd Garrison and other abolitionists, however, condemned the new party's stress on the rights of freeholders as racist "whitemanism."

The Election of 1848 The conflict over slavery took a toll on Polk and the Democratic Party. Scorned by Whigs and Free Soilers and exhausted by his rigorous dawn-to-midnight work regime, Polk declined to run for a second term and died just three months after leaving office. In his place, Democrats nominated Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan, an avid expansionist who had advocated buying Cuba, annexing Mexico's Yucatán Peninsula, and taking all of Oregon. To maintain party unity, Cass promoted a new idea — squatter sovereignty. Under this plan, Congress would allow settlers in each territory to determine its status as free or slave. Cass's doctrine failed to persuade those northern Democrats who opposed any expansion of slavery. They joined the Free Soil Party, as did former Democratic president Martin Van Buren, who became its candidate for president. To attract Whig votes, the new party chose conscience Whig Charles Francis Adams for vice president.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What did conscience Whigs, David Wilmot, and free soilers have in common, and why did they all rise to prominence between 1846 and 1848?

Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana slave owner firmly committed to defending slavery in the South but not in the territories, a position that won him support in the North. The general's military exploits in the U.S.-Mexico War had made him a popular hero, known affectionately to his troops as "Old Rough and Ready." In 1848, as in 1840 with the candidacy of William Henry Harrison, running a military hero worked for the Whigs. Taylor took 47 percent of the popular vote to Cass's 42 percent. However, Taylor won in part because Van Buren and the Free Soil ticket took away enough Democratic votes in New York to block Cass's victory there. Although their numbers were small, antislavery voters in New York had denied the presidency to Clay in 1844 and to Cass in 1848. Bitter debates over slavery were changing the dynamics of national politics.

California Gold and Racial Warfare

Even before Taylor took office, events in California took center stage. In January 1848, workers building a milldam for John A. Sutter in the Sierra Nevada foothills came across flakes of gold. Sutter was a Swiss immigrant who had come to California in 1839, become a Mexican citizen, and accumulated land in the Sacramento Valley. He tried to hide the discovery, but by mid-1848 indigenous Californians, Mexican Californios, and Anglo-Americans from Monterey and San Francisco poured into the foothills, along with scores of Mexicans and Chileans. By January 1849, sixty-one crowded ships had

Did Slavery Have a Future in the West?

During the antebellum period, the cotton complex pushed west into the Mississippi Valley as planters expanded onto the region's more fertile soil. This demographic and economic shift west fueled antislavery anxieties that slavery would spread across the continent. Abraham Lincoln's Republican Party responded to this fear by rejecting popular sovereignty in the territories and decrying the infamous *Dred Scott* decision. To slavery's supporters, the movement west kindled hopes of economic and political survival in the face of mounting abolitionist attacks. While slavery's enemies and defenders clashed over the legitimacy of its expansion into the territories, many on both sides accepted the idea that slavery *could* expand even into areas such as the Great Plains, the Southwest, and California. But did slavery have a future in the West? And, if so, what was it? Two scholars, Charles W. Ramsdell and Stacey L. Smith, offer different assessments regarding the limits of slavery's expansion.

CHARLES W. RAMSDELL

SOURCE: Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 16 (September 1929): 157. Reprinted by permission of *The Journal of American History*/The Organization of American Historians, Oxford University Press via Copyright Clearance Center.

It took more than twenty years of experimentation and adaptation with wind mills, dry-farming, and new drought-resisting feed crops for the cotton farmer to conquer the plains. There is little reason to believe that the conquest could have been effected earlier [than the 1880s]; there is even less basis for belief that the region would ever have been filled with plantations and slaves . . . it is likely that the institution of slavery would have declined toward extinction in the Old South before the cotton conquest of the plains could have been accomplished, even had there been no Civil War.

STACEY L. SMITH

SOURCE: Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 5–6.

[Scholars have] done much to dispel the myth that the West was a landscape of liberty. . . . [They have] demonstrated how the region's vast geography and seemingly limitless opportunities restricted rather than enhanced workers' freedom. Reliant on employers and labor contractors to move them to and across the West's wide-open spaces, immigrant workers often became enmeshed in debt peonage and contract labor. . . . [Historians] have documented the journeys of slaves to the goldfields, California's systems of forced Indian labor, the lives of Chinese women bound in the sex trade, and the debates over imagined Chinese "coolie" slavery on the Pacific coast. . . . [T]he idea that western environments, economies, or social structures were somehow incompatible with bound labor is gradually losing its force.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Name two ways that these two historians differ in their assessment of the West as a potential site for slavery's expansion.
2. To what extent does each historian emphasize factors such as geography and environment in assessing slavery's future in the West?
3. Why is this debate over the potential for slavery in the West important to historians seeking to understand the sectional crisis described in this chapter?

left New York and other northeastern ports to sail around Cape Horn to San Francisco; by May, twelve thousand wagons had crossed the Missouri River bound for the goldfields. Forty-niners from South America, Europe, China, and Australia also converged on California to seek their fortunes (AP® America in the World).

Forty-Niners The mining prospectors — almost all men — lived in crowded, chaotic towns and camps amid gamblers, saloonkeepers, and prostitutes. They set up "claims clubs" to settle mining disputes and cobbled together a system of legal rules based on practice "back East." Anglo-American miners usually treated alien whites fairly, but they ruthlessly expelled Indians, Mexicans, and Chileans from the goldfields or

The Gold Rush: California and Australia

In 1849, hundreds of Australian men booked passage for San Francisco, hoping to make their fortune in the California goldfields. A mere two years later, thousands more Australian "diggers" flocked to the colony of Victoria in Australia itself, drawn by a gold strike that yielded one-third of the world's gold output during the 1850s.

In California and Victoria, miners lived mostly in canvas tents and flimsy wood shanties and found gold initially in stream beds. In both territories, the huge migration virtually wiped out the Aboriginal peoples. Similarly, both rushes attracted about 40,000 Chinese miners, an influx that, in the race-conscious, English-speaking world of the nineteenth century, prompted riots and legislation in both regions to restrict Asian migrants. Finally, only a few California "forty-niners" or Australian "diggers" made a fortune.

There were differences as well. Upon a gold strike in California, the prospectors would stake their claims and collectively protect them — a rough system of democratic self-rule. In Victoria, the British crown owned much of the land, and gold commissioners and police administered the diggings, selling licenses to dig for 30 shillings (about $200 in present-day U.S. dollars) a month. Distressed by license fees and corrupt local officials, 10,000 miners at Ballarat voted to create a Reform League, which demanded abolition of fees and universal male suffrage. When authorities ignored their demands, 500 miners seized a rich mine at Eureka. In the ensuing struggle, British troops killed 22 miners, ending the armed uprising.

Despite these differences — as well as a significant disparity in the proportion of women — California and Victoria were both transformed by the nearly simultaneous discovery of gold. Within a few decades a mining boom vastly increased their wealth and boosted their populations, as the following chart indicates:

TABLE 12.1

Nonnative Population Increases from Gold Rush in United States and Australia

	California, United States					Victoria, Australia			
	Total	Women		Nonwhite		Total	Women		Nonwhite
1845	11,000								
1850	93,000	7,000	7%	1%	1851	97,000	39,000	40%	0%
1860	380,000	120,000	31%	15%	1861	540,000	219,000	40%	5%
1870	560,000	211,000	37%	11%	1871	746,000	339,000	45%	4%

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How would you account for the relative numbers of women in Victoria and California and how those proportions changed over time? How might the percentage of women affect the character of the two societies?
2. Why were there no equivalents of the Ballarat Reform League and the Eureka Stockade in California, given that the two rushes were similar in so many ways and fostered similar anti-Chinese violence and legislation?

confined them to marginal diggings. When substantial numbers of Chinese miners arrived in 1850, often in the employ of Chinese companies, whites called for laws to expel them from California. Chilean immigrant Vicente Pérez Rosales reported sardonically on affairs in San Francisco: the leading official was "a Yankee, more or less drunk"; in disputes "between a Yankee and someone who speaks Spanish, his job is to declare the Spaniard guilty and make him pay the court costs." A **Foreign Miner's Tax**, implemented in 1850, charged a prohibitive fee that drove out many Latino and Asian miners.

The first miners to exploit a site often met success, scooping up easily reached deposits and leaving small pickings for later arrivals. "High hopes" wrecked, one latecomer saw himself and most other forty-niners as little better than "convicts condemned to exile and hard labor." They faced disease and death as well: "Diarrhea was so general during the fall and winter months" and so often fatal, a Sacramento doctor remarked, that it was called "the disease of California."

By the mid-1850s almost as many people were sailing from San Francisco each year as were arriving to seek their fortune. But thousands of disillusioned forty-niners were too ashamed, exhausted, broke, or ambitious to go home. Some became wageworkers for companies that engaged in hydraulic or underground mining; others turned to farming. "Instead of going to the mines where fortune hangs upon the merest chance," one frustrated miner advised emigrants, "commence the cultivation of the soil."

Racial Warfare and Land Rights Farming required arable land, and Mexican grantees and Native peoples occupied much of it. American migrants brushed aside both groups, brutally eliminating the Indians and wearing down Mexican claimants with legal tactics and political pressure.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of American victory in the U.S.-Mexico War on Mexicans and American Indians in lands ceded to the U.S.

Subjugation of Native peoples came first. When the gold rush began in 1848, California Indians numbered about 150,000; by 1861, there were only 30,000. As elsewhere in the Americas, European diseases took the lives of thousands. Some miners sexually assaulted Native women and forced them into virtual slavery as domestic workers. White settlers also undertook systematic campaigns of extermination, which local leaders did little to stop. "A war of extermination will continue to be waged . . . until the Indian race becomes extinct," predicted Governor Peter Burnett in 1851.

Congress abetted these assaults. At the bidding of white Californians, it repudiated treaties that federal agents had negotiated with 119 tribes and that had allotted the state's Indians 7 million acres of land. Instead, in 1853, Congress authorized five reservations of only 25,000 acres each and refused to provide Indians with military protection. Consequently, some settlers simply murdered Indians to push them off nonreservation lands.

The Yuki people, who lived in the Round Valley in northern California, were one target. As the *Petaluma Journal* reported nonchalantly in April 1857: "Within the past three weeks, from 300 to 400 bucks, squaws and children have been killed by whites." Other white Californians turned to slave trading: "Hundreds of Indians have been stolen and carried into the settlements and sold," the state's Indian Affairs superintendent reported in 1856. Labor-hungry farmers quickly put them to work. Expelled from their lands and widely dispersed, many Indian peoples could no longer sustain distinct communities. Those tribal communities that survived were devastated by population loss. In 1854, at least 5,000 Yukis lived in the Round Valley; a decade later, only 85 men and 215 women remained.

Mexicans and Californios who held grants to thousands of acres were harder to dislodge. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed that property owned by Mexicans would be "inviolably respected." Though many of the eight hundred grants made by Spanish and Mexican authorities in California were poorly documented or in some cases fraudulent, a Land Claims Commission created by Congress eventually upheld the validity of 75 percent of them. In the meantime, however, hundreds of Anglo-Americans set up farms on the sparsely settled grants. Having come of age in the antimonopoly Jacksonian era, these squatters rejected the legitimacy of Californios' claims to "unimproved" land and successfully pressured local land commissioners and judges to void or reduce the size of many grants. Indeed, Anglos' clamor for land was so intense and their numbers so large that many Californio claimants gave up and sold off their properties at bargain prices.

In northern California, farmers found that they could grow most eastern crops: corn and oats to feed work horses, pigs, and chickens; potatoes, beans, and peas for the farm table; and refreshing grapes, apples, and peaches. Ranchers gradually replaced

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

By 1870, what were the main results in California of the discovery of gold?

Spanish cattle with American breeds that yielded more milk and meat, which found a ready market as California's population shot up to 380,000 by 1860 and 560,000 by 1870. Using the latest agricultural machinery and scores of hired workers, California farmers produced huge crops of wheat and barley, which San Francisco merchants exported to Europe at high prices. The gold rush turned into a wheat boom.

1850: Crisis and Compromise

When British miner William Shaw arrived in California in 1849, he brought a Chinese carpenter and a young Malaysian man as his employees. He reported that a posse of armed Anglo-Americans immediately confronted him, demanding to know whether the workers were "in a state of slavery or vassalage to us." Shaw assured them that his men were paid, but he found his group shunned and denied medical care because it included Asians. The Chinese and Malaysian men ended up dying of fever.

As this group's experience suggested, Americans carried the burning issue of slavery with them to the Pacific coast. Recognizing these tensions and hoping to avoid an extended debate over slavery, President Taylor advised Californians to skip the territorial phase and immediately apply for statehood. Early in the gold rush, in November 1849, voters ratified a state constitution prohibiting slavery; Taylor urged Congress to admit California as a free state.

AP® EXAM TIP

Trace the controversies that developed over the expansion of slavery in lands acquired in the Mexican cession.

Constitutional Conflict California's bid for admission produced passionate debate in Congress and four distinct responses. On the verge of death, John C. Calhoun reiterated his deep resentment of the North's "long-continued agitation of the slavery question." He proposed a constitutional amendment to create a dual presidency, permanently dividing executive power between North and South. Calhoun also advanced the radical argument that Congress had no constitutional authority to regulate slavery in the territories. Slaves were property, Calhoun insisted, and the Constitution restricted Congress's power to **abrogate** or limit property rights. That argument ran counter to a half century of practice: Congress had prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory in 1787 and had extended that ban to most of the Louisiana Purchase in the Missouri Compromise of 1820. But Calhoun's position — that planters could by right take slave property into new territories — won growing support in the Deep South.

Other southerners favored a more moderate proposal to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean. This plan won the backing of Pennsylvanian James Buchanan and other influential northern Democrats. It would guarantee slave owners access to some western territory, including a separate state in southern California.

A third alternative was Lewis Cass's idea of squatter sovereignty — allowing newcomers in a territory to decide the status of slavery. Democratic senator Stephen Douglas of Illinois now championed this approach, renaming it **popular sovereignty** to link it to republican ideology, which placed ultimate power in the hands of voters. Douglas's idea had considerable appeal. Politicians hoped it would relieve Congress from having to make explosive decisions about slavery, and men on the frontier welcomed the power it would give them. However, popular sovereignty was a slippery concept. Could residents accept or ban slavery when a territory was first organized, or must they delay their decision until a territory had enough people to frame a constitution and apply for statehood? Douglas did not say.

For their part, free soilers and opponents of slavery refused to accept any proposal for California or other territories that allowed slavery. Senator Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, elected by a Democratic–Free Soil coalition, and Senator William H. Seward, a New York Whig, urged a fourth plan: federal laws to restrict slavery within its existing boundaries and eventually end it completely. Condemning slavery as "morally unjust, politically unwise, and socially pernicious" and invoking "a higher law than the

Resolving the Crisis of 1850 By 1850, Whig Henry Clay had been in Congress for nearly four decades. Now in partnership with fellow Whig Daniel Webster and Democrat Stephen Douglas, Clay fashioned a complex—and controversial—compromise that preserved the Union. In this engraving, he addresses a crowded Senate chamber, with Webster sitting immediately to his left. Clay addresses his remarks to his prime antagonist, southern advocate John C. Calhoun, the man with the long white hair at the far right of the picture. Library of Congress

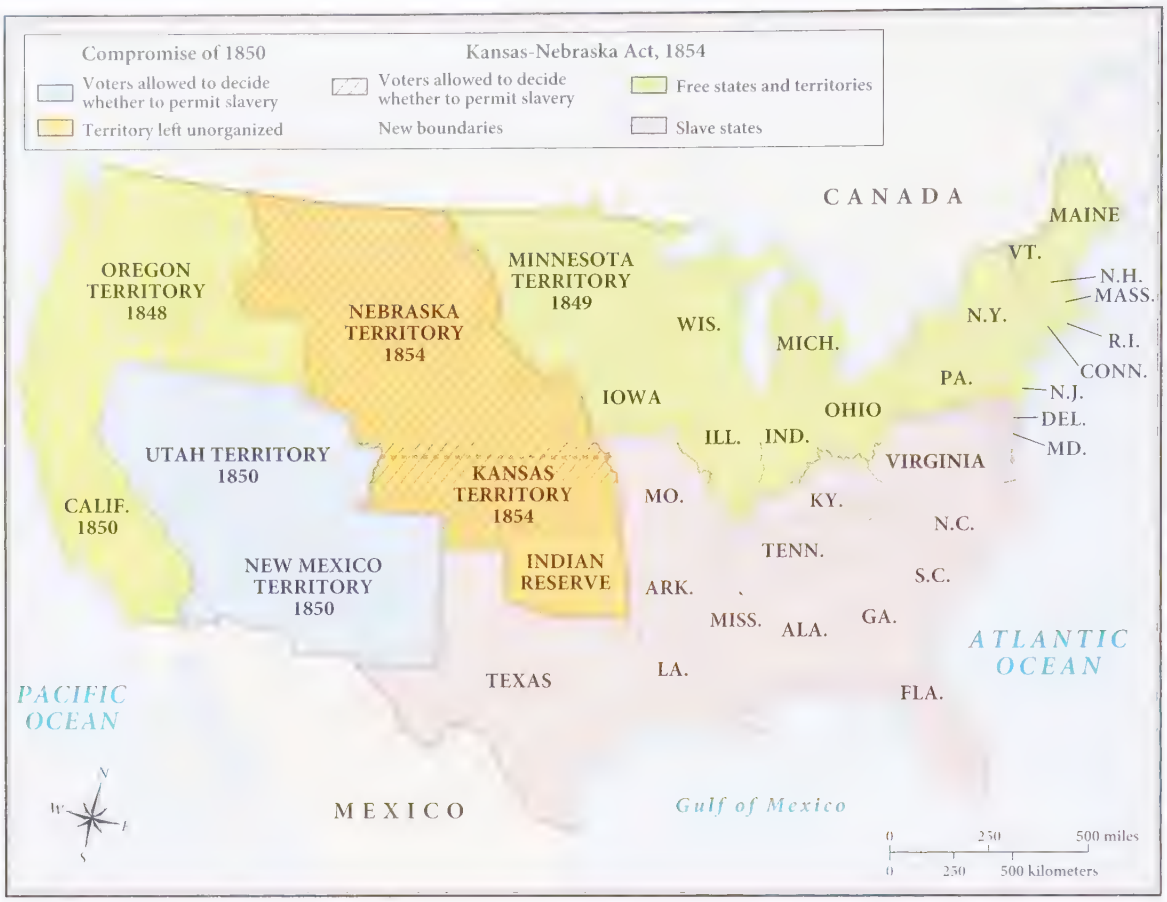
Constitution," Seward demanded bold action to advance freedom, "the common heritage of mankind."

A Complex Compromise Faced with bitter and potentially disastrous political divisions, senior Whig and Democratic politicians worked desperately to draft bills that could pass Congress. Aided by Millard Fillmore, who became president in 1850 after Zachary Taylor's sudden death, Whig leaders Henry Clay and Daniel Webster and Democrat Stephen A. Douglas managed to win passage of five separate laws known collectively as the **Compromise of 1850**. To mollify southern planters, the compromise included a new Fugitive Slave Act strengthening federal aid to slave catchers. To satisfy various groups of northerners, the legislation admitted California as a free state, resolved a boundary dispute between New Mexico and Texas in favor of New Mexico, and abolished the slave trade (but not slavery) in the District of Columbia. Finally, the compromise organized the rest of the conquered Mexican lands into the territories of New Mexico and Utah and, invoking popular sovereignty, left the issue of slavery in the hands of their residents (Map 12.2).

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare actions taken by courts and Congress to resolve issues related to slavery in the 1850s.

The Compromise of 1850 preserved national unity by accepting once again the stipulation advanced by the South since 1787: no Union without slavery. Still, southerners feared for the future and threatened secession. Militant activists (or "fire-eaters") in South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama organized a special convention to safeguard "southern rights." Georgia congressman Alexander H. Stephens called on delegates to this Nashville Convention to prepare "men and money, arms and **munitions**, etc. to meet the emergency." Passage of the compromise deflated the secessionist bubble, however: when the convention reconvened for a second meeting, only a small



MAP 12.2 The Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854
The contest over the expansion of slavery involved vast territories. The Compromise of 1850 peacefully resolved the status of the Far West: California would be a free state, and settlers in the Utah and New Mexico territories would vote for or against slavery (the doctrine of popular sovereignty). However, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 voided the Missouri Compromise (1820) and instituted popular sovereignty in those territories. That decision sparked a bitter local war and revealed a fatal flaw in the doctrine.

group showed up. Most southerners continued to support the Union, but the convention had spelled out conditions for that support: Congress must protect slavery where it existed and grant statehood to any territory that ratified a proslavery constitution.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What political conflicts were triggered by U.S. acquisition of lands in the U.S.-Mexico War?

The End of the Second Party System, 1850–1858

The Missouri Compromise had endured for a generation, and architects of the Compromise of 1850 hoped their agreement would have an even longer life. Religious leaders, businessmen, and leading judges called on citizens to support the compromise to preserve "government and civil society." Their hopes quickly faded. Demanding freedom for fugitive slaves and free soil in the West, antislavery northerners refused to accept the legitimacy of the compromise, while proslavery southerners plotted to extend slavery into the West, the Caribbean, northern Mexico, and Central America. At the same time, the arrival of millions of Irish and German immigrants triggered another

set of political upheavals. The resulting disputes fragmented both parties and precipitated a crisis.

The Abolitionist Movement Grows

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 proved the most controversial element of the compromise. To mollify slaveholders, who found it increasingly difficult to capture escaped fugitives in the North, the act set up special federal courts to determine the legal status of alleged runaways. An owner's sworn **affidavit** was considered proof, while defendants could not receive a jury trial or even the right to testify. U.S. marshals and clerks were paid $10 for each person remanded to slavery and only $5 when they set a captive free.

AP® EXAM TIP

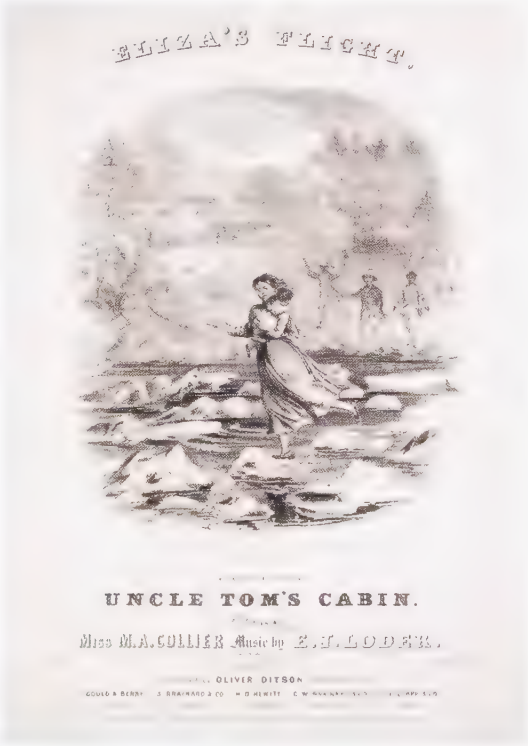
Analyze the reasons that the Fugitive Slave Act can be seen as characterizing the regional divide between North and South in the 1850s.

Under the act's provisions, southern owners located and re-enslaved about 200 fugitives, as well as some free blacks. The plight of runaways and the presence of slave catchers aroused popular hostility in the North and Midwest, broadening support for the abolitionist cause. Ignoring the threat of prison sentences and $1,000 fines, free blacks and white abolitionists protected fugitives. In October 1850, Boston abolitionists helped two slaves escape from Georgia slave catchers. Rioters in Syracuse, New York, broke into a courthouse, freed a fugitive and spirited him to Canada, and then tried to charge the U.S. marshal with kidnapping. Abandoning nonviolence, Frederick Douglass declared that "the only way to make a Fugitive Slave Law a dead letter is to make half a dozen or more dead kidnappers." Precisely such a deadly result occurred in Christiana, Pennsylvania, in September 1851, when twenty African Americans exchanged gunfire with Maryland slave catchers, killing two of them. Federal authorities indicted thirty-six blacks and four whites for treason and other crimes, but a Pennsylvania jury acquitted one defendant, and the government dropped charges against the rest.

The following year, an electrifying novel helped strengthen abolitionist sentiment in the North. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) conveyed the moral principles of abolitionism by depicting heart-rending personal situations: the barbarity of whippings and sexual abuse; the cruel separation of enslaved husbands and wives, mothers and children; and the sin and guilt of white Christian men and women who could not escape the slave system. Touching a nerve, Stowe's book quickly sold 310,000 copies in the United States and double that number in Britain, where it prompted an antislavery petition signed by 560,000 English women.

Promoters soon created theatrical versions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—including, improbably, a musical that drew on some of the **tropes** of minstrel shows. These introduced broad popular audiences to characters such as Uncle Tom, who endures unspeakable cruelties with Christian patience and hope, and Little Eva, an angelic slaveholder's child who, on her deathbed, begs in vain for Tom's freedom. When white southerners indignantly challenged Stowe's portrayal of slavery, she published a *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* presenting the evidence she had used, including autobiographies and other testimony from those who had escaped slavery.

As Stowe's novel sparked outrage, northern legislators protested that the Fugitive Slave Act violated state sovereignty. Many states passed **personal liberty laws** that guaranteed to all residents, including alleged escapees from slavery, the right to a jury trial. In 1857, the Wisconsin Supreme Court went further, ruling in *Ableman v. Booth* that the Fugitive Slave Act was unconstitutional because it violated the rights of Wisconsin's citizens. Taking a states' rights stance—traditionally a southern position—the Wisconsin court denied the federal judiciary's authority to review its decision. In 1859, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney led a unanimous Supreme



"Eliza's Flight," 1852 The popularity of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* prompted the quick marketing of stage productions, board games, music, and even china and wallpaper. This sheet-music cover illustrates the dramatic escape of the enslaved heroine Eliza, who clutches her baby Harry as she jumps from ice floe to ice floe across the Ohio River. Pursuers in the background watch disappointed. The circulation of such images suggests how effectively Stowe appealed to domesticity, urging white readers (and singers) to oppose slavery because it separated loving husbands and wives and parents and children from one another. Eliza's escape and reunion with her husband George provided readers with one of the book's few happy subplots. Courtesy of the [illegible]

Court in affirming the supremacy of federal courts — a position that has withstood the test of time — and upholding the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act.

But popular opposition made the law difficult to enforce. Some African Americans fled temporarily to Canada. Others formed vigilance committees, vowing to defend themselves and their families to the death. Even in far-off San Francisco, networks of abolitionists organized to help local freedom seekers after an 1852 California law authorized southerners who had arrived before statehood, bringing their slaves, to take them back in bondage when they departed the state. The resulting Underground Railroad activity showed the complexity of U.S. racial identities: under the law, an African American named Charlotte Gomez was arrested for having rescued an indigenous nine-year-old Yuki girl who had been forced into servitude in a white family. The slavery question now touched every corner of the country.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the Fugitive Slave Act increase sectional conflict?

The Whig Party's Demise

Hoping to unify their party in 1852, Whigs ran yet another war hero, General Winfield Scott, as their presidential candidate. Among Democrats, southerners demanded a candidate who embraced Calhoun's constitutional argument that all territories were open to slavery. However, northern and midwestern Democrats stood behind the three leading candidates — Lewis Cass of Michigan, Stephen Douglas of Illinois, and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania — who advocated popular sovereignty. Ultimately, the party settled on Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a congenial man who was sympathetic to the South. The Whigs floundered: as the Free Soil Party ran another spirited campaign, many northerners demanded that Whigs take a stronger stand against slavery expansion, while Democrats strengthened their base in the South by arguing that the Whigs were not doing enough to protect slavery. Pierce swept to victory.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate foreign policy in the context of the growing debate over slavery in the 1850s.

Proslavery Initiatives As president, Pierce pursued an expansionist foreign policy. With California and Oregon now firmly in U.S. hands, northern merchants wanted a trans-Pacific commercial empire, and Pierce moved to support them. For centuries, since unpleasant encounters with Portuguese traders in the 1600s, Japan's leaders had adhered to a policy of strict isolation. Americans, who wanted coal stations in Japan, argued that trade would extend what one missionary called "commerce, knowledge, and Christianity, with their multiplied blessings." Whether or not Japan wanted these blessings was irrelevant. In 1854, Commodore Matthew Perry succeeded in getting Japanese officials to sign the **Treaty of Kanagawa**, allowing U.S. ships to refuel at two ports. The Pierce administration rejected Perry's bid to annex more Pacific territories, including Formosa (now Taiwan). But by 1858 the United States and Japan had commenced trade, and a U.S. consul took up residence in Japan's capital, Edo (now known as Tokyo).

Pierce did far more to satisfy southern expansionists. The president and his aggressive secretary of state, William Marcy, first sought to buy extensive Mexican lands south of the Rio Grande. Ultimately, Pierce settled for a smaller slice of territory — the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, now part of Arizona and New Mexico — that opened the way for his negotiator, James Gadsden, to build a transcontinental rail line from New Orleans to Los Angeles.

Pierce's most controversial initiatives came in the Caribbean and Central America. Southern expansionists had long urged Cuban slave owners to declare independence from Spain and join the United States. To assist the expansionists and American traders who still supplied enslaved Africans to Cuba, Pierce threatened war with Spain and covertly supported **filibustering** (private military) expeditions. In 1853 John Quitman, a fabulously wealthy cotton planter and former governor of Mississippi, organized a not-so-secret expedition to take Cuba. Volunteers and offers of aid poured in from across the South. A Texan hailed Quitman's plan as the "paramount enterprise of the age," while a Mississippian reported that in his area "the desire that Cuba should be acquired as a Southern conquest is almost unanimous."

An American Merchant Ship in Yokohama Harbor, 1861 After the United States forcibly "opened" Japan to foreign trade in 1854, American and European ships and visitors became a familiar sight in the port of Yokohama. In these 1861 prints — two panels of a five-panel series — artist Hashimoto Sadahide meticulously details activity in Yokohama Harbor. On the left, goods are carried onto an American merchant ship; on the right, two women dressed in Western style watch the arrival of another boat. In the background, a steamship flies the Dutch flag; a rowboat heading to or from another (unseen) ship carries the flag of France. Library of Congress

In 1854, Marcy arranged for American diplomats in Europe to compose the **Ostend Manifesto**, urging Pierce to seize Cuba by force. When the document was exposed, however, Whigs, northern Democrats, and Free Soilers all denounced it, calling it new evidence of southern "slave power" machinations. Pierce saw the political risks of supporting filibusters and withdrew his support for Quitman, who eventually cancelled his plan.

That did not stop William Walker, a Tennessee-born adventurer who had failed as a California forty-niner. Gathering other disappointed gold-seekers, Walker first tried to capture Sonora, in northern Mexico. After that failed, he organized three separate expeditions to Central America between 1855 and 1860. In 1856, after being hired as mercenaries to help a faction in a civil war in Nicaragua, Walker and 300 men overthrew the country's government and established their own (with some help from New York shipping **magnate** Cornelius Vanderbilt, who operated a U.S.-Nicaragua steamship line). Walker's new government declared slavery legal in Nicaragua and received immediate recognition from the United States. But Walker could not hold on to power. He fled Nicaragua and then returned to Central America twice more before being captured and shot and killed, apparently by Honduran forces, in 1860. Combined with the expeditions of other filibusters, Walker's exploits confirmed many northerners' belief that the "slave power" would stop at nothing to expand.

Immigrants and Know-Nothings

While conflict over slavery intensified, another issue vied for center stage in politics. Outside the South, where the slave-labor system discouraged poor immigrants from settling, foreign immigration rose sharply in the 1840s and 1850s. Newcomers arrived

almost entirely from northern Europe — England, Ireland, the German states, and Scandinavia — and their circumstances varied widely. German-speaking migrants were a mix of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, and they included many skilled workers who came in family groups. Often bringing funds they had saved, more than half settled on farms or in small towns. Not so Irish Catholics, who came from an overwhelmingly rural island that was not an independent nation but a colony of Britain. Thus when a catastrophe hit Ireland in the late 1840s, it forced millions to flee or die.

The Irish Famine Ireland's population had grown rapidly during the Napoleonic Wars. Most Irish farmers, working as tenants for English landlords, were required to send their grain crops to England. The poorest third of households ate little but potatoes. Ireland was thus terribly vulnerable to a potato blight in 1845 that destroyed almost the whole crop the following year. Forced to eat their seed potatoes to avoid starvation, and with very little aid offered by the British government, millions of Irish were soon desperate. *An Gorta Mór* — Celtic for "The Great Hunger" — had descended.

The results were horrific. Between 1845 and 1851 over one million people died of malnutrition or diseases that preyed on the hungry, including dysentery and cholera. "Famine and **pestilence** are sweeping away hundreds," reported a journalist from Bantry on the southwest coast. "The number of deaths is beyond counting." Those who could gathered their meager possessions and took passage: over 1.5 million — one-sixth of Ireland's people — emigrated, mostly to the United States.

In the 1820s and 1830s, Irish immigrants had largely been poor, unskilled men who came alone and found "heavy, rough work" in northeastern cities and towns, repairing streets or digging canals. The famine refugees came, instead, largely in family groups. Since the famine struck hardest against children and the elderly, the refugees tended to be young, healthy adults — tenant farmers, although not the very poorest. But the Atlantic voyage held new dangers: shipboard conditions in cheap steerage berths were terrible, and typhus and other diseases turned many vessels into "coffin ships." In 1853, when a cholera epidemic raged, 10 percent of Irish immigrants died at sea.

Those Irish who landed in the United States made up more than a third of all American immigrants in the 1850s. Unable to afford land, they clustered in urban areas. By 1860, a third of Irish-born Americans lived in just ten cities. Finding employment as laborers, factory workers, and domestic servants, the new arrivals faced great hardship. Some, however, through thrift and determination, managed to find their way into the ranks of shopkeepers, policemen, or farmers. Many formed mutual aid groups to support their communities. They also found support through the American Catholic Church, which soon became an Irish-dominated institution.

Immigrants and Nativists Clash in New York, 1857 This engraving shows how a backlash against Irish immigration led to gang violence that alarmed Americans. In this street fight, raucous July 4 celebrations escalated into raids and counter-raids between a nativist gang known as the "Bowery Boys" and their Irish immigrant rivals, known popularly as the "Dead Rabbits" (their name for themselves was the "Roach Guards"). Lasting two days, the riot involved hundreds of men and ended with looting and property destruction. Only with help of the New York State militia was order restored. [illegible]

As early as the 1850s, some Irish began to send positive reports to kin back home (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). Like many later groups, the Irish developed a pattern of **chain migration**. Once a newcomer settled in, he or she saved carefully and arranged to send for neighbors and family members. As a result, steady streams of immigrants arrived long

after the famine had passed. Between 1860 and 1910, more than 2.6 million Irish would arrive — far more than during the famine itself.

Hostility Toward Immigrants Already by 1850, immigrants were a major presence throughout the Northeast (Figure 12.1). Like other immigrant groups, Irish and Germans boosted the American economy. Factories expanded on low-wage Irish labor. Thousands of elite and middle-class women hired "Bridgets" — Irishwomen — for domestic labor. German-language shop signs filled entire neighborhoods; Irish pubs sprang up all over Boston, while German foods (sausages, hamburgers, sauerkraut) became part of New York culture.

But the scale of immigration prompted a political backlash. Native-born Americans looked with dismay on the crowded tenement districts that sprang up to house low-paid Irish factory workers. They feared the erosion of wages — with some justification, since employers repeatedly used immigrants to break strikes and reduce pay. Advocates of the growing temperance movement condemned Irishmen's tendency to frequent the neighborhood saloon and German families' Sunday afternoons at the *biergarten*. One German observer complained that everywhere three Germans settled together, "one opened a saloon so that the other two might have a place to argue." Some English-speakers also resented the tendency of proud Germans to continue speaking their own language and patronize their own newspapers, businesses, and clubs.

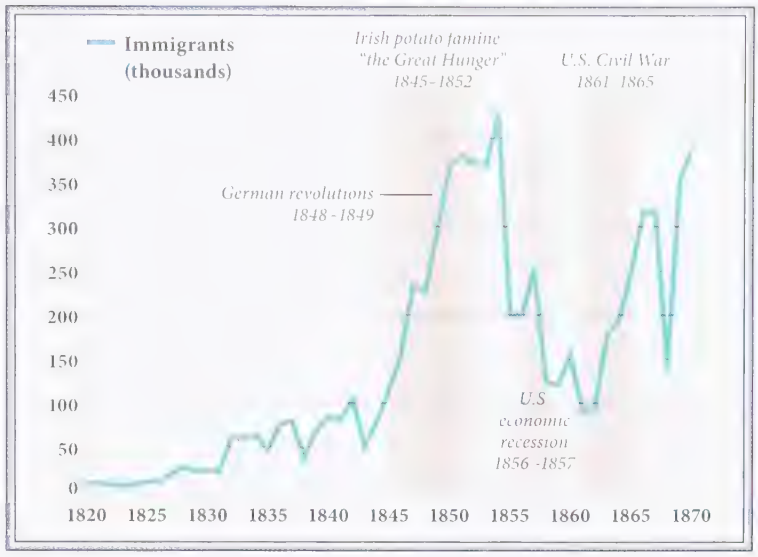


FIGURE 12.1 The Surge in Immigration, 1845–1855

In 1845, failure of the potato crop in Ireland prompted wholesale migration to the United States of peasants from the overcrowded farms of its western counties. Population growth and limited economic prospects likewise spurred the migration of tens of thousands of German peasants, while the failure of the liberal republican political revolution of 1848 prompted hundreds of prominent German politicians and intellectuals to follow them. An American economic recession cut the flow of immigrants, but the booming northern economy during the Civil War again persuaded Europeans to set sail for the United States.

Perhaps the most significant factor in this era's **nativism** — hostility toward immigrants — was anti-Catholicism. Almost all the newly arrived Irish and perhaps a third of Germans were Catholics. Viewing the pope as authoritarian, some Protestants argued that Catholics could not develop the independent judgment that would make them good citizens. They would instead expect the pope to tell them how to vote. Northerners who mistrusted the "slave power" made such arguments with particular forcefulness. "Slavery and priestcraft," declared one Republican leader in 1854, "have a common purpose: they seek [to add to the United States] Cuba and Hayti and the Mexican States together, because they will be Catholic and Slave. I say they are in alliance by the necessity of their nature — for one denies the right of a man to his body, and the other the right of a man to his soul." Other nativists, believing vows of celibacy were unnatural, provoked hysteria over the alleged secret crimes of Catholic priests and nuns. *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*, a popular exposé originally published in 1836, alleged that sexual debauchery and infanticide went on behind the closed doors of a Montreal convent. Though its claims were debunked, the book circulated for decades, stoking anti-Catholic prejudice.

AP® EXAM TIP

Explaining the causes of and reactions to immigration from Germany and Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century is essential for success on the AP® exam.

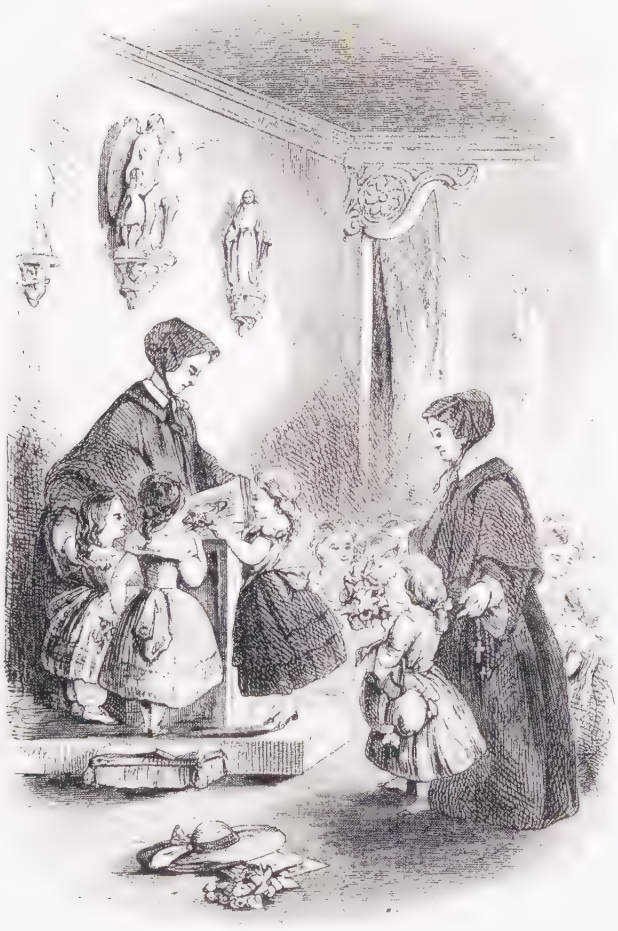
The actions of some working-class Irish immigrants intensified these fears. In urban areas, groups of Irish men became notorious for organizing mob violence against African Americans, temperance parades, and abolitionist meetings. A much larger number devoted themselves to electoral politics. Most urban Irish forged loyalties with the Democratic Party, which gave them a foothold in the political process. This fueled, in turn, allegations that Irish voters and politicians were corrupt and clannish.

A small number of German immigrants provoked anger in the opposite direction. As radicals who were fleeing oppressive governments after the failed European

The Irish in America

Hardship and hostility accompanied the surge of Irish immigration to the United States, especially when millions began to arrive during the famine. The documents below provide different perspectives on the forms of discrimination and hardship that Irish men and women faced, their reflections on opportunity in America, and the ways they adapted to life in an industrializing economy.

1. **Mary Anne Sadlier, *The Blakes and the Flanagans*, 1855.** *Through her domestic novels, Irish-born author Mary Ann Sadlier defended the respectability of her fellow immigrants. To assert Irish Catholics' readiness to claim equal citizenship, she appealed to the values of American middle-class women: motherhood, piety, hard work, thrift, and selfless community service. This frontispiece from Sadlier's novel* The Blakes and the Flanagans: A Tale, Illustrative of Irish Life in the United States *depicts two Irish-born sisters with pupils from their school.*



Courtesy of the University of Iowa Libraries

2. **Account by a visiting Scotsman, LaSalle County, Illinois (1840).** *After passing through the town of Utica, Illinois, this traveler commented on a nearby camp along the construction line of the Illinois & Michigan Canal.*

We had scarcely got beyond the edge of town before we came to a colony of Irish laborers employed on the Illinois Canal, and a more repulsive scene we had not for a long time beheld. The number congregated here were about 200, including men, women and children, and these were crowded together in 14 or 15 log huts, temporarily erected for their shelter. I had never been in the south of Ireland and cannot say how far the appearance of this colony differed from that of villages there, but certainly in the north of Ireland, over which I have traveled from Dublin to Londonderry, I never saw anything approaching the scene before us in dirtiness and disorder.

. . . Poverty could be no excuse, as the men were all paid at the rate of a dollar a day for their labor, had houses rent free, and provisions of every kind abundantly cheap. But whiskey and tobacco seemed the chief delights of the men. Of the women and children, no language would give an adequate idea of their filthy condition, in garments and person. It required only a little industry to preserve both in a state of cleanliness, for water was abundant in the river close at hand, and soap abundant and cheaper than in England. It is not to be wondered that Americans conceive a very low estimate of the Irish people generally, when they have such unfavorable specimens of the nation, as these almost constantly before their eyes. Unhappily, of the immigrants who land at New York, the large majority are not merely ignorant and poor . . . but drunken, dirty, indolent, and riotous.

3. **Margaret McCarthy to her family (1850).** *McCarthy, age 23, had emigrated alone from County Cork to New York City the previous year.*

I write these few lines to you hopeing [they] may find you all in as good State of health as I am at present thank God I received your welcome letter To me Dated 22nd. of May . . . My D[ea]r Father I must only say that this is a good place and A good Country for if one place does not Suit A man he can go to Another . . . [But] the Emmigrants has not money enough to Take them to the Interior of the Country which oblidges them to Remain here in New York and the like places for which Reason Causes the less demand for Labour and also the great Reduction in wages for this Reason I would advise no one to Come to America that would not have Some Money after landing here that Enable them to go west in case they would get no work to do here but any man or woman without a family are fools that would not venture and Come to this plentyful Country where no man or woman ever Hungerd or ever will. There are Dangers upon Dangers Attending Comeing here but my Friends . . . Fortune will favour the brave have Courage and prepare yourself. . . . This will be my last remittance until I see you all here. . . . I will have for [Mary] A Silk

Dress A Bonnet and Viel . . . Tell my D[ea]r Mother to Bring all her bed Close and also to bring the Kittle and an oven and have handles on them and do not forget the Smoothing Irons. . . .

4. **Advertisement, *Philadelphia Public Record* (1852)**

WANTED — In a private family, a WOMAN, to do general Housework; she must understand plain Cooking, Washing, Ironing, and give the best recent [recom]mendations for honesty, sobriety, cleanliness and smartness. No Irish need apply. Address H.L.D., Ledger Office.

5. **Letter from William Lloyd Garrison to a friend in Dublin, Ireland, July 2, 1852.** *The Boston abolitionist expresses frustration at the failure of Irish immigrants to join his cause, even though an antislavery movement was thriving in Ireland.*

It is now quite apparent that [Irish American voters] will go en masse with Southern men-stealers, and in opposition to the antislavery movement. This will not be done intelligently by them, but will be effectually controlled by a crafty priesthood and unprincipled political demagogues. When we had our great meeting in Faneuil Hall, we took all parties by surprise. Our Irish fellow-citizens, who were then present, acted out their natural love of liberty, to the life; for at that time, they had not been instructed how to act by their leaders, and the Pilot and Diary, and other Irish papers here, had not opened their batteries. Since that time, however, they have kept wholly aloof from us, and it is impracticable to get them to listen. . . .

6. **Advertisements from the *Catholic Herald*, Philadelphia.** *These notices suggest the plight of many families separated by emigration.*

May 20, 1841. Information Wanted — Of John Early of the County Mayo, Ireland. Any person knowing any thing of the said John Early, will oblige his distressed wife by sending information to the office of this paper or to the Clergy of St. John's Church, 13th St., Phila.

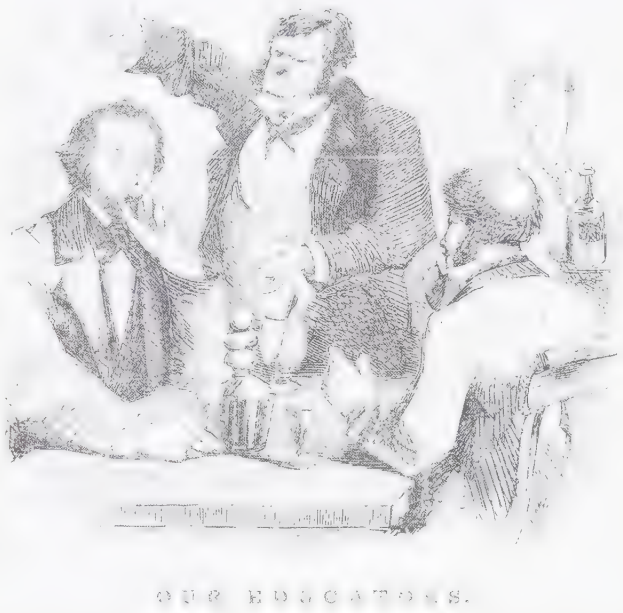
July 17, 1844. Information Wanted — of Patrick Lynch, a native of the Parish of Kilberry, County Meath, Ireland. He was in Carthage, N. Y. about a year ago, which place he left for Philadelphia. His wife, Jane Lynch, has arrived in Philadelphia and stops at the house of his nephew, Christopher Nevin, Pearl street above 13th st., where she would be glad to hear from him.

7. ***The Know-Nothing and American Crusader*, 29 July 1854.** *This pamphlet circulated in various Eastern cities at the height of anti-immigrant agitation.*

We must not let this fact go-by — the Roman Catholics are bound to serve their Church before their Country. What is the practical and inevitable result of such a system in this country? Why, that every Catholic stands committed as an enemy to the Republic. . . .

Not an office in this whole land should be filled by any but Americans. There is a full supply. They are all capable. They are intelligent, patriotic and all that. Then where is the logic, justice, even decency, of permitting foreigners to hold these places. Many of the best offices [in Washington] . . . are filled by foreigners. And two-thirds of those are IRISH.

8. **Cartoon from *Harper's Weekly*, 1859.** *This caricature illustrates prejudices against the Irish Catholic men who found rapid success in urban politics.*



American School Commissioner: "But, my good Sir, we have always read the Bible in our American Schools." . . . Irish School Commissioner: "Worse luck, thin; ye'll rade it no more! Father O'Flaherty says it interfares wid our holy religion, an' by the Vargin it won't and it shan't be read!" Source: The Granger Collection, New York

Sources: (2) John Lamb, "Old Canal Days," *Lockport Free Press*, 15 June 1978; (3) Nancy F. Cott et al, *Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 152-5; (4) Philadelphia Public Record, Oct. 12, 1852; (5) Quoted in Noel Ignatieff, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 22; (6 & 7) Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What hardships did Irish immigrants face after their arrival in the United States, and how did those differ for men and for women?
2. What arguments or assumptions did native-born Americans make, in rejecting Irish newcomers? How might immigrants such as Mary Anne Sadlier and Margaret McCarthy have responded to the criticisms of Garrison, the *Know-Nothing and American Crusader*, and *Harper's Weekly*?
3. What explanations do these documents provide as to why immigrant voters might have chosen to vote for political candidates who shared their ethnic background?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using these documents and what you have learned from Chapter 12, explain how the arrival of large numbers of Irish Americans shaped the U.S. economy and society. What allies and opponents did they find in society and politics, and why?

revolutions of 1848, they brought socialist ideals, and some enrolled in the abolitionist cause. Abraham Lincoln, resuming his political career in the 1850s after his early defeat as a Whig, discovered that many German Americans in Illinois were eager to prevent slavery's expansion onto "free soil." Lincoln greeted one group in Chicago as "*German Fellow-Citizens*" who were "true to Liberty, not *selfishly*, but upon *principle*." Among whites who supported slavery, though — including many Irish immigrants — the antislavery views of these German immigrants made them politically suspect.

As early as the mid-1830s, nativists called for a halt to immigration and mounted a cultural and political assault on foreign-born residents. Gangs of nativists assaulted Irish youths in the streets. In 1844, a new group called the American Republican Party won the endorsement of local Whigs and swept New York City's elections by stressing temperance, anti-Catholicism, and nativism. Rather than trying to stop immigration, they sought to deny voting and office-holding rights to noncitizens, especially by delaying the waiting period before immigrants could naturalize.

By 1850, with immigration swelling, various local nativist societies banded together as the Order of the Star-Spangled Banner. The following year they formed the **American, or Know-Nothing, Party**. When questioned, the party's secrecy-conscious members often replied, "I know nothing" — hence the nickname given by their opponents. The American Party's program was far from secret, however; supporters wanted to mobilize native-born Protestants against the "alien menace" of Irish and German Catholics, discourage further immigration, and institute literacy tests for voting. The new party drew primarily from former Whigs in the South, and about equally from Whigs and Democrats in the North. Many northern Know-Nothings had an antislavery or free soil outlook. By the mid-1850s, it was clear that these voters were hostile both to immigrants and to the expansion of slavery. What was unclear, yet, was whether a new national party would take up both of these issues, or which one party leaders would prioritize.

In 1854, voters elected dozens of American Party candidates to the House of Representatives and gave the party control of the state governments of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. The emergence of a Protestant-based nativist party to replace the Whigs became a real possibility. At that same moment, Illinois Democrat Stephen Douglas proposed a new application of his idea of popular sovereignty, furthering the Whig Party's collapse and sending the Union spinning toward disaster.

The West and the Fate of the Union

Since the Missouri Compromise prohibited new slave states in the Louisiana Purchase north of 36°30′, southern senators had long prevented the creation of new territories there. It remained Permanent Indian Territory. But Douglas wanted to open it up to allow a transcontinental railroad to link Chicago to California. In 1854 he proposed to extinguish Native American rights on the Great Plains and create a large free territory called Nebraska.

Southern politicians opposed Douglas's initiative. They hoped to extend slavery throughout the Louisiana Purchase and have a southern city — New Orleans, Memphis, or St. Louis — serve as the eastern terminus of a transcontinental railroad. To win their support, Douglas amended his bill so that it explicitly repealed the Missouri Compromise, potentially enabling slavery to extend farther west in new areas. He also agreed to the formation of two territories, Nebraska and Kansas, raising the prospect that settlers in the southern one, Kansas, would choose slavery. Knowing the revised bill would "raise a hell of a storm," Douglas insisted to northerners that Kansas, even though it lay next door to the slave state of Missouri, was not suited to plantation agriculture and would become a free state. After weeks of bitter debate, the Senate passed the **Kansas-Nebraska Act** (see Map 12.2, p. 376). With petitions opposed to the bill flooding the House of Representatives, the measure barely squeaked through.

AP® EXAM TIP

It's important to identify why the efforts of the courts and Congress failed to address the issue of slavery by the end of the 1850s.

Emergence of the Republican Party The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 jolted the political system. It **galvanized** thousands of northerners, especially Whigs, to stand up against the "slave power." Cotton textile magnate Amos Lawrence lamented, "We went to bed one night old fashioned, conservative Union Whigs and waked up stark mad abolitionists." In northeastern cities where nativism had been strong, renewed controversy over slavery's expansion in the West deflected attention from immigration. The Kansas-Nebraska Act also crippled the Democratic Party, with northern "anti-Nebraska Democrats" denouncing it as "part of a great scheme for extending and perpetuating supremacy of the slave power." In 1854, these former Democrats joined ex-Whigs and Free Soil supporters to form the Republican Party.

AP® EXAM TIP

Explaining the end of the Second Party System and the emergence of regional political parties in the 1850s is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

The new party was a coalition of "strange, discordant and even hostile elements," one Republican observed. Many abolitionists refused to join, arguing that the Republicans compromised too much on the need for immediate abolition. However, almost all Republicans disliked and wished to limit slavery, which, they argued, drove down the wages of free workers and degraded the dignity of manual labor. Like Thomas Jefferson, Republicans praised a society based on "the middling classes who own the soil and work it with their own hands." Abraham Lincoln, now a Republican, conveyed the new party's vision of social mobility. "There is no permanent class of hired laborers among us," he declared, ignoring growing economic and social divisions in the industrializing North and Midwest. Lincoln and his fellow Republicans envisioned a society of independent farmers, artisans, and proprietors, and they celebrated middle-class values: domesticity and respectability, religious commitment, and capitalist enterprise.

Meanwhile, thousands of settlers rushed into the Kansas Territory, putting Douglas's concept of popular sovereignty to the test. On the side of slavery, Missouri senator David R. Atchison encouraged residents of his state to cross temporarily into Kansas to vote in crucial elections there. Opposing Atchison was the abolitionist New England Emigrant Aid Society, which dispatched its supporters to Kansas. Adding to the tension, in 1855 the Pierce administration accepted the legitimacy of a proslavery legislature in Lecompton, Kansas, that had been elected with aid from border-crossing Missourians. The majority of Kansas residents favored free soil and refused allegiance to the Lecompton government.

In 1856, both sides turned to violence, prompting Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune* to label the territory "Bleeding Kansas." A proslavery force, seven hundred strong, looted and burned the antislavery town of Lawrence. The attack enraged John Brown, a fifty-six-year-old abolitionist from New York who commanded a free-state militia. Brown was a complex man with a record of failed businesses, but his intellectual and moral intensity won the trust of influential people. Avenging the sack of Lawrence, Brown and his followers murdered five proslavery settlers at Pottawatomie. Abolitionists must "fight fire with fire" and "strike terror in the hearts of the proslavery people," Brown declared. The attack on Lawrence and the Pottawatomie killings started a guerrilla war in Kansas that took nearly two hundred lives.

In Washington, leaders of the new Republican Party distanced themselves from Brown and from radical abolitionists but took the lead in denouncing proslavery maneuvers. In May 1856, in a speech called "The Crime Against Kansas," Massachusetts Republican senator Charles Sumner accused his South

Armed Abolitionists in Kansas, 1859 The confrontation between North and South in Kansas took many forms. In the spring of 1859, Dr. John Doy (seated) slipped across the border into Missouri and tried to lead thirteen escaped slaves to freedom in Kansas, only to be captured and jailed in St. Joseph, Missouri. The serious-looking men standing behind Doy, well armed with guns and Bowie knives, attacked the jail and carried Doy back to Kansas. The photograph celebrated and memorialized their successful exploit. Kansas State Historical Society

Carolina colleague Andrew P. Butler of having taken "the harlot slavery" as his mistress. Butler's cousin Preston Brooks, also a southern congressman, decided to avenge his kinsman, but he disdained to fight a gentleman's duel with any "Black Republican." Instead, he found Sumner working at his desk on the Senate floor and beat him unconscious with a walking cane. Sumner, gravely injured, did not resume his seat for many months. The attack shocked northerners, providing further evidence of the arrogance and outrageousness of proslavery political leaders. Massachusetts voters reelected Sumner even while he remained disabled and could not serve. Brooks, at the same time, resigned his seat as a matter of honor but was reelected by a large margin. He received replacement canes and notes of congratulation from allies across the South.

Buchanan's Failed Presidency The violence in Kansas dominated the presidential election of 1856. The new Republican Party stoked anger over Bleeding Kansas. Its platform denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Act and demanded that the federal government prohibit slavery in all the territories. Linking Mormon plural marriage with slavery, it used the language of domesticity and civilization to denounce "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." Republicans also called for federal subsidies to build transcontinental railroads, reviving a Whig economic proposal popular among midwestern Democrats. For president, the Republicans nominated Colonel John C. Frémont, a free soiler who had won fame in the conquest of Mexican California.

The American Party entered the election with equally high hopes, but like the Whigs, it split along sectional lines over slavery. The party's southern faction nominated former Whig president Millard Fillmore, while the northern contingent endorsed Frémont. During the campaign, Republicans won the votes of many northern Know-Nothings by demanding legislation banning foreign immigrants and imposing high tariffs on foreign manufactures. As a Pennsylvania Republican put it, "Let our motto be, protection to everything American, against everything foreign." In New York, Republicans campaigned on a reform platform designed to unite "all of the Anti-Slavery, Anti-Popery, and Anti-Whiskey" voters.

Democrats reaffirmed their support for popular sovereignty and the Kansas-Nebraska Act and nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. A tall, dignified, and experienced politician, Buchanan was staunchly prosouthern. He won the three-way race with 1.8 million popular votes (45.3 percent) and 174 electoral votes. A dramatic restructuring of politics was becoming apparent: with the splintering of the American Party, Republicans replaced the Whigs as the second major party (see Map 12.3, p. 391). However, Frémont had not won a single vote in the South; had he triumphed, a North Carolina newspaper warned, the result would have been "a separation of the states." The fate of the republic hinged on President Buchanan's ability to quiet the passions of the past decade and hold the Democratic Party — the only remaining national party — together. In the end, he could not.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the actions taken in the *Dred Scott* decision (1857) to those in the Missouri Compromise (1820) to resolve the issue of slavery.

Dred Scott: Petitioner for Freedom Events — and his own values and weaknesses — conspired against Buchanan. Early in 1857, the Supreme Court handed down the ***Dred Scott* decision**, which sought to clarify Congress's constitutional authority over slavery. Dred Scott was an enslaved African American who had lived for almost five years with his owner, an army surgeon, in the free state of Illinois and in Wisconsin Territory, both places where the Missouri Compromise (1820) prohibited slavery. Scott argued that residence in a free state and territory had made him free. Buchanan opposed Scott's appeal and, hoping to resolve the slavery controversy, secretly pressured two justices from Pennsylvania to side with their southern colleagues.

Seven of the nine justices declared that Scott was still a slave, but they disagreed on the legal rationale. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney of Maryland, a slave owner himself, wrote the most influential opinion. He declared that Negroes, whether enslaved or free, could not be citizens of the United States; he added, notoriously, that they had "no rights that a white man was bound to respect." Therefore, no African American could sue in federal court — a controversial argument, given that free blacks were citizens in

many northern states. Taney then made two even more radical claims. First, he endorsed John C. Calhoun's argument that the Fifth Amendment, which prohibited "taking" of property without due process, meant that Congress could not prevent southern citizens from moving slave property into the territories. Consequently, the chief justice concluded, the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance and Missouri Compromise that prohibited slavery had *never* been constitutional. Second, Taney declared that Congress could not give to territorial governments any powers that it did not possess, such as the authority to prohibit slavery. Taney thereby endorsed Calhoun's interpretation of popular sovereignty: only when settlers wrote a constitution and requested statehood could they prohibit slavery.

In a single stroke, Taney had declared Republicans' proposals to restrict the expansion of slavery through legislation to be unconstitutional. Republicans could never accept the legitimacy of Taney's constitutional arguments, which indeed had significant flaws. Led by Senator Seward of New York, they accused the chief justice and President Buchanan of participating in the slave power conspiracy.

Buchanan then added fuel to the raging constitutional fire. Ignoring pleas from his advisers, who saw that antislavery residents held a clear majority in Kansas, he refused to allow a popular vote on the proslavery Lecompton constitution and in 1858 strongly urged Congress to admit Kansas as a slave state. Angered by Buchanan's machinations, Stephen Douglas, the most influential Democratic senator and architect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, broke with the president and persuaded Congress to deny Kansas statehood. (Kansas would enter the Union as a free state in 1861.) Still determined to aid the South, Buchanan resumed negotiations to buy Cuba in December 1858. By pursuing an open proslavery agenda — first in *Dred Scott* and then in Kansas and Cuba — Buchanan widened the split in his party and the nation.

The Mormon War The president's policies in the West did nothing to stem the growing controversy. When the United States had acquired Mexico's northern territories in 1848, Salt Lake Mormons had petitioned Congress to create a vast new state, Deseret, stretching from Utah to the Pacific coast. Instead, grudgingly, Congress set up the much smaller Utah Territory in 1850, and President Pierce appointed Mormon leader Brigham Young as governor. Tensions between Mormons and federal authorities simmered in the early 1850s. Pressured by Protestant leaders to end polygamy and angered by Mormons' threat to nullify federal laws, Buchanan dispatched a small army to Utah in 1858. He and other Democrats apparently sought to deflect attention from the slavery question. "I believe," one of the president's advisers wrote him privately, "we can supersede the Negro-Mania with the almost universal excitements of an Anti-Mormon Crusade." Buchanan backed down, however; he decided that forced abolition of polygamy might be a risky precedent for ending slavery, and he offered a pardon to Utah citizens who acknowledged federal authority. The Mormon War ended quietly, turning the nation's attention once again to the question of slavery's expansion.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **Why did Democrats and Whigs fail in their attempts to keep the issue of slavery in the federal territories from creating a sectional rift?**

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why did northern Democratic presidents, such as Pierce and Buchanan, adopt prosouthern policies?

Abraham Lincoln and the Republican Triumph, 1858–1860

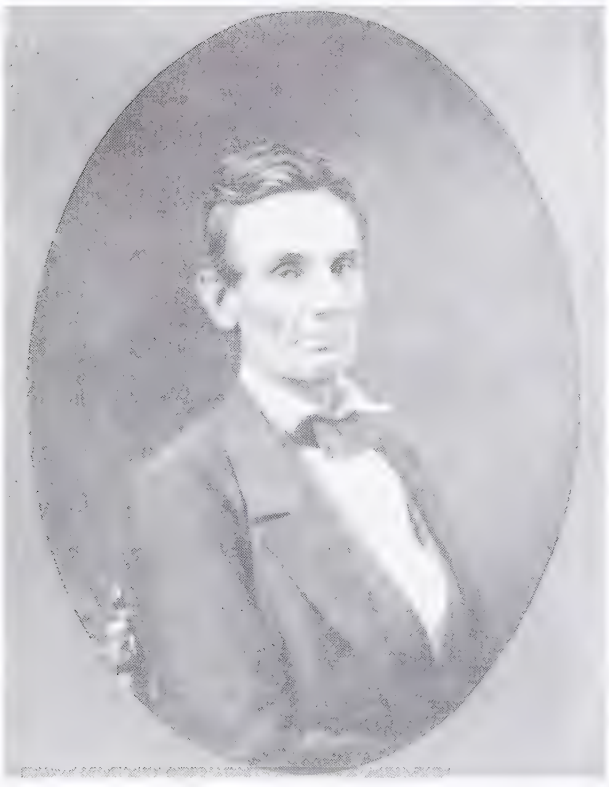
While Democrats divided along sectional lines, Republicans gained support in the North and Midwest, and Abraham Lincoln emerged as one of the party's most eloquent and politically astute candidates. However, few southerners trusted Lincoln, and his presidential candidacy in 1860 revived secessionist agitation.

Lincoln's Political Career

The middle-class world of storekeepers, lawyers, and entrepreneurs in the small towns of the Ohio River Valley shaped Lincoln's early career. He came from a hardscrabble yeoman farm family that was continually on the move — from Kentucky, where Lincoln was born in 1809, to Indiana and then Illinois. In 1831, Lincoln rejected his father's life as a subsistence farmer and became a store clerk in New Salem, Illinois. Socially ambitious, he won entry to the middle class by mastering its culture; he joined the New Salem Debating Society, read Shakespeare, and studied law. Admitted to the bar in 1837, Lincoln moved to Springfield, the new state capital. There he met Mary Todd, the cultured daughter of a Kentucky banker; they married in 1842. Her tastes were aristocratic; his were humble. She was volatile; he was easygoing but suffered bouts of depression that tried her patience and tested his character.

An Ambitious Politician Lincoln became a dexterous party politician, adept in the use of patronage and passage of legislation. As a Whig in the Illinois legislature, he promoted education, banks, canals, and railroads. During his single term in Congress during the U.S.-Mexico War, he took a middle ground by voting for military appropriations but also endorsing the Wilmot Proviso's ban on slavery in any acquired territories. Lincoln also introduced legislation that would require the gradual, compensated emancipation of slaves in the District of Columbia. To avoid future racial strife, he favored the colonization of freed blacks in Africa or South America.

After his defeat in 1848, Lincoln returned to Illinois and focused on his growing law practice representing railroads and manufacturers. The Kansas-Nebraska Act propelled him back into politics as a Republican. Shocked by the act's repeal of the Missouri Compromise and Senator Douglas's advocacy of popular sovereignty, Lincoln reaffirmed his opposition to slavery in the territories. Although he believed Congress had no power under the Constitution to interfere with slavery in states where it already existed, he likened slavery to a cancer that had to be cut out if the nation's republican ideals and moral principles were to endure.



Abraham Lincoln, 1859 Lincoln was not a handsome man, and he photographed poorly. His campaign managers had this photo — and many others — retouched to soften Lincoln's features. However, no photograph, no matter how realistic, captured Lincoln's complex personality and wit or the intensity of his spirit and intellect. To grasp Lincoln, it is necessary to read his words.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates In 1858, Lincoln ran for the U.S. Senate seat held by Douglas. Lincoln claimed that the proslavery Supreme Court might soon declare that the Constitution "does not permit a state to exclude slavery," just as it had decided in *Dred Scott* that "neither Congress nor the territorial legislature" could ban slavery in a territory. In that event, he warned, "we shall awake to the reality . . . that the Supreme Court has made Illinois a slave state." This prospect informed Lincoln's famous House Divided speech. Quoting the biblical adage "A house divided against itself cannot stand," he predicted that American society "cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing, or all the other."

The Senate race in Illinois attracted national interest because of Douglas's prominence and Lincoln's reputation as a formidable speaker. During a series of seven debates, Douglas declared his support for white supremacy: "This government was made by our fathers, by white men for the benefit of white men," he said, attacking Lincoln for supporting "negro equality." Lincoln parried Douglas's racist attacks by arguing that free blacks should have equal economic opportunities but not equal political rights. Taking the offensive, he asked how Douglas could accept the *Dred Scott* decision (which protected slave property in the territories) yet advocate popular sovereignty (which allowed settlers to exclude slavery). Douglas responded that a territory's residents

could exclude slavery by not adopting laws to protect it. That position pleased neither proslavery nor antislavery advocates. Nonetheless, when Democrats won a narrow majority in the state legislature, they reelected Douglas to the U.S. Senate.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why did Lincoln argue the United States could no longer endure "half slave and half free" when it had already done so for several decades?

The Union Under Siege

The debates with Douglas gave Lincoln a national reputation, and in the election of 1858, the Republican Party won control of the U.S. House of Representatives. Shaken by Republicans' advance, southern Democrats divided again. Moderates, who included Senator Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, strongly defended "southern rights" and demanded ironclad political or constitutional protections for slavery. The so-called fire-eaters—powerful orators such as Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina and William Lowndes Yancey of Alabama—repudiated the Union and actively promoted secession. President Buchanan's secessionist secretary of war, John B. Floyd, quietly sold ten thousand federal muskets to South Carolina.

Antislavery northerners likewise took a strong stance. Senator Seward of New York declared that freedom and slavery were locked in "an irrepressible conflict." Ruthless abolitionist John Brown, who had perpetrated the Pottawatomie massacre, showed what that might mean. In October 1859, Brown led eighteen heavily armed black and white men in a raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Brown hoped to arm slaves with the arsenal's weapons and mount a major rebellion to end slavery.

The raid was a failure, and Brown was quickly captured. But though he was a poor military strategist, Brown made an excellent martyr. As Virginia rushed to convict and execute him, the wounded Brown came to the courtroom on a stretcher. From the gallows he declared that the New Testament

> teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. . . . If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country . . . I say, let it be done.

As had happened after the caning of Senator Sumner, onlookers' reactions divided the nation even more than the acts of Brown himself. Southerners were shocked to find that a group of abolitionists—the "Secret Six"—had funded Brown's raid. They were equally outraged to read that northern churchbells tolled on the day of Brown's hanging. "The lesson of the hour is insurrection," thundered abolitionist Wendell Phillips. In Virginia, the *Richmond Enquirer* reported that "the Harpers Ferry invasion has advanced the cause of disunion more than any other event." Republican leaders denounced Brown's plot, but Democrats called it "a natural, logical, inevitable result of the doctrines and teachings of the Republican party." One southern Democratic paper warned that Republicans planned to "put the torch to our dwellings and the knife to our throats."

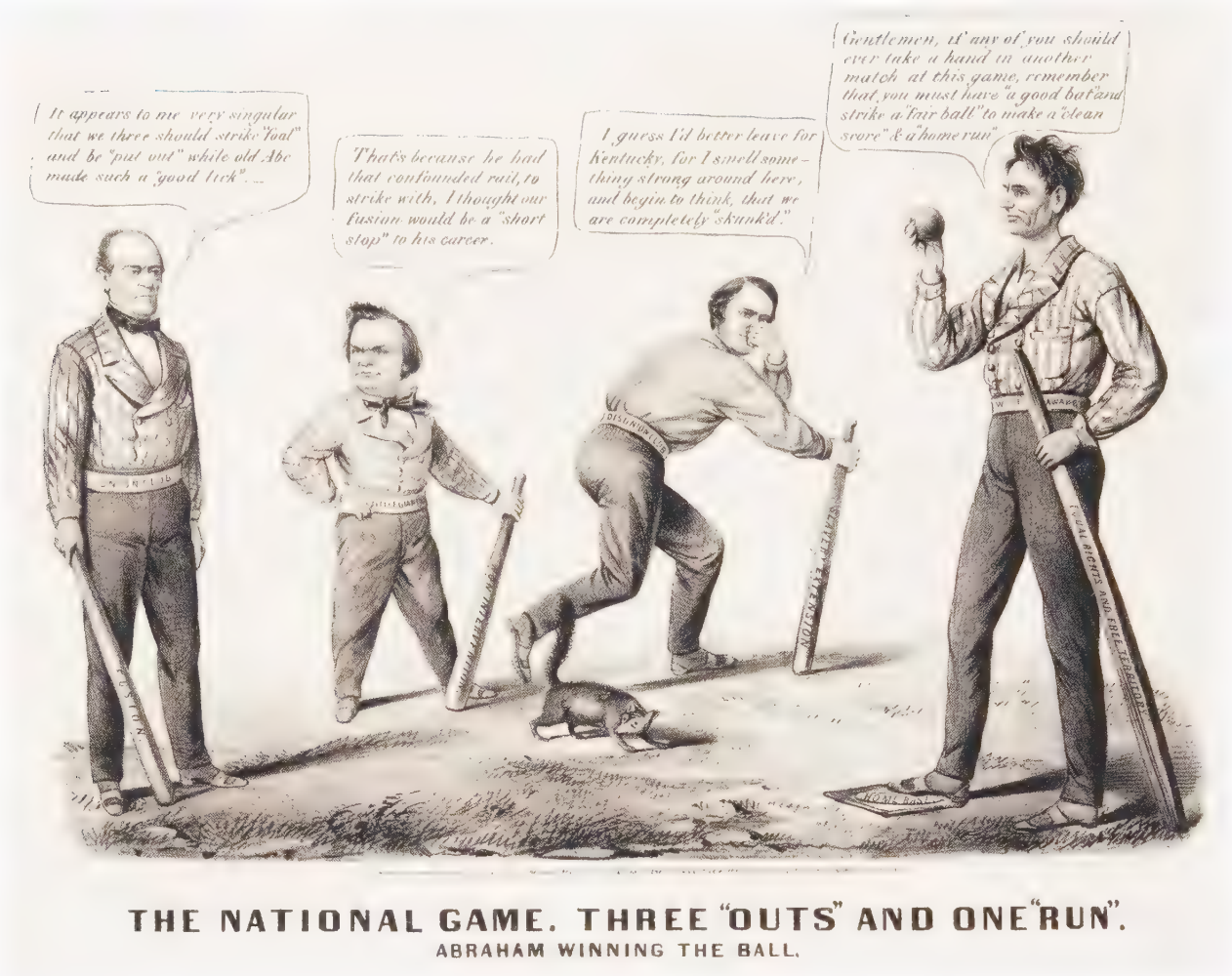
The Election of 1860

Within months, southern Democrats decided they could no longer count on their northern allies. At the party's convention in April 1860, northern Democrats rejected Jefferson Davis's proposal to protect slavery in the territories. Delegates from eight southern states quit the meeting. At a second Democratic convention, northern and midwestern delegates nominated Stephen Douglas for president. Meeting separately, southern Democrats nominated the sitting vice president, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Democrats—the only remaining party with strong bases in both North and South—had split in half.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the election of 1860 on the regional divisions leading to the Civil War.

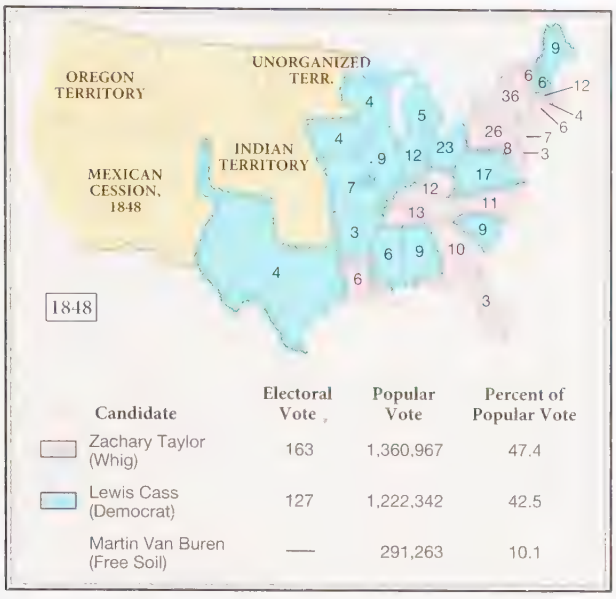
With Democrats divided, Republicans sensed victory. They courted white voters with a free soil platform that opposed both slavery and racial equality: "Missouri for

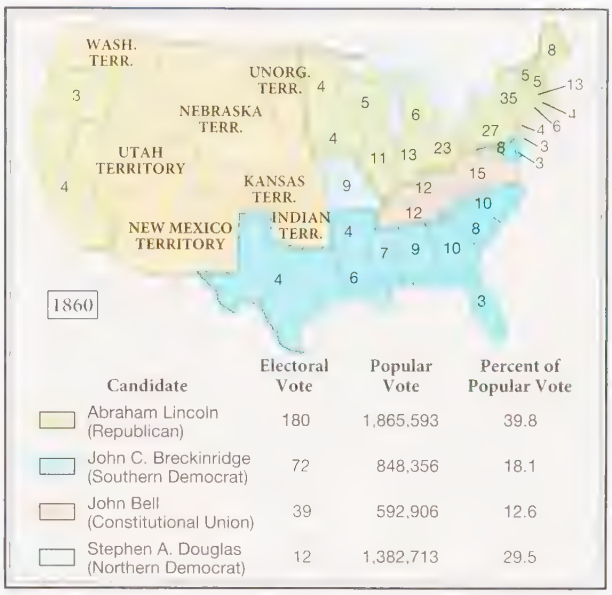

It appears to me very singular that we three should strike "foul" and be "put out" while old Abe made such a "good lick"...
That's because he had that confounded rail, to strike with, I thought our fusion would be a "short stop" to his career.
I guess I'd better leave for Kentucky, for I smell something strong around here, and begin to think, that we are completely "skunk'd".
Gentlemen, if any of you should ever take a hand in another match at this game, remember that you must have "a good bat" and strike a "fair ball" to make a "clean score" & a "home run".
THE NATIONAL GAME. THREE "OUTS" AND ONE "RUN".
ABRAHAM WINNING THE BALL.

Lincoln on Home Base Beginning in the 1820s and 1830s, the language and imagery of sports saturated politics, cutting across the lines of class and party. Wielding a long, bat-like rail labeled "Equal Rights and Free Territory," Abraham Lincoln holds a baseball and appears ready to score a victory in the election. His three opponents — from left to right, John Bell (the candidate of a new Constitutional Union Party), Stephen A. Douglas, and John C. Breckinridge — will soon be "out." Indeed, according to the pro-Lincoln cartoonist, they were about to be "skunk'd." As Douglas laments, their attempt to put a "short stop" to Lincoln's presidential ambitions had failed. Library of Congre

white men and white men for Missouri," declared that state's Republican platform. The national Republican convention chose Lincoln as its presidential candidate because he was more moderate on slavery than the best-known Republicans, Senators William Seward of New York and Salmon Chase of Ohio. Lincoln also conveyed a compelling egalitarian image that appealed to smallholding farmers, wage earners, and midwestern voters.

The Republican strategy worked. Although Lincoln was not on the ballot in any Deep South state, and though he received less than 1 percent of the popular vote in the South and only 40 percent of the national vote, he won every northern and western state except New Jersey, giving him 180 (of 303) electoral votes and thus a majority in the electoral college. Breckinridge took 72 electoral votes by sweeping the Deep South and picking up Delaware, Maryland, and North Carolina. Douglas won 30 percent of the popular ballot but secured only 51 electoral votes, winning in Missouri and New Jersey. Republicans had united voters in the Northeast and Midwest behind free soil. To his surprise, Lincoln also won California and Oregon by the barest of margins, apparently due in part to public outrage over a duel in which a proslavery California Democrat killed an antislavery rival (Map 12.3).


OREGON TERRITORY
UNORGANIZED TERR.
INDIAN TERRITORY
MEXICAN CESSION, 1848
1848
Candidate | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote | Percent of Popular Vote
Zachary Taylor (Whig) | 163 | 1,360,967 | 47.4
Lewis Cass (Democrat) | 127 | 1,222,342 | 42.5
Martin Van Buren (Free Soil) | — | 291,263 | 10.1


WASH. TERR.
UNORG. TERR.
NEBRASKA TERR.
UTAH TERRITORY
KANSAS TERR.
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
INDIAN TERR.
1860
Candidate | Electoral Vote | Popular Vote | Percent of Popular Vote
Abraham Lincoln (Republican) | 180 | 1,865,593 | 39.8
John C. Breckinridge (Southern Democrat) | 72 | 848,356 | 18.1
John Bell (Constitutional Union) | 39 | 592,906 | 12.6
Stephen A. Douglas (Northern Democrat) | 12 | 1,382,713 | 29.5

MAP 12.3 Political Realignment, 1848 and 1860
In the presidential election of 1848, both the Whig and Democratic candidates won electoral votes throughout the nation. Subsequently, the political conflict over slavery and the Compromise of 1850 destroyed the Whig Party in the South. As the only nationwide party, the Democrats won easily over the Whigs in 1852 and, with the opposition split between the Republican and American parties, triumphed in 1856 as well. However, a new region-based party system appeared by 1860 and persisted for the next seventy years — with Democrats dominant in the South and Republicans usually controlling the Northeast, Midwest, and Far West.

A revolution was in the making. "Oh My God!!! This morning heard that Lincoln was elected," Keziah Brevard, a widowed South Carolina plantation mistress and owner of two hundred slaves, scribbled in her diary. "Lord save us." Slavery had long been part of the American constitutional order — an order many southerners now believed was under siege. Fearful of a massive slave uprising, Chief Justice Taney recalled "the horrors of St. Domingo [Haiti]." At the very least, warned John Townsend of South Carolina, a Republican administration in Washington would suppress "the inter-State slave trade" and thereby "cripple this vital Southern institution of slavery." To many slaveholders, it seemed time to think carefully about Lincoln's 1858 statement that the Union must "become all one thing, or all the other."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What factors led to the rise of the Republican Party and Lincoln's election in 1860?

To see a longer excerpt of Keziah Brevard's diary, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What was the relationship between the collapse of the Second Party System and the Republican victory in the election of 1860?

Secession Winter, 1860–1861

Following Lincoln's election, secessionist fervor swept through the Deep South. The Union collapsed first in South Carolina, home of John C. Calhoun and nullification. Robert Barnwell Rhett and other fire-eaters had demanded secession since the Compromise of 1850, and their goal was now within reach. "Our enemies are about to take possession of the Government," warned one South Carolinian. Frightened by that prospect, a state convention voted unanimously on December 20, 1860, to dissolve "the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States."

Fire-eaters elsewhere in the Deep South quickly called similar conventions and organized mobs to attack local Union supporters. In early January, white Mississippians

AP® EXAM TIP

Trace the debates and actions from before the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln that resulted in the secession of southern states.

Alabama Secession Flag In January 1861, a secession convention in Alabama voted to leave the Union and marked its decision by designating this pennant — created by a group of Montgomery women — as its official flag. As in John Gast's *American Progress* (p. 333), the Goddess of Liberty forms the central image. Here she holds a sword and a flag with a single star, symbolizing Alabama's new status as an independent republic. Alabama Department of Archives and History

enacted a secession ordinance. Florida and Louisiana followed, while fierce controversy raged in other states (AP® Analyzing Voices). Holding out to the end of a bitter debate, over a third of delegates to Alabama's secession convention voted to oppose leaving the Union. In early February, Texans ousted Unionist governor Sam Houston, ignoring his warning that "the North . . . will overwhelm the South." Georgia's prosecession governor waited a month before announcing that a secession **referendum** had won by 57 percent; returns were never released, and historians now suspect the vote was much closer and a majority may even have opposed secession.

Nevertheless, when the smoke cleared, the Deep South states had all seceded. In February, jubilant secessionists met in Montgomery, Alabama, to proclaim a new nation, the Confederate States of America. Adopting a provisional constitution, the delegates named Mississippian Jefferson Davis, a former U.S. senator and secretary of war, as the Confederacy's president and Georgia congressman Alexander Stephens as vice president.

Secessionist fervor was less intense in four states of the Upper South (Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas), where there were fewer slaves. White opinion was especially divided in the four border slave states (Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri), where yeomen farmers held greater political power, and over whose ground any resulting civil war would likely be fought. The legislatures of Virginia and Tennessee refused to join the secessionist movement and urged a compromise.

Meanwhile, President Buchanan's administration floundered. Buchanan declared secession illegal but, in line with his states' rights outlook, claimed that the federal government lacked authority to restore the Union by force. Buchanan's timidity prompted South Carolina's new government to demand the surrender of Fort Sumter (a federal garrison in Charleston Harbor) and to cut off its supplies. The president again backed down, refusing to use the navy to supply the fort.

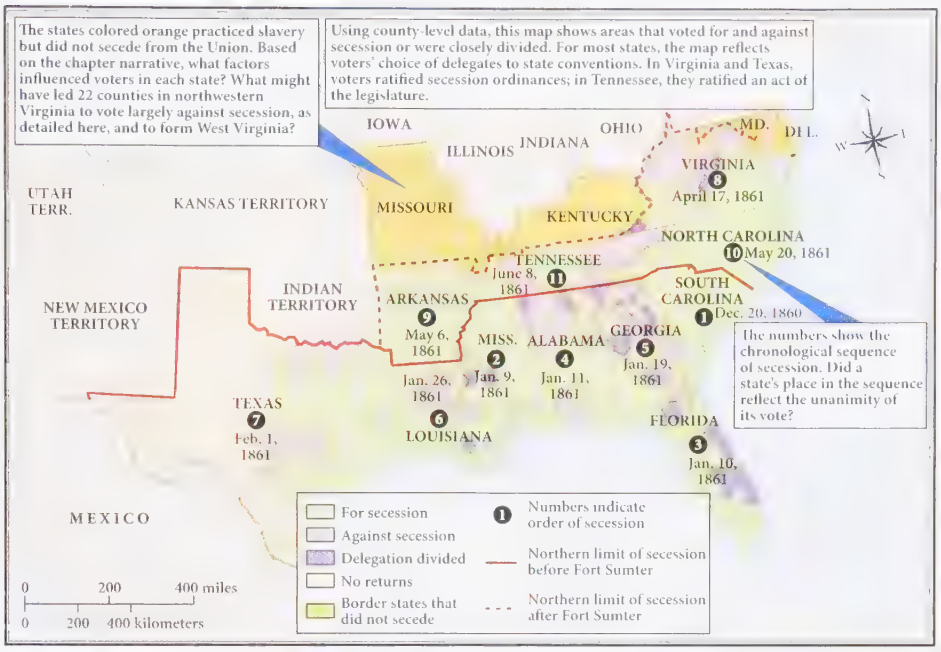
Instead, the outgoing president urged Congress to find a compromise. The plan proposed by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky received the most support. His proposal had two parts. The first, which Congress approved, called for a constitutional amendment to protect slavery from federal interference in any state where it already existed. Crittenden's second provision called for the westward extension of the Missouri Compromise line (36°30′ north latitude) to the California border. The provision would have banned slavery north of the line and allowed it to the south, including any territories "hereafter acquired," raising the prospect of expansion into Cuba or Central America.

Congressional Republicans rejected Crittenden's second proposal on strict instructions from president-elect Lincoln. With good reason, Lincoln feared it would unleash new imperialist adventures. "On the territorial question, I am inflexible," he wrote; restoring the Missouri Compromise line would simply invite southerners to keep "filibustering to expand slavery." In 1787, 1821, and 1850, the North and South had resolved their differences over slavery. In 1861, there would be no compromise.

In his March 1861 inaugural address, Lincoln carefully outlined his positions. He promised to safeguard slavery where it existed but vowed to prevent its expansion. Equally important, the Republican president declared that the Union was "perpetual"; consequently, the secession of the Confederate states was illegal. Lincoln asserted his intention to "hold, occupy, and possess" federal property in the seceded states and "to collect duties and imposts" there. If military force was necessary to preserve the Union, Lincoln — like Democrat Andrew Jackson during the nullification crisis — would use it. The choice was the South's: return to the Union or face war.

The South's decision came quickly (Map 12.4). When Lincoln dispatched an unarmed ship to resupply Fort Sumter, Jefferson Davis and his associates in the Provisional Government of the Confederate States decided to seize the fort. Their forces opened fire on April 12, with ardent fire-eater Edmund Ruffin supposedly firing the first cannon. Two days later, the Union defenders capitulated. On April 15, Lincoln called 75,000 state militiamen into federal service for ninety days to put down an insurrection "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings."

Northerners responded to Lincoln's call to arms with wild enthusiasm. In western Pennsylvania, a group of lumbermen organized themselves into a regiment, built rafts, and floated down to Harrisburg before the state governor had even requested volunteers. Asked to provide thirteen regiments, Republican governor William Dennison of Ohio sent twenty. Most northern Democrats lent their support. Despite his past differences with Lincoln, Stephen Douglas toured the North urging citizens to support the government. "Every man must be for the United States or against it," he declared. "There can be no neutrals in this war, only patriots — or traitors."


The states colored orange practiced slavery but did not secede from the Union. Based on the chapter narrative, what factors influenced voters in each state? What might have led 22 counties in northwestern Virginia to vote largely against secession, as detailed here, and to form West Virginia?
Using county-level data, this map shows areas that voted for and against secession or were closely divided. For most states, the map reflects voters' choice of delegates to state conventions. In Virginia and Texas, voters ratified secession ordinances; in Tennessee, they ratified an act of the legislature.
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
MD.
DEL.
VIRGINIA
8 April 17, 1861
UTAH TERR.
KANSAS TERRITORY
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA
10 May 20, 1861
TENNESSEE
June 8, 1861
11
SOUTH CAROLINA
1 Dec. 20, 1860
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
INDIAN TERRITORY
ARKANSAS
9 May 6, 1861
MISS.
2 Jan. 9, 1861
ALABAMA
4 Jan. 11, 1861
GEORGIA
5 Jan. 19, 1861
Jan. 26, 1861
TEXAS
7 Feb. 1, 1861
6 LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
3 Jan. 10, 1861
The numbers show the chronological sequence of secession. Did a state's place in the sequence reflect the unanimity of its vote?
MEXICO
For secession
Against secession
Delegation divided
No returns
Border states that did not secede
1 Numbers indicate order of secession
Northern limit of secession before Fort Sumter
Northern limit of secession after Fort Sumter
0 200 400 miles
0 200 400 kilometers

MAP 12.4 The Process of Secession, 1860–1861

The states of the Lower South had the highest concentration of slaves, and they led the secessionist movement. After the attack on Fort Sumter in April 1861, the states of the Upper South joined the Confederacy. Yeomen farmers in Tennessee and the backcountry of Alabama, Georgia, and Virginia opposed secession but, except in the future state of West Virginia, initially rallied to the Confederate cause. Consequently, the South entered the Civil War with its white population relatively united.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the different arguments for war in the North and South at the start of the Civil War is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

Voters in the Middle and Border South now faced a new situation: war was imminent. Those eight states accounted for two-thirds of whites in the slaveholding states, three-fourths of their industrial production, and well over half of their food. They were home to many of the nation's best military leaders, including Colonel Robert E. Lee of Virginia, a career officer whom veteran General Winfield Scott recommended to Lincoln to lead the new Union army. Those states were also geographically strategic. Kentucky, with its 500-mile border on the Ohio River, was essential to the movement of troops and supplies. Maryland was vital to the Union's security because it bordered the nation's capital on three sides.

The weight of its history as a slave-owning society decided the outcome in Virginia. On April 17, 1861, a convention approved secession by a vote of 88 to 55, with dissenters concentrated in the state's yeoman-dominated northwestern counties. Elsewhere, Virginia whites embraced the Confederate cause. "The North was the aggressor," declared Richmond lawyer William Poague as he enlisted. "The South resisted her invaders." Refusing General Scott's offer of the Union command, Robert E. Lee resigned from the U.S. Army. "Save in defense of my native state," Lee told Scott, "I never desire again to draw my sword." Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina quickly joined Virginia in the Confederacy.

Whatever their prior views, the citizens of eleven southern states now committed to separate nationhood on a basis already determined by the Deep South. Two weeks after Lincoln's inauguration, the Confederacy's new vice president, Alexander Stephens of Georgia, outlined its goals in his famous "cornerstone" speech. Jefferson and other founders, he wrote, had considered slavery an "evil" — an institution they inherited and

To Secede or Not to Secede?

Across the South, between November 1860 and April 1861, legislators and citizens debated secession. They weighed economic interests and property rights, cultural ties, political loyalties, patriotism, and of course touching on all of these, the question of slavery. In these excerpts three political leaders—a Virginian, Georgian, and Mississippian—explained their positions and tried to influence voters or legislators to heed their warnings.

ALEXANDER STUART

Letter to the *Staunton* (VA) *Spectator*, 1860

Stuart, a Whig from strongly Unionist Augusta County in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, won election as a delegate to the state's secession convention. In an open letter to constituents, published in the *Staunton Spectator*, Stuart argued that Virginia should stay in the Union.

SOURCE: *Staunton Spectator*, January 22, 1861, from "Valley of the Shadow," University of Virginia, http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/.

"Secession . . . is a doctrine of New England origin. It had its birth among the Federalists of that section of the Union, during the war of 1812, and was nurtured in the celebrated Hartford Convention. . . . In my judgment, it is at war with the whole theory of our institutions. . . .

There is no natural antagonism between the Northern and Southern States. On the contrary, each is necessary to the other. They are the complements of each other, and together constitute the most perfect social, industrial and political systems, that the world has ever seen. . . . The South produces what the North wants, but cannot produce; and the North furnishes what the South needs, but cannot supply for itself. . . . The present condition of antagonism and alienation is unnatural. It is not the legitimate result of any conflict of the social and industrial systems of the two sections, but is the work of those 'DESIGNING MEN,' both North and South, against whom Washington so impressively warned us in his farewell address.

It is true that the Northern States, under the lead of such men, have been guilty of gross outrages on the rights of the South, [but] . . . I believe that all our rights can be secured, and all our wrongs most effectually redressed in the Union, and under the Constitution. . . . I have not been able to perceive how we could add to the security of our slave property by surrendering the guarantees of the Constitution, and substantially bringing down the Canada frontier to the borders of Virginia. It would lead to emancipation and probably to emancipation in blood. Nor can I see how we would secure our rights in the [federal] territories by abandoning them. I am equally at a loss to understand how we will establish any of our demands against the Northern States on a firmer basis, by severing our connection with them, and thereby from us, the million and a half of friends we had in those States at the last election. . . .

Should war follow the dissolution, the consequences must be of the most frightful character. Brother would be arrayed against brother, and the whole land would be drenched with blood. The border country would be ravaged and laid waste with fire and sword. . . . Real estate would be depreciated more than 50 per cent; business in all its departments would be paralyzed; credit destroyed; personal property of all kinds impressed for public use; our slaves incited to insurrection; and ruin and desolation would overwhelm the whole country.

. . . The people should weigh these matters well before they decide to embark on the unknown and tempestuous sea of convulsion and revolution. . . ."

ALEXANDER STEPHENS

Address to the Georgia Legislature, 1860

The Georgia legislature undertook a vigorous debate over secession in December 1860. The Unionist address given by prominent Whig congressman Alexander Stephens was noted throughout the South. When Georgia seceded, Stephens nonetheless went with his state and became vice president of the Confederacy.

SOURCE: William W. Freehling and Craig M. Simpson, eds., *Secession Debated: Georgia's Showdown in 1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 51–80.

"It is said that Mr. Lincoln's policy and principles are against the Constitution, and that, if he carries them out, it will be destructive of our rights. Let us not anticipate a threatened evil. If he violates the Constitution, then will come our time to act. Do not let *us* break it, because, forsooth, *he* may. . . . Mr. Lincoln . . . is bound by the practiced reluctantly, believing it "wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically." The new Confederacy, Stephens declared, "is founded upon exactly the opposite idea; its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth."

constitutional checks which are thrown around him, which at this time render him powerless to do any great mischief. This shows the wisdom of our system. The President of the United States is no emperor, no dictator, — he is clothed with no absolute power. He can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress. . . . The gains in the Democratic party in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, New York, Indiana, and other states . . . have been enough to make a majority of nearly thirty in the next House [of Representatives] against Mr. Lincoln. . . . In the Senate he will also be powerless. There will be a majority of four against him. . . .

When I look around and see our prosperity in everything, — agriculture, commerce, art, science, and every department of progress, physical, moral, and mental, — certainly, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to do so. Let us not unwisely yield to this temptation. . . .

If the policy of Mr. Lincoln and his Republican associates shall be carried out, or attempted to be carried out, no man in Georgia will be more willing or ready than myself to defend our rights, interest, and honor at every hazard and to the last extremity. What is this policy? It is, in the first place, to exclude us, by an act of Congress, from the Territories, with our slave property. . . .

It is the duty of the States to deliver fugitive slaves, as well as it is the duty of the General Government to see that it is done. The Northern States, on entering into the Federal compact, pledged themselves to surrender such fugitives. . . . They have violated their plighted faith. What ought we to do in view of this? . . . We are . . . bound, before proceeding to violent measure, to set forth our grievances, . . . to give them an opportunity to redress the wrong. Has our State yet done this? I think not. . . . ”

WILLIAM HARRIS

Address to the Georgia Legislature, 1860

After seceding, several Deep South states appointed "secession commissioners," whose job was to travel to other slaveholding states to encourage them to join the new Confederacy. In the midst of Georgia's debate, William Harris, one of Mississippi's commissioners, made this impassioned plea to the Georgia legislature.

SOURCE: William L. Harris, commissioner from Mississippi, address to the Georgia legislature, December 17, 1860, in Charles B. Dew, *Apostles of Disunion: Southern Secession Commissioners and the Causes of the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001), 83–89.

“ Our fathers made this a government for the white man, rejecting the negro, as an ignorant, inferior, barbarian race, incapable of self-government, and not, therefore, entitled to be associated with the white man upon terms of civil, political, or social equality. This new administration comes into power, under the solemn pledge to overturn and strike down this great feature of our Union . . . and to substitute in its stead their new theory of the universal equality of the black and white races.

Our fathers secured to us, by our Constitutional Union, now being overturned by this Black Republican rule, protection to life, liberty, and property, *all over the Union*. . . . Our Constitution, in unmistakable language, guarantees the return of our fugitive slaves. Congress has recognized her duty in this respect, by enacting proper laws for the enforcement of this right. And yet these laws have been continually nullified. . . .

Mississippi is firmly convinced that there is but one alternative: This *new union* with Lincoln Black Republicans and free negroes, without slavery; or slavery under our old constitutional bond of union, without Lincoln Black Republicans, or free negroes either, to molest us. . . . [For] the latter, then *secession* is inevitable.

. . . Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, the part of Mississippi is chosen. She will never submit to the principles and policy of this Black Republican Administration. She had rather see the last of her race, men, women and children, immolated in one common funeral pyre, than see them subjected to the degradation of civil, political and social equality with the negro race. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. All of the authors quoted here were well-to-do southern men who owned slaves. Based on their arguments, what appeared to motivate some of them to advocate secession while others did not?
2. Who was the intended audience for each of these documents? How might that have affected each document's argument, language, and tone?
3. Stuart and Stevens both suggest that, through further negotiations with the Lincoln administration and Congress, a compromise might be reached that would avoid armed conflict. What specific guarantees from Lincoln and Congress does each demand? Based on your reading of this chapter, what might have been the outcome of such negotiations?

For millions of loyal Unionists outside the South, secession and the Confederate attack on Fort Sumter automatically meant war. Yet on both sides, few Americans understood what the next four years would bring. At first many thought the South would back down and return to the Union if Republicans stood firm. Republican congressman Thaddeus Stevens scoffed, "They have tried it fifty times, and fifty times they have found weak and recreant tremblers in the north." If war came, northerners were

confident of their superior numbers and power. For their part, southerners argued that cotton was "King" and would give them extraordinary economic and political leverage, including likely aid from Britain and France. Many southerners also claimed that "the Yankees are cowards and will not fight," as one put it. A South Carolina congressman promised to drink all the blood that would be shed as a result of the Confederacy's founding.

But others expected something different. When Fort Sumter fell, a former army officer and banker named William Tecumseh Sherman was serving as superintendent of a military school in Louisiana. Upon hearing that Lincoln had called up 75,000 troops for three months, Sherman was sure it would not be enough: "You might as well attempt to put out the flames of a burning house with a squirt-gun." He left Louisiana and rejoined the U.S. Army. As volunteers began to mobilize, an enslaved woman in Mississippi named Dora Franks overheard a conversation between her master and his wife: "He feared all the slaves 'ud be took away. She say if dat was true she feel lak jumpin' in de well." Franks added, "I hate to hear her say dat, but from dat minute I started prayin' for freedom."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS After South Carolina's secession, why were Unionists and Confederates unable to avoid war?

SUMMARY

U.S. victory in the U.S.-Mexico War set off bitter political conflicts over whether Congress could or should allow slavery in lands taken from Mexico. Some northerners, both Democrats and Whigs, opposed slavery in the new territories. Southern Democrats responded angrily, claiming the constitutional right to carry slave property into all U.S. territories. Senior congressmen engineered the Compromise of 1850, hoping to placate all sides. But this series of bills, which included a controversial new Fugitive Slave Act, settled little.

The discovery of gold led to rapid settlement of California; though few got rich, an array of gold-seekers pushed out Mexican landholders and waged a war of extermination on Native peoples. Abolitionist sentiment grew; even more broadly popular was the free soil movement, which by 1848 became a political party advocating that western lands be reserved for free white families. As antislavery activists protested the injustice of the Fugitive Slave Act, and with evidence emerging that southerners were working to annex slave Cuba, abolitionists began to warn that southern Democrats' "slave power" conspiracy controlled federal power. In response, some radical southerners began to advocate secession.

Northern Democratic efforts to implement popular sovereignty in the territories, through the Kansas-Nebraska Act, proved disastrous: increasing violence in Kansas led coalitions of former Democrats, Whigs, and Free Soilers in the North to form the Republican Party. Amid massive immigration from Ireland, it appeared for a while that nativism might eclipse slavery as a key national issue. But by 1856 the Republican Party emerged as the main challenger to Democrats in the North. In 1860 the Democratic Party also fragmented on sectional lines, leading to a four-way race in which Republican Abraham Lincoln emerged victorious. South Carolina seceded almost immediately, arguing that southern slavery could no longer be protected in the Union. Though thousands of white southerners opposed secession, majorities in the Deep South voted to leave the Union. After Confederate forces fired on federal Fort Sumter, Lincoln called up troops to suppress rebellion. Four more states in the Upper South then seceded, leading by April 1861 to civil war.

CHAPTER 12 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What political conflicts were triggered by U.S. acquisition of lands in the U.S.-Mexico War?
2. Why did Democrats and Whigs fail in their attempts to keep the issue of slavery in the federal territories from creating a sectional rift?
3. What factors led to the rise of the Republican Party and Lincoln's election in 1860?
4. After South Carolina's secession, why were Unionists and Confederates unable to avoid war?
5. Chapter 12 revisits the years between 1844 and 1848, which have already been explored in earlier chapters. Review the timelines in Part 4 (pp. 236–237) and Part 5 (pp. 364–365), and consider what events occurred in those years. Why do you think they were included in both Parts 4 and 5? If you were making your own timeline of the events and trends that led to the Civil War, would you begin in 1844, 1848, or another date? What causes of sectional crisis would your timeline emphasize?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Mexican cession (p. 366)
conscience Whigs (p. 368)
Wilmot Proviso (p. 368)
"slave power" conspiracy (p. 369)
free soil movement (p. 370)
Foreign Miner's Tax (p. 372)
popular sovereignty (p. 374)
Compromise of 1850 (p. 375)
personal liberty laws (p. 377)
Treaty of Kanagawa (p. 378)
filibustering (p. 378)
Ostend Manifesto (p. 379)
chain migration (p. 380)
nativism (p. 381)
American, or Know-Nothing, Party (p. 384)
Kansas-Nebraska Act (p. 384)
***Dred Scott* decision** (p. 386)

Key People

Lewis Cass (p. 370)
Stephen Douglas (p. 374)
Harriet Beecher Stowe (p. 377)
Justice Roger B. Taney (p. 377)
William Walker (p. 379)
Abraham Lincoln (p. 384)
John Brown (p. 385)

Key Academic Terms

abrogate (p. 374)
munition (p. 375)
affidavit (p. 377)
trope (p. 377)
magnate (p. 379)
pestilence (p. 380)
galvanize (p. 385)
referendum (p. 392)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Compare the political realignment of the 1850s with the decline of the Federalists and the first emergence of mass political parties in the 1820s (Chapter 9). Why did well-established parties fragment and disappear, and how did new ones capture the support of millions of voters?
2. The United States had been a nation of immigrants since its founding — and long before. In comparison with earlier periods you have studied, what new factors caused a strong nativist movement to emerge suddenly in the 1850s?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 368 for help in answering the questions below.

1. At the beginning of the 1850s, despite sectional tensions, almost no one in the United States expected a civil war between the North and South to result. What events in the 1850s made southern secession and civil war more likely? Which may have constituted a "tipping point" after which secession and war were difficult, if not impossible, to avoid?
2. Some historians view the Civil War as a crisis brewed in Washington, D.C., by politicians who made provocative or dangerous decisions. Others argue that the war's causes emerged from broader conflicts in American economy, society, and culture. In the Chapter Chronology, what evidence do you see for each of these views?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–2 refer to the 1850 advertisement below.

A NEW AND MAGNIFICENT CLIPPER FOR SAN FRANCISCO.
MERCHANTS' EXPRESS LINE OF CLIPPER SHIPS!
Loading none but First-Class Vessels and Regularly Dispatching the greatest number.
CALIFORNIA
HENRY BARBER, Commander, AT PIER 13 EAST RIVER
RANDOLPH M. COOLEY, 88 Wall Street, Tontine Building

Pictorial Press Ltd/Alamy

1. The sentiments expressed in the advertisement are best understood in the context of which ideology?
   a. Free soil
   b. Market Revolution
   c. States' rights
   d. Nativism
2. By the early 1850s, all of the following had resulted from migration to California EXCEPT
   a. increased international immigration to the United States.
   b. growing debate over the extension of slavery in the territories.
   c. expanded interest in trade and relations with Asia.
   d. substantial growth in manufacturing in the West.

Questions 3–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "[I]t is the opinion of the court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is . . . void, and that neither Dred Scott himself nor any of his family were made free by being carried into this territory, even if they had been carried there by the owner with the intention of becoming a permanent resident."
>
> *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, March 1857

3. The reasoning in the case is most similar to which prior Supreme Court precedent?
   a. The power to determine the meaning of the Constitution established in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803)
   b. The supremacy of federal legislation over state legislation established in *McCullough v. Maryland* (1819)
   c. The sanctity of contracts established in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819)
   d. The authority of federal government to regulate interstate commerce established in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824)
4. The Supreme Court ruling in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* most thoroughly contradicted the provisions of the
   a. Missouri Compromise (1820).
   b. Compromise of 1850.
   c. Fugitive Slave Act (1850).
   d. Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854).
5. The Supreme Court's decision led to
   a. accelerating westward migration.
   b. increasing conflict with American Indian nations.
   c. deepening divisions between the North and South.
   d. strengthening the Second Party System.
6. Which of the following most directly changed the legal status of African Americans established by the Supreme Court's *Dred Scott v Sandford* decision?
   a. Emancipation Proclamation (1862)
   b. Thirteenth Amendment (1865)
   c. Fourteenth Amendment (1868)
   d. Fifteenth Amendment (1870)

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

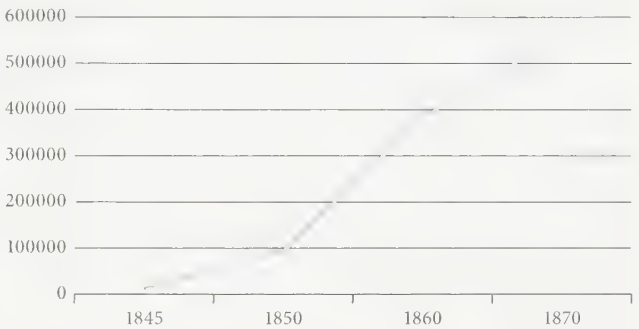
"It took more than twenty years of experimentation and adaptation with wind mills, dry-farming, and new drought-resisting feed crops for the cotton farmer to conquer the plains. There is little reason to believe that the conquest could have been effected earlier [than the 1880s]; there is even less basis for belief that the region would ever have been filled with plantations and slaves. . . . [I]t is likely that the institution of slavery would have declined toward extinction in the Old South before the cotton conquest of the plains could have been accomplished, even had there been no Civil War."

Charles W. Ramsdell, "The Natural Limits of Slavery Expansion," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 16 (September 1929): 157

"[Scholars have] done much to dispel the myth that the West was a landscape of liberty. . . . [They have] demonstrated how the region's vast geography and seemingly limitless opportunities restricted rather than enhanced workers' freedom. Reliant on employers and labor contractors to move them to and across the West's wide-open spaces, immigrant workers often became enmeshed in debt peonage and contract labor. . . . [Historians] have documented the journeys of slaves to the goldfields, California's systems of forced Indian labor, the lives of Chinese women bound in the sex trade, and the debates over imagined Chinese 'coolie' slavery on the Pacific coast. . . . [T]he idea that western environments, economies, or social structures were somehow incompatible with bound labor is gradually losing its force."

Stacey L. Smith, *Freedom's Frontier: California and the Struggle over Unfree Labor, Emancipation, and Reconstruction*, 2013

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Ramsdell's and Smith's historical interpretations of the nineteenth century in the West.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1844 to 1861 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Ramsdell's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1844 to 1861 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Smith's interpretation.



Population in California (Nonnative Americans)

2. Using the graph above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that caused the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect on national politics of the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect within California of the change illustrated in the graph.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between the free soil and abolitionist movements from the period 1844 to 1860.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between the free soil and abolitionist movements from the period 1844 to 1860.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of EITHER the free soil OR abolitionist movement from the period 1844 to 1860.

CHAPTER 13

Bloody Ground: The Civil War

1861–1865

War Begins, 1861–1862

Early Expectations

Campaigns East and West

Antietam and Its Consequences

Toward "Hard War," 1863

Politics North and South

The Impact of Emancipation

Citizens and the Work of War

Vicksburg and Gettysburg

The Road to Union Victory, 1864–1865

Grant and Sherman Take Command

The Election of 1864 and Sherman's March

The Confederacy Collapses

The World the War Made

AP LEARNING FOCUS

How and why did the Union win the Civil War?

In February 1865, as U.S. troops under General William Tecumseh Sherman completed their destructive march through Georgia and crossed into South Carolina, their pace quickened. They were approaching the state capital, Columbia, where four years earlier South Carolina legislators had passed the ordinance of secession. "Hail Columbia, happy land," some of the soldiers sang, "If we don't burn you, I'll be damned." "The whole army," wrote Sherman, "is burning with an insatiable desire to wreak vengeance upon South Carolina. I almost tremble at her fate, but feel that she deserves all that seems in store for her."

As the Union army approached, many white residents of Columbia fled. Terrified of slave revolt, others set up a new whipping post in town, where one enslaved man received a hundred lashes for communicating with federal prisoners held nearby. Local officials dithered: one wanted to defend Columbia house by house, but at the last moment Confederate commanders abandoned the city. Even before Sherman arrived, looting began. Things got worse when arriving Union soldiers discovered 120 barrels of whiskey. One regiment entered the capitol building, voted to revoke secession, and plundered trophies from the senate chamber. More sober soldiers remembered being greeted with glares and curses from whites and shouts of "God bless you" from African Americans. One woman, freed from slavery, gave birth three days later to a son she named Liberty Sherman.

The Union army destroyed all targets of military importance in the city—warehouses, rail stations, machinery. Stacks of cotton bales left on the streets caught fire, and a stiff breeze carried the flames from house to house. One well-dressed southern lady managed to locate Lt. Col. Jeremiah Jenkins, the Union provost marshal, as he hurried around trying to stamp out fires. She begged him to protect her home, but Jenkins replied, "The women of the South kept the war alive—and it is only by making them suffer that we can subdue the men."

The burning of Columbia showed that the Civil War unfolded in ways no one expected at the start. In 1861 both Unionists and Confederates had believed they were embarking on a quick and limited conflict. Each side argued they would quickly win. Both proved wrong. Such is often the case at the outset of wars that become long, agonizing, and terrible, and the Civil War was no exception. As each side hung on fiercely, determined to win, the scale of conflict escalated on battlefields and home fronts. The result, in President Lincoln's words, was "fundamental and astounding": unprecedented political and civilian mobilization; hundreds of thousands dead; the Confederacy's crushing defeat; and the end of slavery.

Ruins of Richmond A street scene in Richmond, Virginia, capital of the Confederacy, in 1865. The women's black dresses indicate that they have recently lost husbands, sons, or other close relatives. On the left, the camera's long exposure caught the ghostly image of a man walking by — possibly a veteran in Confederate gray. The Granger Collection, New York

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1861
- General Butler declares refugee slaves "contraband of war" (May)
- Confederates win First Battle of Bull Run (July 21)
- First Confiscation Act (August)
- West Virginia created and remains with the Union (October)
- U.S. Sanitary Commission formed

1862
- Legal Tender Act authorizes greenbacks (February)
- Confederate Far West campaign turned back at Glorieta Pass (March)
- Union victory at Pea Ridge, Arkansas (March)
- Union victory at Shiloh (April 6–7)
- Confederacy introduces military draft (April)
- Union halts Confederates at Antietam (September 17)
- Explosion kills munitions workers in Pittsburgh (September 17)
- Lincoln issues preliminary emancipation proclamation (September 22)

1863
- Britain and France refuse recognition to the Confederacy; Britain impounds Confederate ships being built in British shipyards
- Lincoln signs final Emancipation Proclamation (January 1)
- Union wins battles at Gettysburg (July 1–3) and Vicksburg (July 4)
- Union initiates draft (March), sparking riots in New York City (July)
- Women's rights activists form Woman's Loyal National League
- Lincoln delivers Gettysburg Address (November)

1864
- Ulysses S. Grant named commander of all Union forces (March)
- William Tecumseh Sherman takes Atlanta (September 2)
- Lincoln reelected (November 8)
- Sherman's army devastates Georgia and South Carolina

1865
- Robert E. Lee surrenders to Grant (April 9)
- Lincoln assassinated (April 14)
- Thirteenth Amendment ratified (December 6)

War Begins, 1861–1862

With hindsight we know that the Civil War lasted four years, the Union won, and the war abolished slavery. But if any of these outcomes had been apparent in 1861, the South would not likely have seceded. Southern leaders banked on cotton's centrality to the national and world economy in achieving Confederate independence. They viewed slavery as an asset to the war effort and argued that southern soldiers would be braver and more effective than northern immigrants and urban workers, whom one disdainfully referred to as "mongrel hordes of Yankees." Events on the battlefield, however, proved neither quick nor decisive. By fall 1862, both the Union and the Confederacy were forced to adopt new military and political strategies.

Early Expectations

In 1861, patriotic fervor filled both Union and Confederate armies with eager young volunteers. One Union recruit wrote that "if a fellow wants to go with a girl now he had better enlist. The girls sing 'I am bound to be a Soldier's Wife or Die an Old Maid.'" Even men of sober minds joined up. "I don't think a young man ever went over all the considerations more carefully than I did," reflected William Saxton of Cincinnatus, New York. "It might mean sickness, wounds, loss of limb, and even life itself. . . . But my country was in danger." The southern call for volunteers was even more successful, thanks to the region's strong military tradition and culture of masculine honor. Confederate soldiers emphasized their duty to protect hearth and home as well as northerners' opposition to slavery. If it had not been for "Psalm singing 'brethren' and 'sistern' . . . preaching abolitionism from every northern pulpit," one Alabama infantryman wrote to his wife, "I would never have been soldiering."

Speaking as provisional president of the Confederacy in April 1861, Jefferson Davis identified the Confederate cause with that of Patriots in 1776: like their grandfathers, white southerners were fighting for the "sacred right of self-government." That right included slaveholding. Secessionists did not believe Lincoln when he promised not to interfere "directly or indirectly . . . with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists." Soon, one southern senator warned, "cohorts of Federal office-holders,

Abolitionists, may be sent into [our] midst" to encourage slave revolts of the kind John Brown had attempted. Slave rebellion raised the prospect of racial mixture, or amalgamation — by which, of course, white southerners meant sexual relations between white *women* and black *men*, given that white masters had already fathered untold thousands of children by enslaved black women. "Better, far better! [to] endure all horrors of civil war," insisted a Confederate recruit, "than to see the dusky sons of Ham leading the fair daughters of the South to the altar." To preserve black subordination and white supremacy, radical southerners chose the dangerous enterprise of secession.

Lincoln responded in a speech to Congress on July 4, 1861, portraying secession as an attack on representative government, America's great contribution to world history. The issue, Lincoln declared, was "whether a constitutional republic" had the will and means to "maintain its territorial integrity against a domestic foe." Living in a world still ruled by monarchies, northern leaders believed that the collapse of the American Union would destroy the possibility of republican governments.

Officers of the 57th Georgia Infantry, CSA, and Their Cook These Confederate officers posed for their portrait while serving with the Army of Tennessee in 1863. First Lieutenant Archibald McKinley and Captain John Richard Bonner smoke pipes and display their swords; Second Lieutenant William S. Stetson holds up his cup. Scott, who is serving Stetson from a flask, was enslaved. Thousands of African American slaves went with Confederate troops to dig trenches, cook, and otherwise help with the hard work of war. Many were eager to go — in some cases because service at the front provided opportunities for escape to Union lines. GCSU Library Special Collection

Campaigns East and West

Confederates had the advantage of defense: they only needed to preserve their new national boundaries to achieve independence. Moreover, with 9 million people, the Confederacy could mobilize enormous armies. Enslaved blacks, one-third of the population, produced food for the army and raw cotton for export. Southerners counted on sales of **King Cotton** — the leading American export and an essential global commodity — to purchase clothes, boots, blankets, and weapons from abroad. Confederate leaders believed Britain and France, with their large textile industries, were too dependent on cotton not to recognize and assist the Confederacy. Their hopes were boosted in November 1861 when a hot-headed U.S. naval captain intercepted a British steamer, the *Trent*, to seize and detain two Confederate diplomats en route from Cuba to London. The incident nearly precipitated war between the United States and Britain, until the Lincoln administration wisely released the prisoners and the crisis subsided.

In contrast to the Confederacy's defensive stance, the Union had the more difficult job of bringing the rebels back into the Union. U.S. commanding general Winfield Scott proposed a strategy of peaceful persuasion through economic sanctions, combined with a naval blockade of southern ports. Lincoln agreed to the blockade, which was organized with impressive efficiency through the navy's purchase and charter of merchant vessels. By the start of 1862, over 260 ships were on blockade duty and another 100 under construction. But Lincoln, determined to crush the rebellion, insisted also on an aggressive military campaign to restore the Union.

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the impact of the South's early advantages on the Civil War from 1861–1863.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Failed Attempts to Take Richmond and Washington Lincoln hoped a quick strike against the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia, would end the rebellion. Many northerners were equally optimistic. "What a picnic," thought one New York volunteer, "to go down South for three months and clean up the whole business." In July 1861, Lincoln ordered General Irvin McDowell's army of 30,000 men to attack General P. G. T. Beauregard's force of 20,000 troops at Manassas (Bull Run), a Virginia rail junction 30 miles southwest of Washington. McDowell launched a strong assault near Bull Run, but panic swept his troops when the Confederate soldiers counterattacked, shouting the hair-raising "rebel yell." McDowell's troops — and many civilians who had come to observe the battle — retreated in disarray. Suddenly, Washington, D.C.,

seemed threatened, the first of several times during the war that federal officials and residents made preparations to flee.

The Confederate victory at Bull Run showed the rebellion's strength. Lincoln replaced McDowell with General George McClellan and enlisted a million men to serve for three years in the new Army of the Potomac. A cautious military engineer, McClellan spent the winter of 1861–1862 training the recruits and launched his first major offensive in March 1862. With great logistical skill, the Union general ferried 100,000 troops down the Potomac River to the Chesapeake Bay and landed them on the peninsula between the York and James Rivers (Map 13.1). Ignoring Lincoln's advice to "strike a blow" quickly, McClellan advanced slowly toward Richmond, allowing Confederates to mount a counterstrike. Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson marched a Confederate force rapidly northward through the Shenandoah Valley in western Virginia and threatened Washington. When Lincoln recalled 30,000 troops from McClellan's army to protect the Union capital, Jackson returned quickly to Richmond to bolster General Robert E. Lee's army. In late June, Lee launched a ferocious six-day attack that cost 20,000 casualties to the Union's 10,000. When McClellan failed to exploit the Confederates' losses, Lincoln ordered a withdrawal. Richmond remained secure.

Border Wars In addition to taking the Confederate capital, Lincoln's second major goal was to hold on to strategic border areas where relatively few whites owned slaves. To secure the railroad connecting Washington to the Ohio River Valley, Lincoln ordered General McClellan to take control of northwestern Virginia. In October 1861, Unionist-leaning voters in that area chose overwhelmingly to create a breakaway territory, West Virginia. Unwilling to "cut our own throats merely to sustain . . . a most unwarrantable rebellion," as one put it, West Virginians formed their own state in 1863. Unionists also carried the day in Delaware.

In Maryland, where slavery remained entrenched, a pro-Confederate mob attacked Massachusetts troops traveling through Baltimore in late April 1861, causing some of the war's first combat deaths: three soldiers and nine civilians. When Maryland secessionists destroyed railroad bridges and telegraph lines, Lincoln ordered Union troops to occupy the state and arrest Confederate sympathizers, including legislators, releasing them only in November 1861, after Unionists had secured control of Maryland's government. Lincoln's actions provoked bitter debate over this suspension of **habeas corpus** — a legal instrument that protects citizens from arbitrary arrest. The president's opponents pointed to Article I, Section 9 of the U.S. Constitution, which states that "the privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended"; Lincoln argued that the same clause continues, "unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it." To ardent Unionists, a rebellion was clearly under way. Lincoln continued to use occasional habeas corpus suspensions throughout the war when he deemed them essential; Republicans and Democrats continued to disagree bitterly over his actions.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the goals and impact of expansion of executive power during the Civil War.

In Kentucky, where secessionist and Unionist sentiment was evenly balanced, Lincoln moved cautiously. He allowed Kentucky's thriving trade with the Confederacy to continue until August 1861, when Unionists took over the state government. After the Confederacy unwisely responded to the trade cutoff by invading Kentucky in September, Illinois volunteers commanded by Ulysses S. Grant drove them out, and Kentucky public opinion swung against the Confederacy. Mixing military force with political persuasion, Lincoln had kept three border states (Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky) and the northwestern portion of Virginia in the Union.

But how far west did "border regions" extend? As the territorial conflicts of the 1850s had revealed, the answer was not clear. Lincoln's election roused deep suspicion among many westerners, from Utah Mormons — whom Republicans had alienated by seeking to abolish polygamy — to gold-rush Californians, nearly 40 percent of whom were southern-born. In Oregon, a former U.S. senator praised the "gallant South" and

In September 1862, Union forces halted the Confederate invasion of Maryland with victories at South Mountain and Antietam (11 and 12).
11 South Mountain Sept. 14, 1862
12 Antietam Sept. 17, 1862
Frederick
Harpers Ferry
MARYLAND
Baltimore
WEST VIRGINIA (1863)
5 Winchester May 25, 1862
Potomac R.
Washington, D.C.
The only major battle of 1861 — Bull Run — took place about 30 miles southwest of the Union's capital. It left both armies in disarray.
To relieve pressure on Richmond, Confederate troops under General Stonewall Jackson made a run up the Shenandoah Valley, threatening Washington (4, 5, and 7).
Shenandoah R.
BLUE RIDGE MTS.
1 Bull Run July 21, 1861
Aug. 29–30, 1862
10
McDowell 4 May 8, 1862
Cross Keys June 8, 1862
7
Cedar Mt. Aug. 9, 1862
9
13 Fredericksburg Dec. 13, 1862
At Fredericksburg (13) in December 1862, Confederate forces repulsed another Union thrust into the heart of Virginia.
The Peninsular Campaign (2 and 3; 6 and 8) began in May 1862 as an attempt by the Union armies to take Richmond by moving up the peninsula between the James and York rivers.
Rappahannock R.
Assisted by Jackson's attacks, Lee repulsed the Union assault on Richmond and then advanced toward Washington. After another Confederate victory in the Second Battle of Bull Run (10) in August 1862, Lee's army moved into Maryland.
Fair Oaks 6 May 31–June 1, 1862
VIRGINIA
Richmond
8 Seven Days June 25–July 1, 1862
York R.
James R.
3 Williamsburg May 5, 1862
2 Siege of Yorktown Apr. 5–May 4, 1862
Ft. Monroe
N
W
E
S
0 20 40 miles
0 20 40 kilometers
Union Movements
McDowell
McClellan
Frémont
Banks
Shields
Pope
Burnside
Union victory
Confederate Movements
Johnston
Holmes
Jackson
Lee
Confederate victory
Railroad
1 Sequence of battles
To help you to follow the sequence of the major battles of the eastern campaigns of 1862, each battle is dated and its place in the chronology denoted by a number in a circle.

MAP 13.1 The Eastern Campaigns of 1862

Many of the great battles of the Civil War took place in the 125 miles separating the Union capital, Washington, D.C., and the Confederate capital, Richmond, Virginia. During 1862, Confederate generals Thomas Jonathan "Stonewall" Jackson and Robert E. Lee won battles that defended the Confederate capital (3, 6, 8, and 13) and launched offensive strikes against Union forces guarding Washington (1, 4, 5, 7, 9, and 10). They also suffered a defeat — at Antietam (12), in Maryland — that was almost fatal to the Confederate cause. As was often the case in the Civil War, the victors in these battles were either too bloodied or too timid to exploit their advantage.

claimed that "the Republican Party will have war enough at home." In Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), many slave-owning Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Cherokees cast their lot with the Confederacy, hoping to secure more autonomy than the Union had allowed them. Thus, the war bitterly divided Native peoples in Indian Territory. It was a Confederate Cherokee, General Stand Watie, who became the war's highest-ranking Native American.

Meanwhile, Texas coveted New Mexico, and enterprising Confederates argued that they could bolster their economy if they captured the gold mines of Colorado,

MAP 13.2 The Western Campaigns, 1861–1862
As the Civil War intensified in 1862, Union and Confederate military and naval forces sought control of the great valleys of the Ohio, Tennessee, and Mississippi rivers, as well as the trans-Mississippi west. In fall 1861, a Confederate force marched west from Texas, hoping to seize the rich mining areas of Nevada and Colorado, but they were turned back in March 1862 at the Battle of Glorieta Pass. From February through April 1862, Union armies moved south through western Tennessee. By the end of June, Union naval forces controlled the Mississippi River north of Memphis and from the Gulf of Mexico to Vicksburg. These military and naval victories gave the Union control of crucial transportation routes, kept Missouri in the Union, and carried the war to the borders of the states of the Lower South.

seized Nevada's fabulously rich Comstock silver lode, and perhaps even took San Francisco. In autumn 1861, therefore, an expedition of 3,500 Texans marched west and succeeded in capturing Albuquerque and Santa Fe. But the following March, as the Confederates headed north, Union forces turned them back at the Battle of Glorieta Pass (Map 13.2). Henceforth Union control of the Far West remained secure. Among the victorious troops were Colorado volunteers whose massacre of friendly Cheyennes at Sand Creek, soon after, embroiled the West in a new round of Indian wars (Chapter 15).

Union Gunboats on the Mississippi Steam-powered ironclad gunboats played a key role in the Union war effort, as in the scene depicted here, of the bombardment and capture of Island Number 10, near the far northwest corner of Tennessee, in April 1862. By July 1863 the Union controlled the entire Mississippi River, dividing the Confederacy in two. The Confederate government also built gunboats and eventually deployed a tiny submarine, pointing toward ominous new developments in the technology of destruction. This Currier & Ives lithograph enabled supporters of the Union effort to follow the war's progress. [illegible]

The Struggle to Control the Mississippi Union commanders in Tennessee also won key victories, dividing the Confederacy and reducing the mobility of its armies. Because Kentucky did not join the rebellion, the Union already dominated the Ohio River Valley. In February 1862, the Union army used an innovative tactic to extend control to the south and west. General Grant used riverboats clad with iron plates to capture Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River and Fort Henry on the Tennessee River. When Grant moved south to seize critical railroad lines, Confederate troops led by Albert Sidney Johnston and P. G. T. Beauregard caught his army by surprise near a small log church at Shiloh, Tennessee. However, Grant relentlessly committed troops and forced a Confederate withdrawal.

When it ended on April 7, the Battle of Shiloh left 20,000 men dead or wounded — a shocking total, larger than most of the war's prior battles combined. A Tennessee private wrote of hearing the cries of "the wounded begging piteously for help," while Grant's

second in command, General William Tecumseh Sherman, described "piles of dead soldiers' mangled bodies . . . without heads or legs." Grant surveyed a large field "so covered with dead that it would have been possible to walk over the clearing in any direction, stepping on dead bodies, without a foot touching the ground." Ambrose Bierce, an Indiana sergeant, was haunted afterward by the hideous sight of charred bodies of Illinois men, too wounded to flee the battlefield, who had burned to death when the woodland caught fire. Some lay in "postures of agony that told of the tormenting flame." Those who survived Shiloh had few illusions about the war's supposed romance and glory.

To see a longer excerpt from Ambrose Bierce's account of Shiloh, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Farther north and west, the Union barely maintained control of the crucial border slave state of Missouri. At the war's start Lincoln had mobilized the state's German American militia, most of whom strongly opposed slavery. In July 1861 they defeated a force of Confederate sympathizers commanded by the state's governor. In March 1862, at the battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, a small Union army defeated a Confederate force that had hoped to capture St. Louis and attack Grant from behind. The Union victory at Pea Ridge secured Missouri for the Union, though it did not end violent local conflicts that continued through the war.

Meanwhile, Union naval forces commanded by David G. Farragut struck the Confederacy from the Gulf of Mexico. They captured New Orleans, the Deep South's financial center and largest city. The Union army also took control of fifteen hundred plantations and 50,000 slaves in the surrounding region, striking a strong blow against slavery. Workers on some plantations looted their owners' mansions; in order to harvest cotton and sugar, planters were forced to pay wages. "[Slavery there] is forever destroyed and worthless," declared a northern reporter. The taking of New Orleans, combined with other Union victories, had significantly undermined Confederate strength in the Mississippi River Valley.

Antietam and Its Consequences

In the east, hoping for victories that would humiliate Lincoln's government, Lee went on the offensive. Joining with Jackson in northern Virginia, he routed Union troops in August 1862, in the Second Battle of Bull Run, and then struck north through western Maryland. There, he nearly met disaster. When the Confederate commander divided his force, sending Jackson to capture Harpers Ferry in West Virginia, a copy of Lee's orders fell into McClellan's hands. But the Union general again failed to exploit his advantage, delaying an attack against Lee's depleted army and thereby allowing it to secure a strong defensive position west of Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg, Maryland. Outnumbered 87,000 to 50,000, Lee desperately fought off McClellan's attacks until Jackson's troops arrived and saved the Confederates from a major defeat. Appalled by the Union casualties, McClellan allowed Lee to retreat to Virginia.

The fighting at Antietam was savage. A Wisconsin officer described his men "loading and firing with demoniacal fury." A sunken road—nicknamed Bloody Lane—was filled with Confederate bodies two and three deep, and the advancing Union troops knelt on this "ghastly flooring" to shoot at retreating Confederates. The day of the battle, September 17, 1862, remains the bloodiest single day in U.S. military history. Together, the Confederate and Union dead numbered 4,800 and the wounded 18,500, of whom 3,000 soon died. (By comparison, American troops suffered 6,000 casualties on D-Day, which began the invasion of Nazi-occupied France in World War II.)

In public, Lincoln claimed Antietam as a Union victory; privately, he criticized McClellan for not pursuing Lee to seek a full Confederate surrender. A masterful organizer of men and supplies, McClellan refused to risk his troops, fearing heavy casualties would undermine public support for the war. Lincoln worried more about the danger of a lengthy war. He dismissed McClellan and began a long search for an aggressive

Antietam These Confederate soldiers, from General William Starke's Louisiana infantry, died on September 17, 1862, while attacking Union troops along the Hagerstown Pike. This and many other photographs by Alexander Gardner were exhibited in New York by Matthew Brady. Northern commentators were shocked by their immediacy, which brought home the violence of war to civilians far from the battlefield. Frustrated by Brady's failure to recognize the photographers who worked for him, Gardner soon broke with his employer and began to work on his own, becoming one of the war's leading photographers. Library of Congress

commanding general. At the same time, he began laying the groundwork for ending slavery.

Calls for Emancipation From the war's beginning, northern abolitionists called for slavery's end. Because slave-grown crops sustained the Confederacy, activists justified black emancipation on military grounds. As Frederick Douglass put it, "Arrest that hoe in the hands of the Negro, and you smite the rebellion in the very seat of its life."

In the South, enslaved African Americans exploited wartime chaos to seize freedom for themselves. When three slaves reached the camp of Union general Benjamin Butler in Virginia in May 1861, he labeled them "contraband of war" (enemy property that can be legitimately seized, according to international law) and refused to return them. Butler's term captured the imagination of northerners. Soon thousands of so-called **"contrabands"** were camping with Union armies. Near Fredericksburg, Virginia, an average of 200 blacks appeared every day, "with their packs on their backs and handkerchiefs tied over their heads — men, women, little children, and babies." The influx created a humanitarian crisis. Abolitionist Harriet Jacobs reported that hundreds of refugees were "packed together in the most miserable quarters," where many died from smallpox and dysentery. To provide legal status to the refugees — some 400,000 by war's end — in August 1861 Congress passed the Confiscation Act, which authorized the seizure of all property, including slave property, used to support the rebellion.

With the Confiscation Act, **Radical Republicans** — members of the party who had bitterly opposed the "slave power" since the mid-1850s — began to use wartime legislation to destroy slavery. Their leaders were Treasury Secretary Salmon Chase, Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, and Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. A longtime member of Congress, Stevens was skilled at fashioning legislation that could win majority support. In April 1862, Radicals persuaded Congress to end slavery in the District of Columbia by providing compensation for owners; in June, Congress outlawed slavery in the federal territories (finally enacting the Wilmot Proviso of 1846); in July, it passed a second Confiscation Act, which declared "forever free" the thousands of refugee slaves and all slaves captured by the Union army. Emancipation had become an instrument of war.

The Emancipation Proclamation Initially, Lincoln rejected emancipation as a war aim. In August 1861, when Union general John C. Frémont (who had been the Republican presidential candidate in 1856) issued a field order freeing the slaves of Missouri Confederates, Lincoln promptly revoked it. But he faced rising Radical Republican pressure and, from his field commanders, reports of overwhelming throngs of African American refugees, most of whom risked their lives to reach Union lines and expressed strong support for the Union. Secretly, the president drafted a general proclamation of emancipation in July 1862. He began to test the waters in his public statements. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it,"

he wrote to Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, "and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it." With this statement Lincoln reassured white Americans, fearful of Radical goals, that his paramount goal was to save the Union — while also planting the idea that emancipation might be the best way to accomplish that aim.

Secretary of State William Seward, fearful that the Union would look desperate if it threatened emancipation after a string of military losses, advised Lincoln to wait for a Union victory. Lincoln took his advice. Considering the Battle of Antietam "an indication of the Divine Will," Lincoln issued a preliminary proclamation of emancipation on September 22, 1862, basing its legal authority on his duty as commander in chief to suppress rebellion. The proclamation warned that the president would abolish slavery in all states that remained out of the Union on January 1, 1863. Rebel states could preserve slavery by renouncing secession. None chose to do so.

The proclamation was politically astute. Lincoln conciliated slave owners in the Union-controlled border states, such as Maryland and Missouri, by leaving slavery intact there. He also permitted slavery to continue in areas occupied by Union armies: western and central Tennessee, western Virginia, and southern Louisiana. Consequently, the **Emancipation Proclamation** did not immediately free a single slave. Yet, as abolitionist Wendell Phillips argued, Lincoln's proclamation had moved slavery to "the edge of Niagara," ready to sweep it over the brink. Advancing Union troops became agents of slavery's destruction. "I became free in 1863, in the summer, when the yankees come by and said I could go work for myself," recalled Jackson Daniel of Maysville, Alabama. On South Carolina's Sea Islands, which were under Union control and largely abandoned by Confederate land owners, an idealistic group of northern abolitionists arrived to bring aid to freedpeople, open schools, and recruit the First South Carolina U.S. Regiment (Colored). As Lincoln now saw it, "the old South is to be destroyed and replaced by new propositions and ideas."

Eastman Johnson, *A Ride for Freedom — The Fugitive Slaves*, c. 1862 At the second battle of Manassas in September 1862, American genre painter Eastman Johnson (1824–1906) witnessed this "veritable incident" of an African American family fleeing slavery — and then painted it. A powerful, split-second image of the riders' silhouettes, Johnson's painting captures the father looking forward toward freedom, while the mother cradles a young child and looks back apprehensively for possible pursuers. By "freeing themselves," this family and thousands of blacks set the stage for Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York, USA/Gift of Gwendolyn O. L. Conkling/Bridgeman Image

Hailed by reformers in Europe, emancipation helped persuade Britain and France to refrain from recognizing the Confederacy, in a war now being fought between slavery and freedom. Though Britain never recognized the Confederacy as an independent nation, it treated the rebel government as a belligerent power, with the right under international law to borrow money and purchase weapons. However, British manufacturers had stockpiled cotton and began to develop new sources of the commodity in Egypt and India.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the transition in war aims from maintaining the Union to emancipation of slaves is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

Confederate president Jefferson Davis labeled the Emancipation Proclamation the "most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man." In the Union, the measure was hardly less controversial. In the 1862 midterm elections, Democrats denounced emancipation as unconstitutional, warned of slave uprisings, and predicted that freed blacks would take white jobs. Every freed slave, suggested one nativist New Yorker, should "shoulder an Irishman and leave the Continent." Such sentiments propelled Democrat Horatio Seymour into the governor's office in New York; if abolition was a war goal, Seymour argued, the South should not be conquered. In the election, Democrats swept to victory in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois and gained 34 seats in Congress. However, Republicans still held a 25-seat majority in the House and gained 5 seats in the Senate. Lincoln refused to retreat. Calling emancipation an "act of justice," he signed the final proclamation on New Year's Day 1863. "If my name ever goes into history," he said, "it was for this act."

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Explain the roles played by at least five individuals and groups in bringing about the Emancipation Proclamation.

The proclamation meant little, however, without victory on the battlefield to enforce it. Lincoln's first choice to replace McClellan, Ambrose E. Burnside, proved to be more daring but woefully incompetent. In December, after heavy losses in futile attacks against well-entrenched Confederate forces at Fredericksburg, Virginia, Burnside resigned his command, and Lincoln replaced him with Joseph "Fighting Joe" Hooker. As 1862 ended, Confederates were optimistic: the outcome at Fredericksburg demonstrated that the Union still lacked effective generals, and the South had won a stalemate in the East.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What early political and military strategies did Confederate and Union leaders adopt, and which were most successful?

Toward "Hard War," 1863

The military carnage in 1862 made clear that the war would be long and costly. Grant later remarked that, after Shiloh, he "gave up all idea of saving the Union except by complete conquest." Lincoln committed the Union to mobilizing all its resources — economic, political, and cultural — in support of the North's military effort and to end slavery in the South. Aided by the Republican Party and a talented cabinet, Lincoln gradually organized an effective central government that adopted new strategies to pursue victory. In the Confederacy, despite the doctrine of states' rights, Jefferson Davis also exerted centralized authority to harness resources for the fight. Both North and South implemented military drafts — a dramatic change from the all-volunteer forces of 1861. The Union availed itself, also, of a fresh and determined body of volunteers: African American soldiers. What emerged from these developments, and out of the logic of the struggle itself, was a far more ruthless and systemic war.

Politics North and South

With nearly two-thirds of the nation's population, the North was far better equipped than the South to sustain the prolonged, large-scale conflict that the Civil War became by 1863. Its economy also lent itself better to wartime needs — largely because of recent innovations. In 1852, canals carried twice as much tonnage as the nation's newly emerging railroads. But by 1860, after capitalists in Boston, New York, and London secured state charters and invested heavily, railroads had become the major carriers of wheat and freight from the Midwest to northeastern Atlantic ports, returning with machine tools, hardware, and furniture manufactured in the Northeast. Served by a vast network of locomotive and freight-car repair shops, railroads also hauled lumber from Michigan to the prairie states and livestock to Chicago's rapidly growing slaughterhouses.

The Union was thus investing in a state-of-the-art transportation system, and entrepreneurs were also modernizing agricultural technology. After 1847, John Deere operated a steel plow factory in Moline, Illinois. Far better than older cast-iron plows manufactured in New York, Deere plows enabled farmers to cut through deep, tough roots of prairie grasses and open new regions for farming. Other midwestern companies, such as McCormick and Hussey, mass-produced self-raking reapers that harvested 12 acres of grain a day, rather than the 2 acres an adult worker could cut by hand. Such innovations proved to be substantial advantages when the Civil War became long and resource-intensive. Without "reapers, mowers, separators, sowers, drills &c," wrote the *Cincinnati Gazette*, "the wheat, oats, and hay of Ohio, in 1862, could not have been got in safely." "We have seen," one journalist reported in the 1863 harvest season, "a stout matron whose sons are in the army, with her team cutting hay at seventy-five cents

per acre, and she cut seven acres with ease in a day, riding leisurely upon her cutter. . . . War occupations, even on a most gigantic scale, do not seem to check the supply of food."

Republican Economic and Fiscal Policies To mobilize northern resources, the Republican-dominated Congress enacted a program of government-assisted economic development. It imposed high tariffs, averaging nearly 40 percent, on various foreign goods, thereby encouraging domestic industries. To boost agricultural output, it offered free land to farmers through the Homestead Act of 1862. Republicans also created an integrated network of national banks and implemented Clay's program for a nationally financed transportation system, chartering the Union Pacific and Central Pacific companies to build a transcontinental railroad and granting them substantial land subsidies to complete the difficult work (see Chapter 15). This economic program won the allegiance of farmers, workers, and entrepreneurs while bolstering the Union's ability to fight a long war.

Trestle Bridge at Whiteside This 1864 image from *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* shows a celebrated 780-foot railroad trestle bridge, built by Union engineers (and carefully guarded) after the original bridge was destroyed by Confederate forces seeking to stop a Union advance. Engineering feats such as this one, including pontoon bridges and other innovations, played a central role in supplying troops and enabling them to conquer territory. Confederates, for example, were incredulous when General William T. Sherman launched his march across South Carolina's low country swamps. "When I learned that Sherman's army was marching through the Salk swamps," wrote General Joseph Johnston, "making its own [plank] roads at the rate of a dozen miles a day, I made up my mind that there had been no such army in existence since the days of Julius Caesar." Digital image courtesy of the Getty Content Program

New industries sprang up to provide the Union's 1.5 million soldiers with guns, clothes, and food. Over the course of the war, soldiers consumed more than half a billion pounds of pork and other packed meats. To meet this demand, Chicago railroads built new lines to carry thousands of hogs and cattle to the city's stockyards and slaughterhouses. By 1862, Chicago had passed Cincinnati as the meatpacking capital of the nation, bringing prosperity to thousands of midwestern farmers and great wealth to Philip D. Armour and other meatpacking entrepreneurs.

Bankers and financiers likewise found themselves pulled into the war effort. Annual U.S. government spending shot up from $63 million in 1860 to more than $865 million in 1864. To raise that enormous sum, Republicans created a modern system of public finance that raised money in three ways. First, the government raised money directly by increasing tariffs, placing high duties on alcohol and tobacco, and imposing taxes on business corporations, large inheritances, and the incomes of wealthy citizens. These levies paid about 20 percent of the war's cost. Interest-paying bonds issued by the U.S. Treasury financed another 65 percent. The National Banking Acts of 1863 and 1864 forced most banks to buy those bonds, and Philadelphia banker and Treasury Department agent Jay Cooke used newspaper ads and 2,500 subagents to persuade a million northern families to buy them.

The Union paid the remaining 15 percent by printing paper money. The Legal Tender Act of 1862 authorized $150 million in paper currency—soon known as **greenbacks**—and required the public to accept them as legal tender. Like the Continental currency of the Revolutionary era, greenbacks could not be exchanged for specie; however, the Treasury issued a limited amount of paper money, so it lost only a small part of its face value.

By 1863, the Lincoln administration had created an efficient war machine and a set of strategic priorities. Henry Adams, the grandson of John Quincy Adams and a future novelist and historian, noted the change from his diplomatic post in London: "Little by little, one began to feel that, behind the chaos in Washington power was taking shape; that it was massed and guided as it had not been before." The short-term results

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of a powerful federal government in generating resources for victory in war is a key pattern to know for the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the wartime policies of the Republican-controlled Congress redefine the character of the federal government?

contributed substantially to Union victory. In the longer term, immense concentrations of capital in many industries — meatpacking, steel, coal, railroads, textiles, shoes — gave a few men "command of millions of money," setting up new political conflicts in the postwar era.

Confederate Policies and Conflicts Economic demands on the South were equally great, but, true to its states' rights philosophy, the Confederacy initially left most matters to the state governments. However, as the scale and length of the conflict became clear, Jefferson Davis's administration took extraordinary measures. It built and operated shipyards, armories, foundries, and textile mills; commandeered food and scarce raw materials such as coal, iron, copper, and lead; set prices; requisitioned slaves to work on fortifications; and directly controlled foreign trade.

The Confederate Congress, dominated by slaveholders, opposed many of Davis's initiatives, particularly taxes. It refused to tax cotton exports and slaves, the most valuable property held by wealthy planters. Consequently, the Confederacy covered less than 10 percent of its expenditures through taxation. The government paid another 30 percent by borrowing, but as Union forces secured control of more and more southern territory, wealthy planters and foreign bankers grew reluctant to provide loans, fearing they would never be repaid. Consequently, the Confederacy paid 60 percent of its war costs by printing paper money. This flood of currency created spectacular inflation: by 1865, prices had risen to ninety-two times their 1861 level.

AP® EXAM TIP

Be able to explain the impact of a politically weak Confederacy in undermining the South's ability to sustain its war effort in the Civil War.

Conflicts over government impressment, or borrowing, of slaves also revealed weaknesses in the Confederacy. Many planters were reluctant to lend their slaves to work on military fortifications, rightly fearing that if these enslaved men found themselves near the battlefront, they would try to flee to Union lines. As a result, wealthy southerners used their political pull to keep slaves in private use. "The planter," wrote the *Mobile Register* angrily in 1863, "is more ready to contribute his sons than his slaves to the war."

Poor whites had no such luxury. The Confederate **one-tenth tax**, adopted in April 1863, required all farmers to turn over a tenth of their crops and livestock to the government for military use. Applied to poor families with husbands and fathers in the army, the policy pushed thousands of civilians to the brink of starvation. In letters and petitions to state officials, women pleaded desperately for help, designating themselves proudly as "S.W.," Soldiers' Wives. "The rich is all at home making great fortunes," wrote an outraged group of Georgia women, "and don't care what becomes of the poor class of people [as long as] they can save there neggroes."

As food prices soared, riots erupted in more than a dozen southern cities and towns. In Richmond, several hundred women broke into bakeries, crying, "our children are starving." In Randolph County, Alabama, women confiscated grain from a government warehouse "to prevent starvation of themselves and their families." As inflation spiraled upward, many southerners refused to accept paper money. When South Carolina storekeeper Jim Harris refused the depreciated currency presented by Confederate soldiers, they raided his storehouse and, he claimed, "robbed it of about five thousand dollars worth of goods." Army supply officers likewise seized goods from merchants and offered payment in worthless IOUs. Facing a public that feared strong government and high taxation, the Confederacy could sustain the war effort only by seizing its citizens' property.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did Union and Confederate civilians' experiences of their wartime governments differ?

Still, after two years of war, the Confederate position was far from weak. Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee deployed their substantial industrial capacity. Richmond, with its Tredegar Iron Works, served as an important manufacturing center. The purchase of Enfield rifles from Britain and the capture of 100,000 Union guns at Harpers Ferry near the start of the war helped the Confederacy provide every infantryman with a modern rifle-musket by 1863. Even though life had become difficult, the Confederate military was hardly ready to surrender.

How Divided Was the Confederate Public?

Did the Union army (the North) win the Civil War, or did the Confederate army (the South) lose it? Questions like these have kept historians busy. To explain the outcome of that war, historians have looked at a wide variety of factors, seizing upon one or another as the decisive tipping point. Many have argued that the North's material resources of capital, industry, and population gave it the edge. Others have wondered how the South lasted so long and have pointed to its superior military commanders and its "home field" advantages as well as ideological commitments. Many southerners, for example, believed they were fighting to save their homes and way of life from northern abolitionist aggression. Historians Gary W. Gallagher and Drew Gilpin Faust focus on the Confederacy itself. Did southerners imagine themselves to be a separate nation? Was their nationalism strong enough to sustain a terrible and costly war?

GARY W. GALLAGHER

SOURCE: Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 63.

Strong feelings of national identity helped spawn the impressive will Confederates exhibited during their war for independence. With the goal of mounting the broad military effort necessary to establish nationhood, soldiers and civilians of the Confederacy tolerated severe intrusions on personal freedom, accepted the erosion of states' rights as the central government sought to equip and feed its armies, and, toward the end, debated openly the possibility of arming and freeing slaves to win the war.

DREW GILPIN FAUST

SOURCE: From Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *The Journal of American History* by Mississippi Valley Historical Association; Organization of American Historians. Reproduced with permission of Organization of American Historians in the format Book via Copyright Clearance Center.

Countless women of all classes had in effect deserted the ranks. . . . Refusing to accept the economic deprivation further military struggle would have required, resisting additional military service by their husbands and sons . . . Southern women undermined both objective and ideological foundations for the Confederate effort; they directly subverted the South's military and economic effectiveness as well as civilian morale. . . . It may well have been because of its women that the South lost the Civil War.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How do these two historians differ in their assessment of Confederate wartime unity?
2. What factor does Faust emphasize that might explain the limits of Confederate nationalism?
3. From this chapter's discussion of the Confederacy, identify two factors that support or challenge the argument for Confederate nationalism during the war.

Conscription With battles proving more and more deadly and no end in sight, the supply of volunteers for the armies soon dried up. Still, both the Union and the Confederacy needed more men. The South acted first. In April 1862, following the bloodshed at Shiloh, the Confederate Congress imposed the first legally binding **draft (conscription)** in American history. New laws required existing soldiers to serve for the duration of the war and mandated three years of military service from all men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. In September 1862, after heavy casualties at Antietam, the age limit jumped to forty-five.

The Confederate draft had two loopholes, both controversial. First, it exempted one white man — the planter, a son, or an overseer — for each twenty slaves, allowing some whites on large plantations to avoid military service. This **twenty-Negro rule**, a Mississippi legislator warned Jefferson Davis, "has aroused a spirit of rebellion in some places." Second, wealthier draftees could hire substitutes. By the time the Confederate Congress closed this loophole in 1864, the price of a substitute had soared to $300 in gold, three times the annual wage of a skilled worker. Laborers and poor farmers angrily complained that both these measures made the war a "poor man's fight" (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Military Conscription This Currier & Ives print was likely published soon after the Confederacy instituted a military draft in April 1862. It depicts a "Union man," two wealthy planters, and a barefoot backwoodsman. The Union did not have long to satirize the Confederates' reliance on conscripted troops: within a few months, Lincoln and the Republican Congress instituted a comprehensive military draft for the Union. Library of Congress

Some southerners refused to serve. Because the Confederate constitution vested sovereignty in individual states, the government in Richmond could not compel military service. Independent-minded governors such as Joseph Brown of Georgia and Zebulon Vance of North Carolina simply ignored President Davis's first draft call in early 1862. Elsewhere, state judges issued writs of habeas corpus and ordered the Confederate army to release reluctant draftees. The Confederate Congress, however, overrode judges' authority to free conscripted men, keeping substantial armies in the field well into 1864. Confederate militia also scoured areas that harbored large groups of deserters, like Jones County and surrounding areas of southeast Mississippi, using bloodhounds to track resisters and hanging those they could catch.

The Union's draft or Enrollment Act, introduced in March 1863, provoked equally dramatic opposition. Some recent German and Irish immigrants refused to serve; it was not their war, they said. Northern Democrats used the **furor** to bolster support for their party, which increasingly criticized Lincoln's policies. They accused Lincoln of drafting poor whites to liberate enslaved blacks, who would then flood northern cities. In July 1863, as conscription went into effect, immigrants' hostility toward the draft and toward blacks sparked virulent **draft riots** in New York City. For five days working-class men ran rampant, burned draft offices, sacked the homes of influential Republicans, and attacked the police. The rioters lynched and mutilated a dozen African Americans, drove hundreds of black families from their homes, and burned down the Colored Orphan Asylum. To suppress the mobs, Lincoln rushed in Union troops who had just fought at Gettysburg; they killed more than a hundred rioters. The war on the battlefield was eroding peace at home.

In contested areas, the Union government treated draft resisters and enemy sympathizers ruthlessly. Union commanders in Missouri and other border states levied special taxes on southern supporters. Lincoln went further, suspending habeas corpus and, over the course of the war, temporarily imprisoning about 15,000 southern sympathizers without trial. He also gave military courts jurisdiction over civilians who discouraged enlistments or resisted the draft, preventing acquittals by sympathetic local juries. However, most Union states used incentives to lure recruits. To meet local quotas set by the Militia Act of 1862, towns, counties, and states offered cash bounties of as much as $600 (about $11,000 today) and signed up nearly a million men.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What made military conscription so controversial in both the Confederacy and the Union?

The Impact of Emancipation

Facing controversy and violent resistance, the Lincoln administration pursued a novel strategy: enlisting African American soldiers. As early as 1861, free African Americans and fugitive slaves had volunteered, hoping to end slavery and secure citizenship rights. Yet many northern whites refused to serve with blacks. "I am as much opposed to slavery as any of them," a New York soldier told his local newspaper, "but I am not willing to be put on a level with the negro and fight with them." Union generals also opposed military service by African Americans, doubting they would make good soldiers. Nonetheless, as the war unfolded, free and contraband blacks formed volunteer regiments in New England, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Kansas.

AP® EXAM TIP

The role of African American troops in the Union victory in the Civil War is a "must know" for the AP™ exam.

The Emancipation Proclamation changed military policy and popular sentiment. It invited former slaves to serve in the Union army. Northern whites, having suffered thousands of casualties, now accepted that African Americans should share in the fighting and dying. A heroic and costly attack by the black troops of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, in 1863 convinced Union officers that African American soldiers could fight bravely. Commentators observed that black soldiers from the seceded states could have a triple impact: in addition to strengthening the Union army, their liberation demoralized white southerners and robbed the Confederacy of much-needed labor.

Military service did not end racial discrimination. Black Union soldiers initially earned less than white soldiers ($10 a month versus $13). They served in segregated regiments under white commissioned officers and they died, mostly from disease, at higher rates than white soldiers. Nonetheless, over 180,000 African Americans volunteered by 1865, fighting for emancipation and often their own freedom. "Hello, Massa," said one black soldier to his former master, who had been taken prisoner, "bottom rail on top dis time." Raiding a South Carolina town for supplies, a Union colonel took pleasure in introducing a plantation mistress to Corporal Robert Sutton of his regiment, saying he believed they had been "previously acquainted." When the woman recognized the corporal, her former slave, she "drew herself up, and dropped out the monosyllables of her answer as if they were so many drops of nitric acid: . . . '*we* called him Bob!'" The worst fears of secessionists had come true. Through the disciplined agency of the Union army, African Americans had risen in a successful rebellion against slavery.

African American Soldiers Strengthen the Union Army Determined to end racial slavery, tens of thousands of African Americans volunteered for service in the Union army in 1864 and 1865, boosting the northern war effort at a critical moment. This unknown soldier posed for his studio portrait at Benton Barracks, Saint Louis, Missouri, proudly displaying his weapons while backed by the American flag. Library of Congre

Lincoln, among others, believed the Union could not have won the war without black troops. At the same time, southern responses to the new soldiers upped the stakes in the conflict. Furious Confederate officials vowed to treat black Union prisoners as runaway slaves and execute their officers for inciting slave rebellion. Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson, an abolitionist who went south to lead the First South Carolina Regiment (Colored), wrote that his men "fought with ropes round their necks." Confederate threats gave them "grim satisfaction . . . [and] a peculiar sense of self-respect. . . . The First South Carolina must fight it out or be re-enslaved." Faced with southern **intransigence**, General Grant suggested that the Union retaliate by shooting Confederate prisoners, man for man. Lincoln declined to carry out this policy, but race warfare nonetheless erupted on the battlefield. At Fort Pillow in Tennessee, in April 1864, Confederate cavalry under Nathan Bedford Forrest (future founder of the Ku Klux Klan) gunned down African American troops as they tried to surrender. After a subsequent battle in Mississippi, one Union lieutenant wrote, "We did not take many prisoners. The Negroes remembered 'Fort Pillow.'"

Confederates' refusal to exchange African American prisoners precipitated a new Union policy: suspending prisoner exchanges, which had taken place regularly since the war's start. As a result, by late 1863 both sides accumulated large numbers of prisoners of war, who suffered horrific conditions in crowded prison camps. Particularly notorious was the Confederacy's prison at Andersonville, Georgia, where over 13,000 of 45,000 Union prisoners died of disease or malnutrition. Amid public outrage, both Lee and Grant tried to reopen prisoner exchanges, but they could not agree on the treatment of black Union troops. Lee warned that "negroes belonging to our citizens" could not be "considered subjects of exchange." Grant responded that his government had a duty "to secure to all persons received into her armies the rights due to soldiers." The effort to renew exchanges failed.

Grant was guided in these discussions by the Union's **Lieber Code**, an innovative statement of the laws of war drafted by German immigrant law professor Francis Lieber, who had sons serving in both the Union and Confederate armies. Issued in April 1863,

the code declared that the "law of nations and of nature" had never recognized slavery and knew "no distinction of color." Anyone who escaped a slaveholding locality was therefore free, and African American soldiers must be treated exactly as whites were. Arguing that the most humane war was one that ended quickly, Lieber defined "military necessity" liberally, permitting many military actions, from shooting spies to starving civilians, if they would "hasten surrender." At the same time, Lieber's code spelled out protections for prisoners of war, outlawed use of torture for any reason, and forbade "the infliction of suffering for the sake of suffering or for revenge." Widely admired in Europe, the code provided a foundation for later international agreements on the laws of war, including the Geneva Conventions.

Citizens and the Work of War

Lieber was among tens of thousands of civilians who contributed in distinctive ways to the Union war effort, from buying bonds to sewing banners. Unlike the rural Confederacy, northern states had an increasingly urban population and stronger infrastructure of schools, press, and reform groups that provided a base for innovative forms of civilian mobilization. On both sides, however, the conflict was a "people's war" marked by intensive citizen participation.

Medicine and Nursing In 1861, prominent New Yorkers established the **U.S. Sanitary Commission** to provide Union troops with clothing, food, and medical services. While paid agents and spokesmen were male, over 200,000 women supported the commission as volunteers, working through seven thousand local **auxiliaries**. "I almost weep," reported one agent, "when these plain rural people come to send their simple offerings to absent sons and brothers." The commission also recruited battlefield nurses and doctors for the Union army.

Despite these efforts, dysentery, typhoid, and malaria spread through the camps, as did mumps and measles, viruses that were often deadly to rural recruits. Diseases and infections killed about 250,000 Union soldiers, nearly twice the 135,000 who died in combat. These numbers would have been far higher if the Sanitary Commission had not, for example, persuaded key military leaders that their troops should dig latrines for proper waste disposal. The internationally acclaimed U.S. ambulance corps, authorized by Congress in 1864, developed efficient procedures to evacuate wounded soldiers from the battlefield. As a result of such efforts, one historian estimates that 25 percent of wounded Union soldiers died in 1861 but only 10 percent by 1864 (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

Confederate troops were less fortunate because the Confederate army's health system was poorly organized. Scurvy was a special problem for southern soldiers; lacking vitamin C in their diets, they suffered muscle ailments and had low resistance to camp diseases. Confederate women created dozens of local or state-level relief societies, and thousands volunteered as nurses. "The war is certainly ours as well as that of the men," wrote Kate Cumming, a Scottish-born immigrant to Alabama who served for four years at Confederate hospitals in Georgia. In her diary Cumming recorded the horrors of hospital service, with wounded soldiers groaning in agony among piles of amputated limbs. "I daily witness the same sad scenes — men dying all around me. I do not know who they are, nor have I time to learn."

Women and the War Far more than Cumming and her fellow Confederate nurses, northern women had a strong base of antebellum public and reform activism on which to build. Freedmen's aid societies, which sent supplies and teachers to black refugees in the South, attracted the energies of religious congregations and of African American abolitionists such as Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. In 1863, women's rights advocates founded the **Woman's Loyal National League**, hoping energetic war service would bring recognition and voting rights.

The war also drew women into the wage-earning workforce as clerks and factory operatives. Thousands of educated Union women became government clerks in offices such as the Treasury Department — the first women hired to work for the U.S. government. White southern women staffed the efficient Confederate postal service. In both North and South, millions of women took over farm tasks, filled jobs in hospitals and schools, and worked in factories.

Working-class women did some of the war's most grueling, dangerous work in munitions factories, where gunpowder caused over thirty explosions during the war. One of the most horrific occurred in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on September 17, 1862, the same day as the battle of Antietam. With the Allegheny Arsenal's largely female, Irish immigrant employees under pressure to increase production of rifle cartridges, a spark triggered a series of explosions that destroyed the building and left seventy-eight dead. The arsenal grounds became an outdoor morgue. One Pittsburgh paper described the "agonizing screams of relatives and friends upon discovering the remains of some loved one whose humble earnings contributed to their comfort." Most were burned beyond recognition.

Emma Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army* Civilians in both the Union and Confederacy had an insatiable appetite for heroic and romantic war stories — an enthusiasm that outlasted the far less romantic experiences of men on the actual battlefield. Sarah Emma Edmonds, a Canadian-born nurse, wrote a sensational postwar autobiography in which she celebrated (and exaggerated) her exploits as a spy. Here she is depicted in disguise as a Union soldier, riding swiftly away from the enemy firing at her from the woods. In other scenes, she infiltrated a Confederate force and defended herself with a pistol. The war helped create a national market for inexpensive, action-packed "dime novels" and adventure stories. The Granger Collection, New York

A few daring women worked as spies and scouts, and at least five hundred disguised themselves as men in order to serve in the Union or Confederate armies. Those who made it through the trauma of battle without being discovered were often accepted afterward by fellow soldiers who kept their secret. More frequently, women who adhered to the rules of domesticity contributed as writers, penning patriotic songs, poems, editorials, and fiction. Eventually, even the most reluctant Unionist and Confederate men were forced to recognize women's value to the cause. As Union nurse Clara Barton, who later founded the American Red Cross, recalled, "At the war's end, woman was at least fifty years in advance of the normal position which continued peace would have assigned her."

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the impact of war on the role of women in American history is a key pattern to apply to the Civil War.

The War at Home In contested border regions such as Tennessee, North Carolina, and Missouri, few boundaries existed between home and battlefield. There, civilians found themselves trapped between ruthless guerrilla or irregular bands of soldiers, such as William Quantrill's notorious Confederate raiders. Operating often as near-bandits, such guerrillas on both sides raided, plundered, tortured civilians for information, and carried out revenge killings. In 1863, after a Union commander detained a group of wives and sisters of Quantrill's men, five of the women were killed in a federal building collapse. In retaliation, Quantrill and his men burned the "Free State" town of Lawrence, Kansas, and summarily executed 183 men and boys. The Union responded by evacuating ten thousand people from four Missouri counties that bordered Kansas — while Quantrill continued to wreak destruction in other parts of the state.

As casualties mounted to shocking levels, civilians in both North and South became more and more familiar with the rituals of mourning. The rising tide of death created new industries: embalmers, for example, devised a zinc chloride fluid to preserve soldiers' bodies, allowing them to be shipped home for burial, an innovation that began modern funeral practices. Military cemeteries with hundreds of crosses in neat rows replaced the landscaped "rural cemeteries" that had been in vogue in American cities

Military Deaths — and Lives Saved — During the Civil War

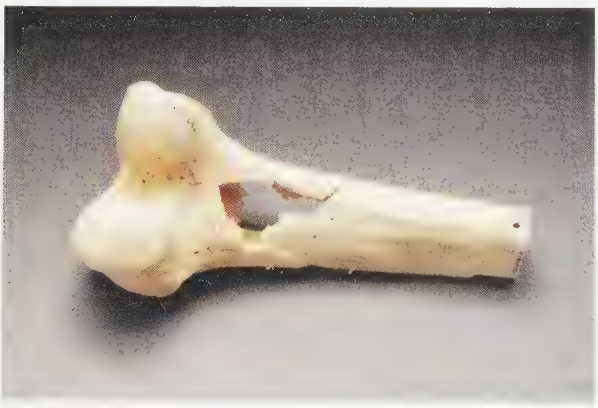
The Civil War, like all wars before and since, encouraged innovation in both the destruction and the saving of human life. More than 620,000 soldiers — 360,000 on the Union side and 260,000 Confederates — died during the war, about 20 percent of those who served. However, thanks to advances in camp hygiene and battlefield treatment, the Union death rate was about 54–58 per 1,000 soldiers per year, less than half the level for British and French troops during the Crimean War of 1854–1855.

1. **Report by surgeon Charles S. Tipler, medical director of the Army of the Potomac, January 4, 1862.** *Most Civil War deaths came from disease. The major killers were bacterial intestinal diseases — typhoid fever, diarrhea, and dysentery — which spread because of unsanitary conditions in the camps.*

   The aggregate strength of the forces from which I have received reports is 142,577. Of these, 47,836 have been under treatment in the field and general hospitals, 35,915 of whom have been returned to duty, and 281 have died; 9,281 remained under treatment at the end of the month; . . .

   The diseases from which our men have suffered most have been continued remittent and typhoid fevers, measles, diarrhea, dysentery, and the various forms of catarrh [heavy discharge of mucus from the nose]. Of all the scourges incident to armies in the field I suppose that chronic diarrheas and dysenteries have always been the most prevalent and the most fatal. I am happy to say that in this army they are almost unknown. We have but 280 cases of chronic diarrhea and 69 of chronic dysentery reported in the month of November.

2. **Minié ball wounds: femur shot by Springfield 1862 rifle and Private George W. Lemon, 1867.** *Ninety percent of battle casualties were the victims of a new technology: musket-rifles that fired lethal soft-lead bullets called minié balls (after their inventor, Claude-Étienne Minié). The rifle-musket revolutionized military strategy by enormously strengthening defensive forces. Infantrymen could now kill reliably at 300 yards — triple the previous range of muskets. Initially, the new technology baffled commanders, who continued to use the tactics perfected during the heyday of the musket and bayonet charge, sending waves of infantrymen against enemy positions.*



Source: National Museum of Health and Medicine, Armed Forces Institute of Pathology, Washington, D.C.

3. **Private Ludwig Kohn, his wound and its treatment.** *Overwhelmed by the scale of battlefield casualties and the small number of doctors qualified to treat them, surgeons struggled to share effective methods. Photography proved convenient for this purpose. Dr. Reed Bontecou, a Union army surgeon, took this photograph of Private Ludwig Kohn, 214th Pennsylvania Volunteers, treating him for a bullet wound in the right side of the chest, received at Gettysburg on July 1, 1863. "Exit below scapula" Bontecou explained in his notes accompanying the photo, on which he sketched the minié ball's path. Bontecou took dozens of such photographs, hoping to improve medical treatment for future soldiers and civilians. He did not record the opinions of his subjects — some of whom were photographed with horrific wounds, open amputations, and exposed genitals. Private Kohn, unlike most photograph subjects, jauntily wore his Union soldier's cap, suggesting his pride in fighting for the Union cause. Bontecou recorded that Kohn recovered fully.*

Source: U.S. National Library of Medicine

4. **Kate Cumming, April 23, 1862, journal entry on treating a Confederate victim after the Battle of Shiloh.** *Union surgeons performed 29,980 battlefield amputations during the Civil War. Confederate records are less complete, but surgeons apparently undertook about 28,000 amputations. They quickly removed limbs too shattered to mend, which increased the chances of survival. According to one witness, "surgeons and their assistants, stripped to the waist and bespattered with blood, stood around, some holding the poor fellows while others, armed with long, bloody knives and saws, cut and sawed away with frightful rapidity, throwing the mangled limbs on a pile nearby as soon as removed." This journal entry from a young Confederate nurse in Corinth, Mississippi, describes the plight of one such victim after the Battle of Shiloh.*

A young man whom I have been attending is going to have his arm cut off. Poor fellow! I am doing all I can to cheer him. He says that he knows that he will die, as all who have had limbs amputated in this hospital have died. . . . He lived only a few hours after his amputation.

5. **William Williams Keen, MD, "Surgical Reminiscences of the Civil War," 1905.** *Although 73 percent of the Union amputees survived the war, infected wounds — deadly gangrene — took the lives of most soldiers who suffered certain gunshot injuries in this pre-antibiotic, pre-antiseptic era. Keen, who later became the first brain surgeon in the United States, served as a surgeon in the Union army.*

Not more than one incontestable example of recovery from a gunshot wound of the stomach and not a single incontestable case of wound of the small intestines are recorded during the entire war among the almost 250,000 wounded. . . .

Of 852 amputations of the shoulder-joint, 236 died, a mortality of 28.5 per cent. Of 66 cases of amputation of the hip-joint, 55, or 83.3 per cent died. Of 155 cases of trephining [cutting a hole in the skull to relieve pressure], 60 recovered and 95 died, a mortality of over 61 per cent. Of 374 ligations of the femoral artery, 93 recovered and 281 died, a mortality of over 75 per cent.

These figures afford a striking evidence of the dreadful mortality of military surgery in the days before antisepsis and first-aid packages. Happily such death-rates can never again be seen, at least in civilized warfare.

6. **U.S. Surgeon Jonathan Letterman, Report on Medical Care after Antietam, 1863.** *Letterman introduced several effective innovations, including an ambulance corps and a triage system in which soldiers received immediate first aid and then, as needed, were moved to stabilization centers and long-term care. Here Letterman describes medical efforts after the battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862. Later surgeons hailed him as "The Father of Battlefield Medicine."*

The troops on our left were those among whom no ambulance system existed, but here, owing to the exertions of the medical officers, the wounded were removed by the evening of the day following the battle. . . . Two large camps of hospital tents were formed on the outskirts of [Frederick, Maryland], capable of containing one thousand beds each. . . . All the available buildings in this city (six in number) were taken at once for hospitals [and] fitted up with great rapidity, particularly so when it is considered that the enemy was in possession of the city the day before; . . . the buildings [were] selected and prepared, beds, bedding, dressings, stores, food, cooking arrangements made, surgeons, stewards, cooks, and nurses detailed. . . . [By] the 30th of September these hospitals contained 2,321 patients.

SOURCES: (1) The War of the Rebellion: *A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1889), Series 1, Vol. 5 (Part V), 111–112; (4) Kate Cumming, *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee* (Louisville, KY: John P. Morton & Company, 1866), 19; (5) William Williams Keen, "Surgical Reminiscences of the Civil War," in Addresses and Other Papers (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1905), 433–434; (6) US War Department, The War of the Rebellion (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Vol. 19), 106–117, courtesy Antietam on the Web, antietam.aotw.org/exhibit.php?exhibit_id=73.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Based on Tipler's report (source 1), would you say the Union army was healthy or unhealthy? Ready for battle or not?
2. Consider sources 2–5. How do you think the reentry of tens of thousands of maimed veterans into civil society affected American culture?
3. What do sources 4–6 suggest about the successes and limitations of battlefield medicine during the Civil War?
4. Consider the Civil War in the context of the Industrial Revolution. What was the impact of factory production and technological advances on the number of weapons and their killing power? And how might the organizational innovations of the Industrial Revolution pertain to the conflict? In this regard, what do you make of the new method of battlefield triage pioneered by Union doctor Jonathan Letterman (source 6)?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

As a "total war" the Civil War involved the citizenry as well as the military, marshaling all of the two societies' resources and ingenuity. Using your understanding of these documents and the textbook, write an essay that discusses the relation of the war to technology, medicine, public finance, and the lives of women on the battle lines and the home front.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did the Union and Confederacy mobilize their populations, and how effective were these methods in influencing the course of the war?

before the Civil War. As thousands of mothers, wives, and sisters mourned the deaths of fallen soldiers, they faced changed lives. Even the poorest bereaved women often dyed a dress black so they could mark the loss of a husband, son, or father. Middle-class women, with greater financial resources, might purchase black-bordered stationery, onyx jewelry, or other tokens of grief. The destructive war, in concert with America's emerging consumer culture and ethic of domesticity, produced a new "cult of mourning" among the middle and upper classes.

Vicksburg and Gettysburg

Confederate hopes ran high in the spring of 1863. In the Union, Democrats had made significant gains in 1862, and popular support was growing for a negotiated peace. Two brilliant victories in Virginia by General Robert E. Lee, at Fredericksburg (December 1862) and Chancellorsville (May 1863), further eroded northern support for the war. At this critical juncture, General Ulysses Grant mounted a major offensive to split the Confederacy in two. Grant drove south along the west bank of the Mississippi in Arkansas and then crossed the river near Vicksburg, Mississippi. There, he defeated two Confederate armies and laid siege to the city. After repelling Union assaults for six weeks, the exhausted and starving Vicksburg garrison surrendered on July 4, 1863.

Five days later, Union forces took Port Hudson, Louisiana, near Baton Rouge, and seized control of the entire Mississippi River. Grant had cut off Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas from the rest of the Confederacy and prompted thousands of slaves to desert their plantations. Confederate troops responded by targeting refugees for re-enslavement and massacre. "The battlefield was sickening," a Confederate officer reported from Arkansas, "no orders, threats or commands could restrain the men from vengeance on the negroes, and they were piled in great heaps about the wagons, in the tangled brushwood, and upon the muddy and trampled road." Partly due to the undercounting of civilian casualties on occasions such as this, historians have revised upward their reckoning of the war's total deaths: not 620,000, as was previously thought, but over 750,000.

As Grant had advanced toward Vicksburg in May, Confederate leaders had argued over the best strategic response. President Davis and other politicians wanted to send an army to Tennessee to relieve the Union pressure along the Mississippi River. General Lee, buoyed by his recent victories, favored a new invasion of the North. That strategy, Lee suggested, would either draw Grant's forces to the east or give the Confederacy a major victory that would destroy the North's will to fight.

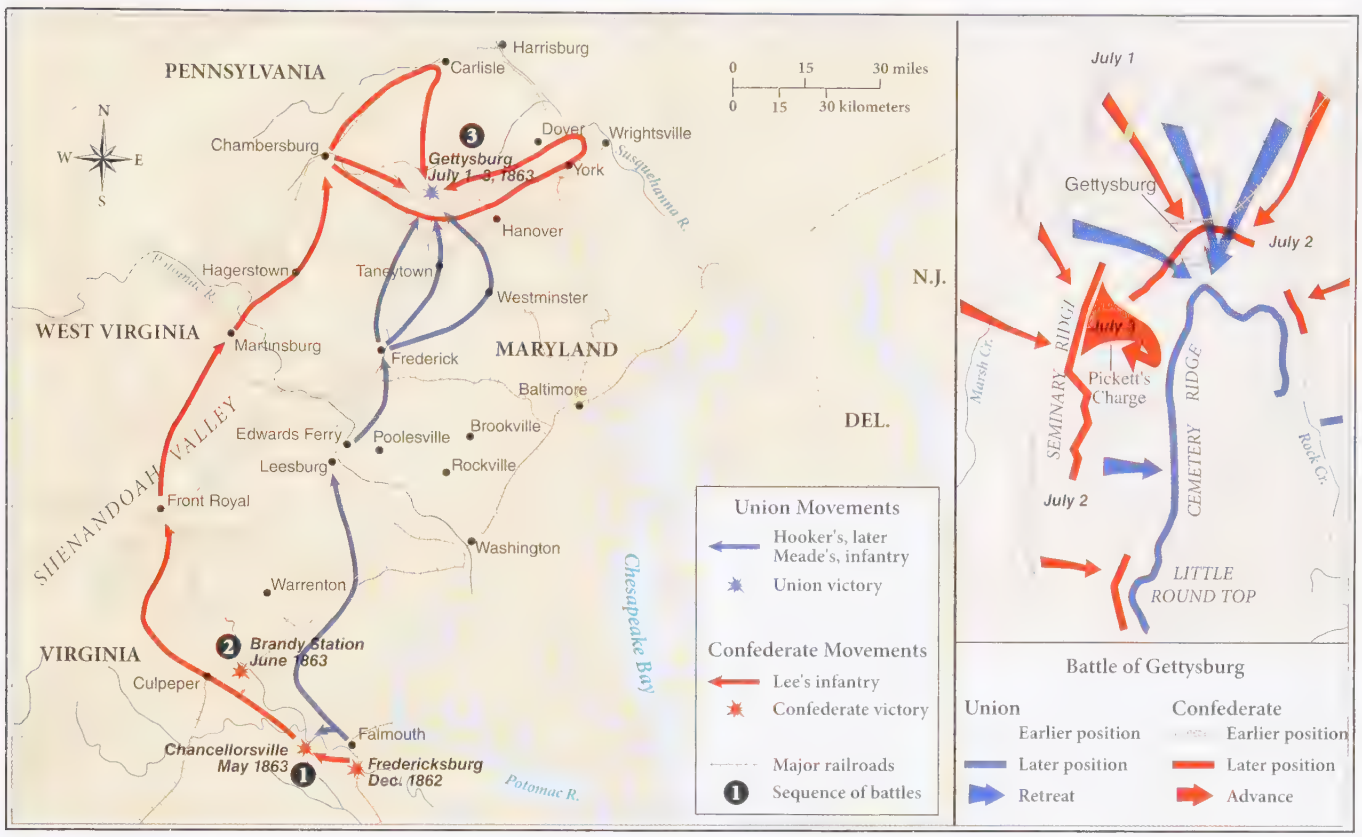
Lee won out. In June 1863, he maneuvered his army north through Maryland into Pennsylvania. The Army of the Potomac moved along with him, positioning itself between Lee and Washington, D.C. On July 1, the two great armies met by accident at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in what became a decisive confrontation (Map 13.3). On the first day of battle, Lee drove the Union's advance guard to the south of town. There, Union commander George G. Meade placed his troops in well-defended hilltop positions and called for reinforcements. By the morning of July 2, Meade had 90,000 troops to Lee's 75,000. Lee knew he was outnumbered but was determined not to give up; he ordered assaults on Meade's flanks, which failed.

On July 3, Lee decided on a dangerous frontal assault against the center of the Union line. After the heaviest artillery barrage of the war, Lee sent General George E. Pickett and his 14,000 men to take Cemetery Ridge. When Pickett's men charged across a mile of open terrain, they faced deadly fire from artillery and massed riflemen. Thousands suffered death, wounds, or capture. As the three-day battle ended, the Confederates counted 28,000 casualties — one-third of Lee's Army of Northern Virginia — while 23,000 of Meade's soldiers lay killed or wounded. Shocked by the bloodletting, Meade allowed the Confederate units to escape. Lincoln was furious at Meade's caution, perceiving that "the war will be prolonged indefinitely."

AP EXAM TIP

It's important to recognize the role of Gettysburg and Vicksburg as political and military turning points in the war.

Still, Gettysburg was a major Union victory and, together with the simultaneous triumph at Vicksburg, marked a military and political turning point. In his



MAP 13.3 Lee Invades the North, 1863
After Lee's victories at Chancellorsville (1) in May and Brandy Station (2) in June, the Confederate forces moved northward, constantly shadowed by the Union army. On July 1, the two armies met accidentally near Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. In the ensuing battle (3), the Union army, commanded by General George Meade, emerged victorious, primarily because it was much larger than the Confederate force and held well-fortified positions along Cemetery Ridge, which gave its units a major tactical advantage.

Gettysburg Address, dedicating a national cemetery at the battlefield, Lincoln dared to hope that the Union might win. Such a victory, he argued, would extend the promise of the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal." Without mentioning slavery by name, Lincoln suggested that Americans could draw "from these honored dead" the determination not only to preserve the Union, but also to bring about "a new birth of freedom" in the United States (AP® Analyzing Voices).

As southern citizens grew increasingly critical of their government, Confederate elections of 1863 went sharply against politicians who supported Jefferson Davis. Meanwhile, northern citizens rallied to the Union, and Republicans swept state elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New York. In Europe, the victories boosted the leverage of the Union's diplomats. Since 1862, a British-built ironclad cruiser, the CSS *Alabama*, had sunk or captured more than a hundred Union merchant ships, and the Confederacy was about to accept delivery of two more ironclads. With a Union victory increasingly likely, the British government decided to **impound** the warships. British workers and reformers had long condemned slavery and praised emancipation. Moreover, because of poor grain harvests, Britain depended on imports of wheat and flour from the American Midwest. King Cotton diplomacy had failed and King Wheat stood triumphant. "Rest not your hopes in foreign nations," President Jefferson Davis advised his people. "This war is ours; we must fight it ourselves."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS In what ways did the scope and direction of the Civil War change in 1863, and why?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
How did the battles at Vicksburg and Gettysburg alter Unionists' and Confederates' goals?

These Honored Dead

The Civil War brought death to the young and healthy, and mourning to those who loved them, on an unprecedented scale. In the documents below—a letter, a poem, a work of fiction, and a famous presidential address—four Americans reckoned with the meaning of soldiers' sacrifice.

JAMES R. MONTGOMERY

A Last Letter Home, 1864

Private James R. Montgomery of Camden, Mississippi, age twenty five, was mortally wounded at the battle of Spotsylvania Courthouse. This letter, covered with bloodstains, remains in the collections of the Museum of the Confederacy, Richmond, Virginia. Montgomery died four days later. His family was never able to locate his grave.

SOURCE: James Robert Montgomery letter, written May 10, 1864, at Spotsylvania Court House, Civil War Voices, Soldier Studies, http://www.soldierstudies.org/index.php?action=view_letter&Letter=1503.

"Dear Father,
This is my last letter to you. I went into battle this evening as courier for Genl. Heth. I have been struck by a piece of shell and my right shoulder is horribly mangled & I know death is inevitable. I am very weak but I write to you because I know you would be delighted to read a word from your dying son. I know death is near, that I will die far from home and friends of my early youth but I have friends here too who are kind to me. My friend Fairfax will write you at my request and give you the particulars of my death. My grave will be marked so that you may visit it if you desire to do so, but it is optionary with you whether you let my remains rest here or in Miss. I would like to rest in the grave yard with my dear mother and brothers but it's a matter of minor importance. Let us all try to reunite in heaven. I pray my God to forgive my sins and I feel that his promises are true that he will forgive me and save me. Give my love to all my friends. My strength fails me. My horse and my equipments will be left for you. Again, a long farewell to you. May we meet in heaven. Your dying son, J. R. Montgomery"

WALT WHITMAN

Excerpt from "Come Up from the Fields Father," 1865

In this poem, Walt Whitman imagines an Ohio family receiving news of their son.

SOURCE: Walt Whitman, excerpt from "Come Up from the Fields Father," *Civil War Poetry and Prose* (New York: Dover, 1995), 12–14.

Come up from the fields father, here's a letter from our Pete,
And come to the front door mother, here's a letter from thy dear son.

Lo, 'tis autumn, . . . Where apples ripe in the orchards hang and grapes on the trellis'd vines,
(Smell you the smell of the grapes on the vines?
Smell you the buckwheat where the bees were lately buzzing?). . . .

Down in the fields all prospers well,
But now from the fields come father, come at the daughter's call,
And come to the entry mother, to the front door come right away.

Fast as she can she hurries, something ominous, her steps trembling,
She does not tarry to smooth her hair nor adjust her cap.

Open the envelope quickly,
O this is not our son's writing, yet his name is sign'd,
O a strange hand writes for our dear son, O stricken mother's soul!
All swims before her eyes, flashes with black, she catches the main words only,
Sentences broken, gunshot wound in the breast, cavalry skirmish, taken to hospital,
At present low, but will soon be better.
. . . Grieve not so, dear mother, (the just-grown daughter speaks through her sobs,
The little sisters huddle around speechless and dismay'd,)
See, dearest mother, the letter says Pete will soon be better.
Alas poor boy, he will never be better, (nor may-be needs to be better, that brave and simple soul,)
While they stand at home at the door he is dead already,
The only son is dead. . . .

LOUISA MAY ALCOTT

"A Night," from *Hospital Sketches*, 1863

Louisa May Alcott, future author of *Little Women*, launched her career with her immensely popular *Hospital Sketches*, a fictionalized account of her own experiences. Alcott contracted typhoid fever while nursing in a Union hospital and suffered the effects for the rest of her life. In this passage, Nurse Tribulation Periwinkle describes the death of a wounded Virginia blacksmith who fought for the Union.

SOURCE: Louisa May Alcott, *Hospital Sketches* (Boston: James Redpath, 1863), 55–66, University of Pennsylvania Digital Library of Women Writers, http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/alcott/sketches/sketches.html.

"I had been summoned to many death beds in my life, but to none that made my heart ache as it did then. . . . As I went in, John stretched out both hands:
'I knew you'd come! I guess I'm moving on, ma'am.'

He was; and so rapidly that, even while he spoke, over his face I saw the grey veil falling that no human hand can lift. I sat down by him, wiped the drops from his forehead, stirred the air about him with the slow wave of a fan, and waited to help him die. He stood in sore need of help — and I could do so little; for, as the doctor had foretold, the strong body rebelled against death, and fought every inch of the way. . . . For hours he suffered dumbly, without a moment's respite, or a moment's murmuring; his limbs grew cold, his face damp, his lips white, and, again and again, he tore the covering off his breast, as if the lightest weight added to his agony; yet through it all, his eyes never lost their perfect serenity, and the man's soul seemed to sit therein, undaunted by the ills that vexed his flesh.

One by one, the men woke, and round the room appeared a circle of pale faces and watchful eyes, full of awe and pity; for, though a stranger, John was beloved by all. Each man there had wondered at his patience, respected his piety, admired his fortitude, and now lamented his hard death. . . .

For a little while, there was no sound in the room but the drip of water, from a stump or two, and John's distressful gasps, as he slowly breathed his life away. I thought him nearly gone, and had just laid down the fan, believing its help to be no longer needed, when suddenly he rose up in his bed, and cried out with a bitter cry that broke the silence, sharply startling everyone with its agonized appeal:

'For God's sake, give me air!'

It was the only cry pain or death had wrung from him. . . . Dan flung up the window. The first red streak of dawn was warming the grey east, a herald of the coming sun; John saw it, and with the love of light which lingers in us to the end, seemed to read in it a sign of hope of help, for, over his whole face there broke that mysterious expression, brighter than any smile, which often comes to eyes that look their last. He laid himself gently down; and, stretching out his strong right arm, as if to grasp and bring the blessed air to his lips in a fuller flow, lapsed into a merciful unconsciousness, which assured us that for him suffering was forever past. He died then; for, though the heavy breaths still tore their way up for a little longer, they were but the waves of an ebbing tide that beat unfelt against the wreck, which an immortal voyager had deserted with a smile. He never spoke again.

. . . The lovely expression which so often beautifies dead faces, soon replaced the marks of pain, and I longed for those who loved him best to see him when half an hour's acquaintance with Death had made them friends. . . . I kissed this good son for [his mother's] sake, and laid [an unopened letter from his mother, which had just arrived] in his hand, . . . making myself happy with the thought that, even in his solitary place in the 'Government Lot,' he would not be without some token of the love which makes life beautiful and outlives death. ”

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Gettysburg Address, 1863

Abraham Lincoln gave this speech four and a half months after the Battle of Gettysburg, at dedication ceremonies for the national cemetery for U.S. soldiers killed in the battle.

SOURCE: Abraham Lincoln, "Gettysburg Address" (Hay Copy), Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, November 19, 1863, Gettysburg Foundation, http://www.gettysburgfoundation.org/41.

“ Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth, upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met here on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of it, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate — we can not consecrate — we can not hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have, thus far, so nobly carried on. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion — that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that this government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do these documents tell us about the ways in which religious faith helped Americans cope with wartime death and loss?
2. Historians have argued that nineteenth-century Americans shared an ideal of "a good death": one in which the dying person demonstrated strong character, maintained hope of salvation through his final sufferings, and spoke meaningful last words to the loved ones gathered around. How do these authors, interpreting violent deaths that took place far from home, seek to preserve elements of a "good death"?
3. Which of these authors describe a larger political purpose in soldiers' deaths, and what meanings do they suggest for those sacrifices?

The Road to Union Victory, 1864–1865

The Union victories of 1863 made it less and less likely that the South would win independence through a decisive military triumph. Confederate leaders, however, still hoped for a battlefield stalemate and a negotiated peace. To keep the Union in Republican hands, Lincoln faced the daunting task of conquering the South. By the time his new generals finally succeeded, the war's impact had devastated the South.

Grant and Sherman Take Command

Lincoln finally found a ruthless commanding general in March 1864, when he placed Ulysses S. Grant in charge of all Union armies. From then on, the president determined overall strategy and Grant implemented it. Lincoln wanted a simultaneous advance against the major Confederate armies, a strategy Grant had long favored, in order to achieve a decisive victory before the election of 1864.

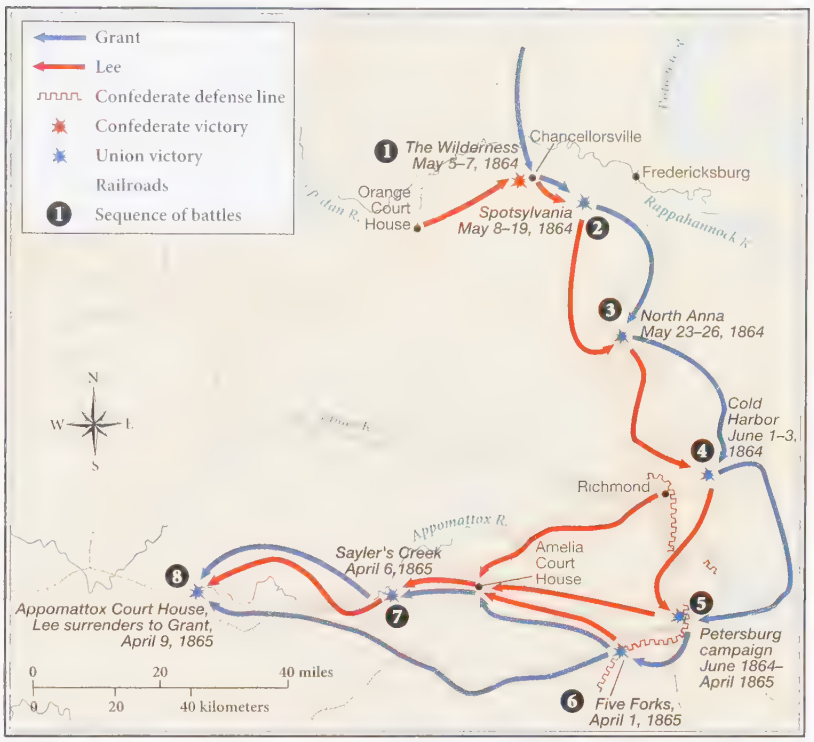
Grant knew how to fight a war that relied on industrial technology and targeted the enemy's infrastructure. At Vicksburg in July 1863, he had besieged the whole city and forced its surrender. Then, in November, he had used railroads to rescue an endangered Union army near Chattanooga, Tennessee. Grant believed the cautious tactics of previous Union commanders had prolonged the war. He was willing to accept heavy casualties, a stance that earned him a reputation as a butcher. But he followed the **tenets** of Lieber's code: whatever "military necessity" he might need to invoke, Grant would bring the war to its end.

Grant Planning a Strategic Maneuver On May 21, 1864, the day this photograph was taken, Grant pulled his forces from Spotsylvania Court House, where a bitter two-week battle (May 8–21) resulted in 18,000 Union and 10,000 Confederate casualties. He moved his army to the southeast, seeking to outflank Lee's forces. Photographer Timothy H. O'Sullivan caught up to the Union army's high command at Massaponax Church, Virginia, and captured this image of Grant (to the left) leaning over a pew and reading a map held by General George H. Meade. As Grant plots the army's movement, his officers smoke their pipes and read reports of the war in newspapers that had just arrived from New York City. Intercepting Grant's forces, Lee took up fortified positions first at the North Anna River and then at Cold Harbor, where the Confederates scored their last major victory of the war (May 31–June 3). Library of Congress

In May 1864, Grant ordered two major offensives. Personally taking charge of the 115,000-man Army of the Potomac, he set out to destroy Lee's force of 75,000 troops in Virginia. Grant instructed General William Tecumseh Sherman, who shared his harsh outlook, to invade Georgia and take Atlanta. "All that has gone before is mere skirmish," Sherman wrote as he prepared for battle. "The war now begins." As a young military officer stationed in the South, Sherman had sympathized with the planter class and felt that slavery upheld social stability. However, secession meant "anarchy," he told his southern friends in early 1861: "If war comes . . . I must fight your people whom I best love." Sherman, more than anyone else, developed the philosophy and tactics of **hard war**. When Confederate guerrillas fired on a boat carrying Unionist civilians near Randolph, Tennessee, Sherman had sent a regiment to destroy the town, asserting, "We are justified in treating all inhabitants as combatants."

Grant advanced toward Richmond, hoping to force Lee to fight in open fields, where the Union's superior manpower and artillery would prevail.

Remembering his tactical errors at Gettysburg, Lee remained in strong defensive positions and attacked only when he held an advantage. The Confederate general seized such opportunities twice in May 1864, winning costly victories at the battles of the Wilderness and Spotsylvania Court House. At Spotsylvania, troops fought at point-blank range; an Iowa recruit recalled "lines of blue and grey [firing] into each other's faces; for an hour and a half." Despite heavy losses in these battles and then at Cold Harbor, Grant drove on (Map 13.4). His attacks severely eroded Lee's forces, which suffered 31,000 casualties, but Union losses were even higher: 55,000 killed or wounded.



MAP 13.4 The Closing Virginia Campaign, 1864–1865
Beginning in May 1864, General Ulysses S. Grant launched an all-out campaign against Richmond, trying to lure General Robert E. Lee into open battle. Lee avoided a major test of strength. Instead, he retreated to defensive positions and inflicted heavy casualties on Union attackers at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, North Anna, and Cold Harbor (1–4). From June 1864 to April 1865, the two armies faced each other across defensive fortifications outside Richmond and Petersburg (5). Grant finally broke this ten-month siege by a flanking maneuver at Five Forks (6). Lee's surrender followed shortly.

Stalemate The fighting took a heavy psychological toll. "Many a man has gone crazy since this campaign began from the terrible pressure on mind and body," observed a Union captain. In June 1864, Grant laid siege to Petersburg, an important railroad center near Richmond. As the siege continued, Union and Confederate soldiers built complex networks of trenches, tunnels, and artillery emplacements stretching 40 miles along the eastern edge of Richmond and Petersburg, foreshadowing the devastating trench warfare that would emerge in France during World War I. Invoking the intense imagery of the Bible, an officer described the continuous artillery barrages and sniping as "living night and day within the 'valley of the shadow of death.'" The stress was especially great for the outnumbered Confederates, who spent months in the muddy, hellish trenches without rotation to the rear.

As time passed, Lincoln and Grant felt pressures of their own. The enormous casualties and military stalemate threatened Lincoln with defeat in the November election. Republicans' outlook worsened in July, when a body of almost 3,000 Confederate cavalry raided and burned the town of Chambersburg, in southern Pennsylvania, and threatened Washington. To punish farmers in the Shenandoah Valley who had aided the Confederate raiders, Grant ordered General Philip H. Sheridan to turn the region into "a barren waste." Sheridan's troops conducted a scorched-earth campaign, destroying grain, barns, and gristmills and any other resource useful to the Confederates. Hard war had become hard indeed.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
How did Grant's appointment as general in chief affect the course of the war?

The Election of 1864 and Sherman's March

As the siege at Petersburg dragged on, General William Tecumseh Sherman's 90,000 Union men moved methodically toward Atlanta, a railway hub at the heart of the Confederacy. General Joseph E. Johnson's Confederate army of 60,000 stood in Sherman's way and, in June 1864, inflicted heavy casualties on his forces near Kennesaw Mountain, Georgia. By late July, the Union army was poised on the northern outskirts of Atlanta, but the next month brought little gain. Like Grant, Sherman seemed bogged down in a hopeless campaign.

Both Unionists and Confederates pinned their hopes on the election of 1864. In June, the Republican convention rebuffed attempts to prevent Lincoln's renomination. It endorsed the president's war strategy, demanded unconditional Confederate

William Tecumseh Sherman A man of nervous energy, Sherman smoked cigars and talked continuously. When seated, he crossed and uncrossed his legs incessantly, and a journalist described his fingers as constantly "twitching his red whiskers — his coat buttons — playing a tattoo on the table — or running through his hair." On the battlefield Sherman was a decisive general who commanded the loyalty of his troops. A photographer captured this image of Sherman in 1865, following his devastating march through Georgia and the Carolinas. National Archive

surrender, and called for a constitutional amendment to abolish slavery. Delegates likewise embraced Lincoln's political strategy. To attract border-state and Democratic voters, the Republicans took a new name, the National Union Party, and chose Andrew Johnson, a Tennessee slave owner and Unionist Democrat, as Lincoln's running mate.

The Democratic Party met in August and nominated George McClellan for president. Lincoln had twice removed McClellan from military commands: first for an excess of caution and then for his opposition to emancipation. Like McClellan, Democratic delegates rejected emancipation and condemned Lincoln's repression of domestic dissent, particularly his suspension of habeas corpus and use of military courts to prosecute civilians. However, they split into two camps over war policy. War Democrats vowed to continue fighting until the rebellion ended, while Peace Democrats called for a "cessation of hostilities" and a constitutional convention to negotiate a peace settlement. Although personally a War Democrat, McClellan promised if elected to recommend to Congress an immediate **armistice** and a peace convention. Hearing this news, Confederate vice president Alexander Stephens celebrated "the first ray of real light I have seen since the war began." He predicted that if Atlanta and Richmond held out, Lincoln would be defeated and McClellan would eventually accept an independent Confederacy.

The Fall of Atlanta and Lincoln's Victory Stephens's hopes collapsed on September 2, 1864, as Atlanta fell to Sherman's army. In a stunning move, the Union general pulled his troops from the trenches, swept around the city, and destroyed its rail links to the south. Fearing that Sherman would encircle his army, Confederate general John B. Hood abandoned the city. "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won," Sherman telegraphed Lincoln, sparking hundred-gun salutes and wild Republican celebration. "We are gaining strength," Lincoln warned Confederate leaders, "and may, if need be, maintain the contest indefinitely."

A deep pessimism settled over the Confederacy. Mary Chesnut, a South Carolina plantation mistress and general's wife, wrote in her diary, "I felt as if all were dead within me, forever," and foresaw the end of the Confederacy: "We are going to be wiped off the earth." Recognizing the dramatically changed military situation, McClellan repudiated the Democratic peace platform. Democrats' fall campaign focused heavily instead on the alleged dangers of emancipation. Cartoonists caricatured Lincoln as an ape; parade floats featured "Negroes" — white men in blackface makeup — dancing with white women. An anonymous Democratic pamphlet warned of the dangers of race mixing, coining the term **miscegenation** to denounce interracial marriage and claim that it would result from Republican policies.

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the election of 1864 as a reflection of opposition to the war effort in the North and the importance of key victories against the South.

The National Union Party went on the offensive, attacking McClellan's inconsistency and attacking Peace Democrats as traitors. Boosted by Sherman's victories in Georgia, Lincoln won a clear-cut victory in November. He received 55 percent of the popular vote and won 212 of 233 electoral votes. Republicans and National Unionists captured 145 of the 185 seats in the House of Representatives and increased their Senate majority to 42 of 52 seats. Republicans owed their victory in part to the votes of Union troops.

Legal emancipation was already underway at the edges of the South. In 1864, Maryland and Missouri amended their constitutions to end slavery, and the three Confederate states occupied by the Union army — Tennessee, Arkansas, and

Louisiana—followed suit. Still, abolitionists worried that the Emancipation Proclamation, based legally on the president's wartime powers, would lose its force at the end of the war. It took three attempts, but urged on by Lincoln and the National Equal Rights League, Congress finally approved the Thirteenth Amendment in January 1865 (Table 13.1). Once ratified by two-thirds of the states, in December 1865, the amendment officially ended slavery in the United States.

Sherman Crosses Georgia Thanks to Sherman, the Confederacy was also reaching its end. After capturing Atlanta, Sherman advocated a bold strategy. Instead of pursuing a retreating Confederate army northward into Tennessee, he proposed to move south, live off the land, and "cut a swath through to the sea." To persuade Lincoln and Grant to approve his unconventional plan, Sherman argued that his march would be "a demonstration to the world, foreign and domestic, that we have a power [Jefferson] Davis cannot resist." The general lived up to his pledge (Map 13.5). "We are not only fighting hostile armies," Sherman wrote, "but a hostile people, and must make old and young, rich and poor, feel the hard hand of war." He left Atlanta in flames, and during his 300-mile March to the Sea his army consumed or demolished everything in its path. Though Sherman's army focused on damaging property, not murdering civilians, the **havoc** so demoralized Confederate soldiers that many deserted their units and returned home. When Sherman reached Savannah in mid-December, the city's 10,000 defenders left without a fight.

Georgia's African Americans treated Sherman as a savior. "They flock to me, old and young," he wrote. "They pray and shout and mix up my name with Moses . . . as

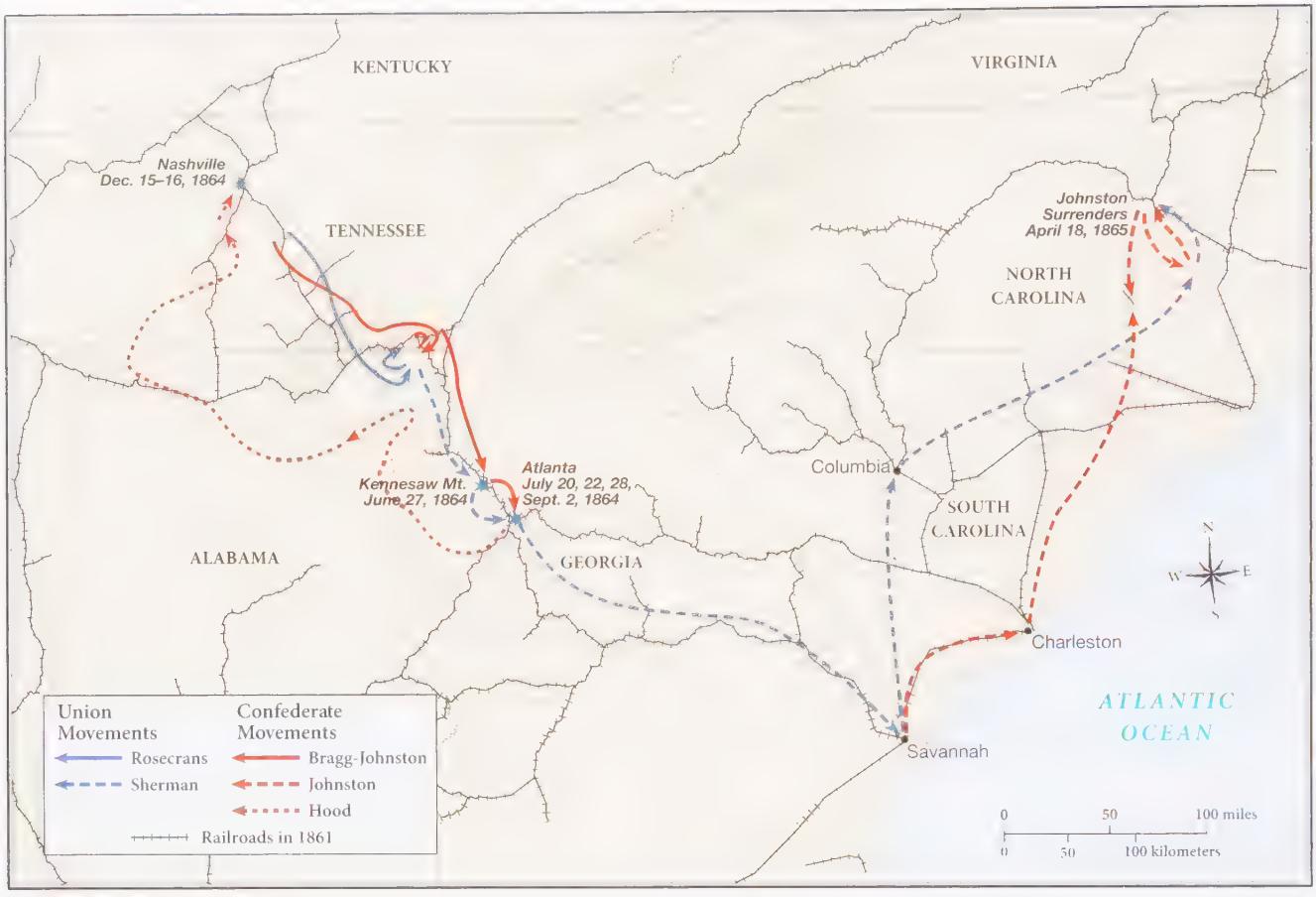
TABLE 13.1

The Challenge of Passing the Thirteenth Amendment

This table shows the results of votes in the House of Representatives on amending the Constitution to abolish slavery throughout the United States. The measure needed a 2/3 vote to pass. In 1864, well after Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure, Confederate hopes were fading and 180,000 African American troops had fought for the Union. Why did a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery prove, nevertheless, so difficult to pass in Congress? What military and political events happened between June 1864 and January 1865 that made passage possible at last?

	Republican	Democrat	Union	Uncond. Union	Total
Feb. 15, 1864 (trial vote)					
Yea	66	1	1	10	78
Nay	2	52	7	1	62
Absent	17	20	2	3	42
Abstain	1	0	0	0	1
June 15, 1864 (on Senate bill)					
Yea	78	4	0	11	93
Nay	1	58	6	0	65
Absent	6	10	4	3	23
Abstain	1	0	0	0	1
Jan. 31, 1865 (on Senate bill)					
Yea	86	15	4	14	119
Nay	0	50	6	0	56
Absent	0	8	0	0	8
Abstain	0	0	0	0	0

SOURCE: Michael Vorenberg, *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 252.



MAP 13.5 Sherman's March Through the Confederacy, 1864–1865
The Union victory in November 1863 at Chattanooga, Tennessee was almost as critical as the victories in July at Gettysburg and Vicksburg, because it opened up a route of attack into the heart of the Confederacy. In mid-1864, General William Tecumseh Sherman advanced on the railway hub of Atlanta. After taking the city in September 1864, Sherman relied on other Union armies to stem an invasion of Tennessee by Confederate General John Bell Hood, while Sherman began a devastating march across Georgia. By December Sherman's army reached Savannah, and from there they cut a swath through the Carolinas. Note how Sherman's march followed key rail lines: his troops ripped up, heated, and twisted sections of track to disrupt Confederate transport and communications.

well as 'Abram Linkom,' the Great Messiah of 'Dis Jubilee.'" To provide for the hundreds of African American families now following his army, Sherman issued **Special Field Order No. 15**, which set aside 400,000 acres of prime rice-growing land for the exclusive use of freedpeople. By June 1865, about 40,000 African Americans were cultivating "Sherman lands." Many expected the lands were to be theirs forever, a form of payment for generations of unpaid labor: "All the land belongs to the Yankees now and they gwine divide it out among de coloured people." By March, after his destructive march through South Carolina, Sherman was ready to link up with Grant and crush Lee's army.

The Confederacy Collapses

Grant's war of attrition in Virginia had already exposed a weakness in the Confederacy: rising class resentment among poor whites. Angered by slave owners' exemptions from military service and fearing that the Confederacy was doomed, ordinary southern farmers now repudiated the draft. "All they want is to git you . . . to fight for their infurnal negroes," grumbled an Alabama hill farmer. More and more soldiers fled their units. "I am now going to work instead of to the war," vowed David Harris, another backcountry yeoman. By 1865, at least 100,000 men had deserted from Confederate armies, prompting reluctant Confederate leaders to approve the enlistment of black soldiers

AP® EXAM TIP
Evaluate the importance of attrition and total war on the defeat of the South.

A Southern Refugee Family As Union and Confederate armies swept back and forth across northern Virginia and other war zones, the civilian population feared for its property and personal security. Here, two southern women — their husbands presumably away at war — have hitched up their mules and piled their goods and children on a farm wagon in order to flee the fighting. Lucky refugees had relatives in safe areas; others had to rely on the goodwill of strangers. National Archives

and promising them freedom. It was a hollow offer: tens of thousands were already proving excellent soldiers for the Union.

The symbolic end of the war took place in Virginia. In April 1865, Grant finally gained control of the crucial railroad junction at Petersburg and forced Lee to abandon Richmond. As Lincoln visited the ruins of the Confederate capital, greeted by joyful freedmen and women, Grant cut off Lee's escape route to North Carolina. It was one of Lincoln's last acts: on April 14, a pro-Confederate actor named John Wilkes Booth assassinated the president, shouting "Sic semper tyrannis" — Virginia's state motto, *thus always to tyrants.* Lincoln's murder plunged the Union into mourning and opened disturbing questions about the postwar political order (Chapter 14).

Before his death Lincoln had received, with weary satisfaction, news that the Union had won. On April 9, almost four years to the day after the attack on Fort Sumter, Lee had surrendered at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. In return for their promise not to fight again, Grant allowed Confederate officers and men to take their horses and personal weapons and go home. By late May, all the secessionist armies and governments had surrendered or melted away.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

To what extent were Grant and Sherman's military strategy and tactics responsible for the Confederacy's defeat?

The World the War Made

The brutal conflict was finally over. The North had won, to a large degree, because the Confederacy had not won quickly. Southern leaders' hopes for European aid, based on the power of King Cotton, turned out to be misplaced, and the Union proved far better equipped to fight a grueling four-year war of attrition. The Union could not have won, however, without impressive wartime innovations in policy, strategy, and technology. These ranged from the adoption of greenback dollars and steam-powered gunboats to

the Lieber Code and the hard war tactics of Grant and Sherman. The Confederacy had innovated, also, exerting strong centralized powers to marshal men and resources for the conflict. But the Union had ultimately proven bolder and stronger. "As our case is new," Lincoln had told Congress in 1863, "so we must think anew, and act anew." Northerners had done so, most notably by abolishing slavery and recruiting African American soldiers, and had persevered to maintain the Union.

Over 700,000 people were dead. Delivering his second inaugural address in March 1865, Lincoln sought to explain the carnage by eloquently suggesting that the war's purpose had not been to preserve the Union but to end slavery. That purpose, however ignored or disavowed by Union leaders, had been a divine plan. "If we shall suppose," Lincoln said,

> that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.

For the first time, Lincoln had named the sin of slavery as the central cause of the war — and proposed, remarkably, that both the Union and Confederacy shared guilt for that sin. Abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who heard the address, told Lincoln afterward that it was a "sacred effort." Yet at the same time, Lincoln's second inaugural depicted the catastrophe of war as visited only on *whites* — as if enslaved African Americans had been passive victims and bystanders, rather than participants in the war who, as "contrabands," scouts, soldiers, and refugees, had suffered terribly as well, and had played decisive roles in the Union victory. Even Lincoln's most powerful antislavery speech, then, revealed unresolved political problems that would arise with peace. As southern states returned to the Union, what kind of nation would emerge? Former Confederates wanted a "reunion" of the white North and South, a nation adhering as nearly as possible to prewar principles. African Americans and Radical Republicans wanted revolution — a complete transformation of the South. Neither would get their wish.

As for the future of the United States, an optimistic New York census-taker suggested that the conflict had had an "equalizing effect." In some ways he was right. Slavery was dead: in a transformation of immense significance, no American could ever again legally claim to own another human being. The official also reflected that, in the North, "military men from the so called 'lower classes' now lead society, having been elevated by real merit and valor." However perceptive these remarks, they ignored the wartime emergence of the new financial aristocracy that soon presided over what Mark Twain labeled the Gilded Age. As early as 1863, a journalist warned that when the war was over, "there will be the same wealth in the country, but it will be in fewer hands; we shall have . . . more merchant princes and princely bankers."

Astonishing its European rivals, the United States did emerge from the Civil War with the "same wealth," and relatively unscathed. High tariffs put in place by Republicans, for example, paid off the nation's war debt with remarkable speed (AP® America in the World). And however devastated the South's economy might be, the United States had started on the path to global economic power. In the postwar period, Republicans would wrestle with the limits of that power at home and on the world stage.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did Union objectives appear different to Lincoln at the end of the Civil War than they had at the beginning?

War Debt: Britain and the United States, 1830–1900

Wars cost money, sometimes a lot of money, and nations often pay for them by issuing bonds and expanding the national debt. The British national debt grew enormously between 1750 and 1815 as it fought a long series of wars, all of which involved either its American colonies or the United States: the Great War for Empire (1754–1763), the War of American Independence (1776–1783), and the Wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon (1793–1815). Consequently, Britain's national debt peaked in 1815 at 260 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP). Even in 1830, after years of high taxation and economic growth, the debt amounted to 180 percent of British GDP.

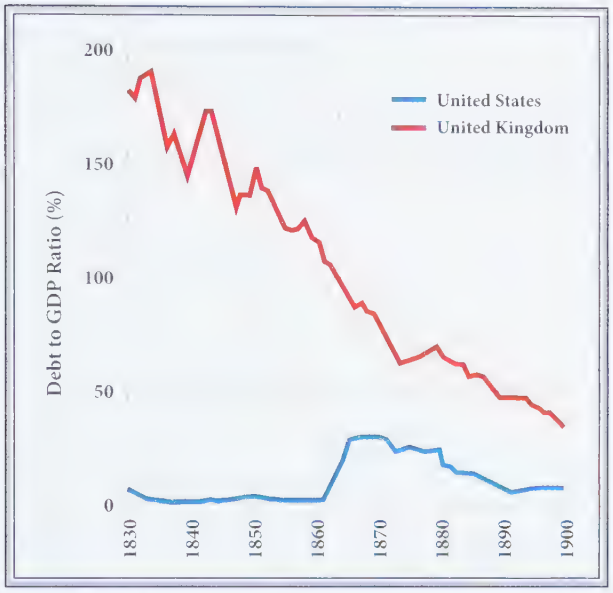


FIGURE 13.1 War Debt: Britain and the United States, 1830–1900

By comparison, the United States in 1830 was virtually debt-free, as the policies of Jeffersonian Republicans reduced its debt from about 27 percent of GDP in 1790 to less than 5 percent. Ample tariff revenues and the frugal policies of Presidents Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren then cut the debt nearly to zero by the early 1840s. Even the war with Mexico barely raised the level of debt, thanks to the return of prosperity and growth of GDP between 1844 and 1857.

Then came the Civil War, which boosted the Union debt from $62 million in 1860 to $2.2 billion at the end of 1865, a 1,500 percent increase. (The Fourteenth Amendment, ratified in 1868, declared "illegal and void" all debts incurred by the Confederacy.) In relation to GDP, the U.S. national debt shot up to 27 percent, the same level as 1790, and then — thanks again to tariff revenue — decreased gradually to about 10 percent of GDP by 1900. By then, the British national debt had fallen to about 40 percent of its GDP, as the British — the world's strongest power — mostly avoided new wars and built a prosperous commercial and industrial economy. The cost of war, civil or international, may well be a high national debt.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In 1864, President Lincoln lamented: "This war of ours, in its magnitude and in its duration, is one of the most terrible. It has produced a national debt and taxation unprecedented, at least in this country." Given the relative size of the Union debt in relation to that of Britain, were Lincoln's worries exaggerated?
2. In 2012, the national debt of the United States — now the world's premier economic and military power — was nearly 100 percent of GDP and, since 1940, has averaged about 60 percent of GDP. Given those facts, and the evidence in this chart, is it fair to conclude that one of the costs of global power is a high national debt?

SUMMARY

As the Civil War began, both the Union and the Confederacy hoped for a quick, decisive victory, but none was forthcoming. Union commander George B. McClellan proved unable to crush his daring southern equivalent, Robert E. Lee, but as attempts to invade the West and North failed, Confederates proved unable to move the theater of war outside their own territory. From the beginning, also, thousands of African Americans fled to Union lines, undermining Confederates' war effort. Congress soon authorized use of these "contrabands" as scouts, spies, and paid workers.

By 1862 and 1863, new strategies were needed. First the Confederacy and then the Union instituted military conscription. This unprecedented move, along with new

taxes and inflation, caused considerable civilian unrest, especially in the South, as Union forces made inroads into occupying Confederate land and resources. Even more important was the Emancipation Proclamation, which Lincoln issued after the Union victory at Antietam and put into effect on January 1, 1863. African American troops soon enlisted for the Union, hardening Confederate attitudes but playing a crucial role in Union victory. Two decisive battles in the summer of 1863, Gettysburg and Vicksburg, began to turn the tide toward Union victory. Lincoln then chose an effective commander, Ulysses Grant, to lead U.S. forces, but it took almost two years of grueling, brutal campaigns to defeat the South.

In the fall of 1864, exhausted and shocked by the war's magnitude, Confederates pinned their last hopes on Lincoln's defeat in his campaign for reelection, anticipating that his Democratic opponent would sue for peace and reinstate slavery. But General William T. Sherman's brilliant campaigns helped bolster Union morale and ensure Lincoln's reelection. In the war's final months, as the Confederacy began to collapse, Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery.

CHAPTER 13 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What early political and military strategies did Confederate and Union leaders adopt, and which were most successful?
2. In what ways did the scope and direction of the Civil War change in 1863, and why?
3. How did Union objectives appear different to Lincoln at the end of the Civil War than they had at the beginning?
4. The thematic timeline for Part 5 (pp. 364–365) lists events or developments in the 1860s relating directly to the South's secession and the Civil War. Does that list capture the war's overwhelming importance to the history of nineteenth-century America? If not, is this deficiency inherent to timelines, or does it reflect a faulty construction of this specific timeline? How would you address this problem?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

King Cotton (p. 401)
habeas corpus (p. 402)
"contrabands" (p. 406)
Radical Republicans (p. 406)
Emancipation Proclamation (p. 407)
greenbacks (p. 409)
one-tenth tax (p. 410)
draft (conscription) (p. 411)
twenty-Negro rule (p. 411)
draft riots (p. 412)
Lieber Code (p. 413)
U.S. Sanitary Commission (p. 414)
Woman's Loyal National League (p. 414)
Gettysburg Address (p. 419)
hard war (p. 422)
miscegenation (p. 424)
Special Field Order No. 15 (p. 426)

Key People

Abraham Lincoln (p. 400)
Jefferson Davis (p. 400)
George McClellan (p. 402)
Robert E. Lee (p. 402)
Ulysses S. Grant (p. 402)
William Tecumseh Sherman (p. 405)

Key Academic Terms

furor (p. 412)
intransigence (p. 413)
auxiliary (p. 414)
impound (p. 419)
tenet (p. 422)
armistice (p. 424)
havoc (p. 425)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Both the American Revolution and the Civil War pitted Americans against each other and were fought on U.S. soil. In the former, however, the far more economically and militarily powerful British Empire lost to the rebellious colonists, while in the latter, it was the seceders who lost. What factors explain these different outcomes? Who made up the armies in each conflict, and what roles did civilians play?

2. The photographs of the southern refugee family (p. 427) and Grant planning a strategic maneuver (p. 422) remind us of a world in which people, goods, and soldiers moved either on foot or on horses and mules. How did this limited mobility affect civilians — slave and free — and military forces during the Civil War? How did the emergence of steam-powered naval vessels, railroads, and other new technologies begin to change the nature of war?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 400 for help in answering the question below.

The Emancipation Proclamation (1863); Union victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg (1863); and Sherman's taking of Atlanta (1864): historians have seen all of these events as important turning points. Assume that *one* of these events did not happen. What difference would it have made in the military and political struggle between the Union and the Confederacy?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "There is every reason to believe, from present appearances . . . that we shall be short of supplies for one army and people next year. . . . It behooves us therefore to observe the greatest frugality and economy in the use of what we have. It matters not that we have a plethora of money, or that there is an abundance elsewhere to supply our lack, when we are excluded from the markets of the world, and are compelled to rely upon what we have within ourselves. Money cannot produce one grain of corn, or increase by one pound, our quantity of meat. . . . Thousands of our gallant soldiers who were nursed in the lap of plenty, and brought up in the midst of affluence, have known what it is to go for days together without a meal. . . . The season, the condition of the country, the wants of those to whom we have referred, and the prospect before us, all call upon us, trumpet-tongued, to forego every species of luxury during the existence of this war."
>
> Virginia newspaper article from *The Staunton Spectator*, November 4, 1862

1. The passage at left best serves as evidence of which of the following?
   a. The mobilization of economy and society to wage the Civil War
   b. The failure of the Confederacy from gaining full diplomatic support from European powers
   c. The portrayal of the Civil War as a struggle to fulfill America's democratic ideals
   d. The failure of numerous attempts at compromise to reduce conflict
2. The issues brought up in the passage were primarily a result of which of the following?
   a. The southern economy's dependence on imports
   b. Improvements in Union leadership and strategy
   c. African Americans fleeing southern plantations
   d. Differing forms of government between the North and the South
3. The passage at left was most likely written in response to the
   a. considerable home front opposition faced by the Confederacy to waging the war.
   b. the initiative and daring shown by the North early in the war.
   c. the wartime destruction of the South's infrastructure.
   d. the greater resources possessed by the North.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

" . . As to the policy I 'seem to be pursuing,' as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the National authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be 'the Union as it was.' If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *save* Slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could *destroy* Slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy Slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leave others alone, I would also do that. . . . I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men, every-where, could be free."

Letter from Abraham Lincoln to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862

4. Which of the following events most directly contradicts Lincoln's views expressed in the passage at left?
   a. The enlistment of African Americans in the Union army
   b. The issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation
   c. The highly visible campaign of African American and white abolitionists against slavery
   d. The continued dominance of southern planters in the region after the war
5. Based upon the excerpt, Lincoln would most likely support
   a. the reinstatement of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
   b. the Dred Scott decision.
   c. the settlement of ex-slaves on former plantation lands.
   d. the Thirteenth Amendment.
6. Lincoln's position as referenced in the excerpt is most similar to which of the following?
   a. Woodrow Wilson's position on American involvement in World War I at the start of the conflict
   b. Ronald Reagan's position on countering communism at the beginning of the Cold War
   c. George Washington's position on the French Revolution during his presidency
   d. Andrew Jackson's position on the National Bank as a presidential candidate

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Strong feelings of national identity helped spawn the impressive will Confederates exhibited during their war for independence. With the goal of mounting the broad military effort necessary to establish nationhood, soldiers and civilians of the Confederacy tolerated severe intrusions on personal freedom, accepted the erosion of states' rights as the central government sought to equip and feed its armies, and, toward the end, debated openly the possibility of arming and freeing slaves to win the war."

Gary W. Gallagher, *The Confederate War*, 1997

"Countless women of all classes had in effect deserted the ranks. . . . Refusing to accept the economic deprivation further military struggle would have required, resisting additional military service by their husbands and sons . . . Southern women undermined both objective and ideological foundations for the Confederate effort; they directly subverted the South's military and economic effectiveness as well as civilian morale. . . . It may well have been because of women that the South lost the Civil War."

Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," *Journal of American History*, 76 (March 1990): 1228

1. Using the two excerpts on the previous page, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Gallagher's and Faust's historical interpretations about the Confederacy during the Civil War.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Gallagher's argument.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Faust's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain why one of the following developments was the most significant factor contributing to the Union winning the Civil War.
      - European powers remaining neutral during the conflict
      - The emancipation of slaves
      - The greater economic resources of the Union
   b. Provide ONE specific historical example to support your argument in (a).
   c. Provide specific evidence why ONE of the other options is less convincing as a significant factor leading to the Union victory.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE important difference between the domestic policy goals of the Confederate and Union governments.
   b. Briefly explain ONE important similarity between the domestic policy goals of the Confederate and Union governments.
   c. Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for the similarity OR difference between the domestic policy goals of the Confederate and Union governments.

CHAPTER 14

Reconstruction
1865–1877

The Struggle for National Reconstruction

Presidential Approaches: From Lincoln to Johnson

Congress Versus the President

Radical Reconstruction

Women's Rights Denied

The Meaning of Freedom

The Quest for Land

Republican Governments in the South

Building Black Communities

The Undoing of Reconstruction

The Republicans Unravel

Counterrevolution in the South

Reconstruction Rolled Back

The Political Crisis of 1877

Lasting Legacies

AP LEARNING FOCUS

What goals did Republican policymakers, ex-Confederates, and freedpeople pursue during Reconstruction? To what degree did each succeed?

On the last day of April 1866, black soldiers in Memphis, Tennessee, turned in their weapons as they mustered out of the Union army. The next day, whites who resented the soldiers' presence provoked a clash. At a street celebration where African Americans shouted "Hurrah for Abe Lincoln," a white policeman responded, "Your old father, Abe Lincoln, is dead and damned." The scuffle that followed precipitated three days of white violence and rape that left forty-eight African Americans dead and dozens more wounded. Mobs burned black homes and churches and destroyed all twelve of the city's black schools.

Unionists were appalled. They had won the Civil War, but where was the peace? Ex-Confederates murdered freedmen and **flagrantly** resisted federal control. After the Memphis attacks, Republicans in Congress proposed a new measure that would protect African Americans by defining and enforcing U.S. citizenship rights. Eventually this bill became the most significant law to emerge from Reconstruction, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Andrew Johnson, however — the Unionist Democrat who became president after Abraham Lincoln's assassination — refused to sign the bill. In May 1865, while Congress was adjourned, Johnson had implemented his own Reconstruction plan. It extended **amnesty** to all southerners who took a loyalty oath, except for a few high-ranking Confederates. It also allowed states to reenter the Union as soon as they revoked secession, abolished slavery, and relieved their new state governments of financial burdens by repudiating Confederate debts. A year later, at the time of the Memphis carnage, all ex-Confederate states had met Johnson's terms. The president rejected any further intervention.

Johnson's vetoes, combined with ongoing violence in the South, angered Unionist voters. In the political struggle that ensued, congressional Republicans seized the initiative from the president and enacted a sweeping program that became known as Radical Reconstruction. One of its key achievements, the Fifteenth Amendment, would have been unthinkable a few years earlier: voting rights for African American men.

Black southerners, though, had additional, urgent priorities. "We have toiled nearly all our lives as slaves [and] have made these lands what they are," a group of South Carolina petitioners declared. They pleaded for "some provision by which we as Freedmen can obtain a Homestead." Though northern Republicans and freedpeople agreed that black southerners must have physical safety and the right to vote, former slaves also wanted economic independence. Northerners sought, instead, to revive cash-crop plantations with wage labor. Reconstruction's eventual failure stemmed from the conflicting goals of lawmakers, freedpeople, and relentlessly hostile ex-Confederates.

Celebrating the Fifteenth Amendment, 1870 This lithograph depicts a celebration in Baltimore on May 15, 1870. With perhaps 200,000 people attending, the grand parade and orations marked passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, which enfranchised men irrespective of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The heroes depicted at the top are Martin Delany, the first black man to become an officer in the U.S. Army; abolitionist Frederick Douglass, born in slavery on Maryland's Eastern Shore; and Mississippi senator Hiram Rhodes Revels. The images at the bottom carried the following captions: "Liberty Protects the Marriage Altar," "The Ballot Box is open to us," and "Our Representative Sits in the National Legislature." Such lithographs, widely printed and sold, capture the pride, hope, and optimism of Reconstruction — but the optimism was not to last.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and try to identify the links among related events.

1864
- Wade-Davis Bill passed by Congress but killed by Lincoln's pocket veto

1865
- Freedmen's Bureau established
- Lincoln assassinated; Andrew Johnson succeeds him as president
- Johnson implements restoration plan
- Ex-Confederate states pass Black Codes to limit freedpeople's rights

1866
- Civil Rights Act passes over Johnson's veto
- Major Republican gains in congressional elections

1867
- Reconstruction Act

1868
- Impeachment of Andrew Johnson
- Fourteenth Amendment ratified
- Ulysses S. Grant elected president

1870
- Ku Klux Klan at peak of power
- Congress passes Enforcement Laws to suppress Klan
- Fifteenth Amendment ratified
- Victoria Woodhull declares her support for "free love"

1872
- Grant reelected; Crédit Mobilier scandal emerges

1873
- Panic of 1873 ushers in severe economic depression
- Supreme Court severely curtails Reconstruction in *Slaughter-House Cases*

1874
- Sweeping Democratic gains in congressional elections

1875
- Whiskey Ring and other scandals undermine Grant administration
- *Minor v. Happersett*: Supreme Court rules that Fourteenth Amendment does not extend voting rights to women
- Beecher-Tilton scandal dominates headlines

1877
- Rutherford B. Hayes becomes president
- Federal Reconstruction ends

The Struggle for National Reconstruction

Congress clashed with President Johnson, in part, because the framers of the Constitution did not anticipate a civil war or provide for its aftermath. Had Confederate states legally left the Union when they seceded? If so, then their reentry required action by Congress. If not — if even during secession they had retained U.S. statehood — then restoring them might be an administrative matter, best left to the president. Lack of clarity on this fundamental question made for explosive politics.

Presidential Approaches: From Lincoln to Johnson

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

As wartime president, Lincoln had offered a plan similar to Johnson's. It granted amnesty to most ex-Confederates and allowed each rebellious state to return to the Union as soon as 10 percent of its voters had taken a loyalty oath and the state had approved the Thirteenth Amendment, abolishing slavery. But even amid defeat, Confederate states rejected this **Ten Percent Plan** — an ominous sign for the future. In July 1864, Congress proposed a tougher substitute, the **Wade-Davis Bill**, that required an oath of allegiance by a majority of each state's adult white men, new governments formed only by those who had never taken up arms against the Union, and permanent disenfranchisement of Confederate leaders. Lincoln defeated the Wade-Davis Bill with a pocket veto, leaving it unsigned when Congress adjourned. At the same time, he opened talks with key congressmen, aiming for a compromise.

On April 14, 1865, Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth while watching a play at Ford's Theatre. We will never know what would have happened had Lincoln lived. His death precipitated grief and political turmoil. As a special train bore the president's flag-draped coffin home to Illinois, thousands of Americans lined the railroad tracks in mourning. Furious and grief-stricken, many Unionists blamed all Confederates for the acts of southern sympathizer John Wilkes Booth and his accomplices in the murder. At the same time, Lincoln's death left the presidency in the hands of Andrew Johnson, a man utterly lacking in Lincoln's moral sense and political judgment.

Johnson was a self-styled "common man" from the hills of eastern Tennessee. Trained as a tailor, he built his political career on the support of farmers and laborers. Loyal to the Union, Johnson had refused to leave the U.S. Senate when Tennessee

seceded. After federal forces captured Nashville in 1862, Lincoln appointed Johnson as Tennessee's military governor. In the election of 1864, placing Lincoln and this War Democrat on the ticket together had seemed a smart move, designed to promote unity. But after Lincoln's death, Johnson's disagreement with Republicans, combined with his belligerent and contradictory actions, wreaked political havoc.

The new president and Congress confronted a set of problems that would have challenged even Lincoln. During the war, Unionists had insisted that rebel leaders were a small minority and most white southerners wanted to rejoin the Union. With even greater optimism, Republicans hoped the defeated South would accept postwar reforms. Ex-Confederates, however, contested that plan through both violence and political action. New southern state legislatures, created under Johnson's limited Reconstruction plan, moved to restore slavery in all but name. In 1865, they enacted **Black Codes**, designed to force former slaves back to plantation labor. Like similar laws passed in other places after slavery ended, the codes reflected plantation owners' economic interests (AP® America in the World). They imposed severe penalties on blacks who did not hold full-year labor contracts and also set up procedures for taking black children from their parents and apprenticing them to former slave masters.

Faced with these developments, Johnson gave all the wrong signals. He had long talked tough against southern planters. But in practice, Johnson allied himself with ex-Confederate leaders, forgiving them when they appealed for pardons. White southern leaders were delighted. "By this wise and noble statesmanship," wrote a Confederate legislator, "you have become the benefactor of the Southern people." Northerners and freedmen were disgusted. The president had left Reconstruction "to the tender mercies of the rebels," wrote one Republican. An angry Union veteran in Missouri called Johnson "a traitor to the loyal people of the Union." Emboldened by Johnson's indulgence, ex-Confederates began to filter back into the halls of power. When Georgians elected Alexander Stephens, former vice president of the Confederacy, to represent them in Congress, many outraged Republicans saw this as the last straw.

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to describe the battle between executive and legislative authority during Reconstruction is critical for success on the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did Lincoln and Johnson approach Reconstruction differently?

Congress Versus the President

Under the Constitution, Congress is "the judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members" (Article 1, Section 5). Using this power, Republican majorities in both houses had refused to admit southern delegations when Congress convened in December 1865, effectively blocking Johnson's program. Hoping to mollify Congress, some southern states dropped the most objectionable provisions from their Black Codes. But at the same time, antiblack violence erupted in various parts of the South.

Congressional Republicans concluded that the federal government had to intervene. Back in March 1865, Congress had established the **Freedmen's Bureau** to aid displaced blacks and other war refugees. In early 1866, Congress voted to extend the bureau, gave it direct funding for the first time, and authorized its agents to investigate southern abuses. Even more extraordinary was the **Civil Rights Act of 1866**, which declared formerly enslaved people to be citizens and granted them equal protection and rights of contract, with full access to the courts.

These bills provoked bitter conflict with Johnson, who vetoed them both. Johnson's racism, hitherto publicly muted, now blazed forth: "This is a country for white men, and by God, as long as I am president, it shall be a government for white men." Galvanized, Republicans in Congress gathered two-thirds majorities and overrode both vetoes, passing the Civil Rights Act in April 1866 and the Freedmen's Bureau law four months later. Their resolve was reinforced by continued upheaval in the

Violence in New Orleans, Louisiana, 1866 Violence against freedmen revealed the lengths that some whites would go to maintain the South's prewar social and political order. In New Orleans, white and African American delegates gathered at the Mechanics Institute on July 30, 1866, to develop a new state constitution. John T. Monroe, a former New Orleans mayor and vocal white supremacist, led a mob of white men — including city police and ex-Confederate soldiers — to attack the convention. Shooting into the windows and then rushing into the building to beat and kill delegates, the mob massacred the largely unarmed delegates. In this image, delegates are shot as they try to flee at the back of the building. By the end of the day, 238 people were killed, including 40 delegates to the convention and at least 200 black Union veterans. The massacre provoked outrage in the North and contributed to the election of a more strongly Republican Congress, in November, which imposed military Reconstruction on the South. The New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

Labor Laws After Emancipation: Haiti and the United States

Many government officials agreed with former masters on the need to control rural workers. Often planters themselves or allied with the planter class, they believed that economic strength and public revenue depended on plantation export crops and that workers would not produce those without legal coercion.

This was true in the British Caribbean and also Haiti, which eventually, after a successful slave revolt ending in 1803, became an independent republic led by former slaves and, in particular, by propertied free men of color. In the passage below, a British observer describes a rural labor code adopted by Haiti's government in 1826. Despite the law, Haiti's large plantations did not revive; the island's economy, even more than that of the U.S. South, came to be dominated by small-scale, impoverished farmers.

The Code of Laws before us is one that could only have been framed by a legislature composed of proprietors of land, having at their command a considerable military power, of which they themselves were the leaders; for a population whom it was necessary to compel to labour. . . .

The choice of a master, altho' expressly reserved to the labourer, is greatly modified by the clauses which restrain the labourer from quitting the section of country to which he belongs; and from the absence of any clause compelling proprietors to engage him; so that the cultivator must consent to bind himself to whomsoever may be willing to engage him, or remain in prison, to be employed among convicts. . . .

The Code begins (Article 1) by declaring Agriculture to be the foundation of national prosperity; and then decrees (Article 3), That all persons, excepting soldiers, and civil servants of the State, professional persons, artizans, and domestic servants, shall cultivate the soil. The next clause (Article 4), forbids the inhabitants of the country quitting it to dwell in towns or villages; and every kind of wholesale or retail trade is forbidden (Article 7) to be exercised by persons dwelling in the country.

Further articles stipulate that any person dwelling in the country, not being the owner or occupier of land, and not having bound himself in the manner directed, . . . shall be considered a vagabond, be arrested, and taken before a Justice, who, after reading the Law to him, shall commit him to jail, until he consent to bind himself according to law.

. . . Those who are hired from a job-master [labor agent], . . . are entitled to receive half the produce, after deducting the expences of cultivation; [those who are bound to the proprietor directly], one-fourth of the gross produce of their labour. . . . Out of their miserable pittance, these Haitian labourers are to provide themselves and their children with almost every thing, and to lay by a provision for old age. . . .

These, with the regulations already detailed, clearly shew what is intended to be the condition of the labouring population of Haiti. I must not call it slavery; the word is objectionable; but few of the ingredients of slavery seem to be wanting.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare this Haitian law with the Black Codes briefly adopted by ex-Confederate states, and with the sharecropping system that evolved in the United States during Reconstruction (p. 444). What did these labor systems — or proposed systems — have in common? How did they differ?
2. Why would the Haitian government, led by men of color, enact such laws? What considerations other than race might have shaped their views, and why?

AP® EXAM TIP

The relationship between the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments as expansion of the rights of African Americans is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

South. In addition to the violence in Memphis, twenty-four black political leaders and their allies in Arkansas were murdered and their homes burned.

Anxious to protect freedpeople and reassert Republican power in the South, Congress took further measures to sustain civil rights. In what became the **Fourteenth Amendment** (1868), it declared that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" were citizens. No state could abridge "the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States"; deprive "any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law"; or deny anyone "equal protection." In a stunning increase of federal power, the Fourteenth Amendment declared that when people's essential rights were at stake, national citizenship henceforth took priority over citizenship in a state.

Johnson opposed ratification, but public opinion had swung against him. In the 1866 congressional elections, voters gave Republicans a 3-to-1 majority in Congress.

Power shifted to the so-called Radical Republicans, who sought sweeping transformations in the defeated South. The Radicals' leader in the Senate was Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the fiery abolitionist who in 1856 had been nearly beaten to death by South Carolina congressman Preston Brooks. Radicals in the House followed Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, a passionate advocate of freedmen's political and economic rights. With such men at the fore, and with congressional Republicans now numerous and united enough to override Johnson's vetoes on many questions, Congress proceeded to remake Reconstruction.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Under what circumstances did the Fourteenth Amendment win passage, and what problems did its authors seek to address?

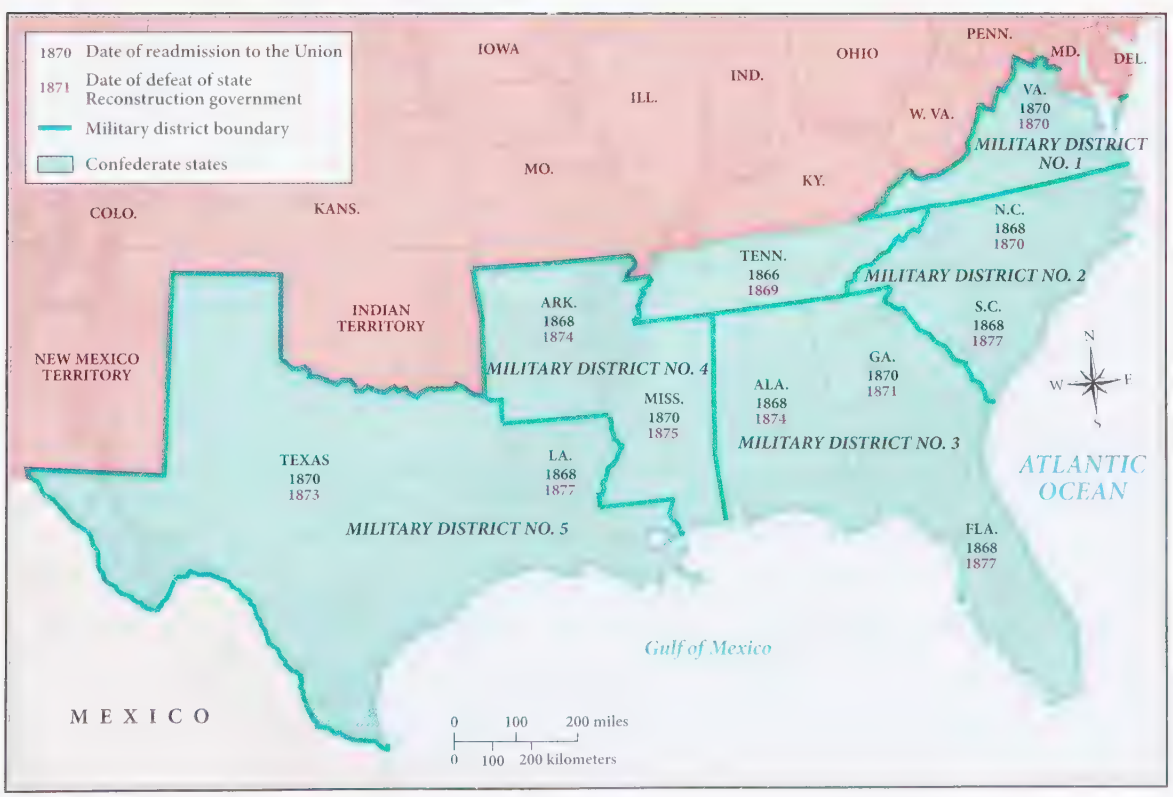
Radical Reconstruction

The **Reconstruction Act of 1867**, enacted in March, divided the conquered South into five military districts, each under the command of a U.S. general (Map 14.1). To reenter the Union, former Confederate states had to grant the vote to freedmen and deny it to leading ex-Confederates. Each military commander was required to register all eligible adult males, black as well as white; supervise state constitutional conventions; and ensure that new constitutions guaranteed black suffrage. Congress would readmit a state to the Union once these conditions were met and the new state legislature ratified the Fourteenth Amendment. Johnson vetoed the Reconstruction Act, but Congress overrode his veto (Table 14.1).

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the short-term successes of Radical Republicans in opening opportunities for African Americans is critical on the AP® exam.

The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson In August 1867, Johnson fought back by "suspending" Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton, a Radical, and replacing him with Union general Ulysses S. Grant, believing Grant would be a good soldier and follow



MAP 14.1 Reconstruction

The federal government organized the Confederate states into five military districts during congressional Reconstruction. For the states shown in this map, the first date indicates when that state was readmitted to the Union; the second date shows when Republicans lost control of the state government. All the ex-Confederate states rejoined the Union between 1868 and 1870, but the periods of Radical government varied widely. Republicans lasted only a few months in Virginia; they held on until the end of Reconstruction in Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina.

TABLE 14.1

Primary Reconstruction Laws and Constitutional Amendments

Law (Date of Congressional Passage)	Key Provisions
Thirteenth Amendment (December 1865*)	Prohibited slavery
Civil Rights Act of 1866 (April 1866)	Defined citizenship rights of freedmen
	Authorized federal authorities to bring suit against those who violated those rights
Fourteenth Amendment (June 1866†)	Established national citizenship for persons born or naturalized in the United States
	Prohibited the states from depriving citizens of their civil rights or equal protection under the law
	Reduced state representation in House of Representatives by the percentage of adult male citizens denied the vote
Reconstruction Act of 1867 (March 1867)	Divided the South into five military districts, each under the command of a Union general
	Established requirements for readmission of ex-Confederate states to the Union
Tenure of Office Act (March 1867)	Required Senate consent for removal of any federal official whose appointment had required Senate confirmation
Fifteenth Amendment (February 1869‡)	Forbade states to deny citizens the right to vote on the grounds of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude"
Ku Klux Klan Act (April 1871)	Authorized the president to use federal prosecutions and military force to suppress conspiracies to deprive citizens of the right to vote and enjoy the equal protection of the law

* Ratified by three-fourths of all states in December 1865.
† Ratified by three-fourths of all states in July 1868.
‡ Ratified by three-fourths of all states in March 1870.

orders. Johnson, however, had misjudged Grant, who publicly objected to the president's machinations. When the Senate overruled Stanton's suspension, Grant — now an open enemy of Johnson — resigned so Stanton could resume his place as secretary of war. On February 21, 1868, Johnson formally dismissed Stanton. The feisty secretary of war responded by barricading himself in his office, precipitating a crisis.

Three days later, for the first time in U.S. history, legislators in the House of Representatives introduced articles of impeachment against the president, employing their constitutional power to charge high federal officials with "Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors." The House serves, in effect, as the prosecutor in such cases, and the Senate serves as the court. The Republican majority brought eleven counts of misconduct against Johnson, most relating to infringement of the powers of Congress. After an eleven-week trial in the Senate, thirty-five senators voted for conviction — one vote short of the two-thirds majority required. Twelve Democrats and seven Republicans voted for acquittal. The dissenting Republicans felt that removing a president for defying Congress was too damaging to the constitutional system of checks and balances. But despite the president's acquittal, Congress had shown its power. For the brief months remaining in his term, Johnson was largely irrelevant.

Election of 1868 and the Fifteenth Amendment The impeachment controversy made Grant, already the Union's greatest war hero, a Republican idol as well. He easily won the party's presidential nomination in 1868. Although he supported congressional Reconstruction, Grant also urged sectional reconciliation. His Democratic opponent, former New York governor Horatio Seymour, almost declined the nomination because he understood that Democrats could not yet overcome the stain of disloyalty.

Grant won by an overwhelming margin, receiving 214 out of 294 electoral votes. Republicans retained two-thirds majorities in both houses of Congress.

In February 1869, following this smashing victory, Republicans produced the era's last constitutional amendment, the Fifteenth. It protected male citizens' right to vote irrespective of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude." Despite Radical Republicans' protests, the amendment left room for a poll tax (paid for the privilege of voting) and literacy requirements. Both were concessions to northern and western states that sought such provisions to keep immigrants and the "unworthy" poor from the polls. Congress required the four states remaining under federal control to ratify the measure as a condition for readmission to the Union. A year later, the **Fifteenth Amendment** became law.

"We Accept the Situation" This 1867 *Harper's Weekly* cartoon refers to the Military Reconstruction Act of 1867, which instructed ex-Confederate states to hold constitutional conventions and stipulated that the resulting constitutions must provide voting rights for black men. The two images here suggest white northerners' views of both ex-Confederates and emancipated slaves. How is each depicted? What does this suggest about the troubles that lay ahead for Reconstruction policy? The cartoonist was Thomas Nast (1840–1902), one of the most influential artists of his era. Nast first drew "Santa Claus" in his modern form, and it was he who began depicting the Democratic Party as a kicking donkey and Republicans as an elephant — suggesting (since elephants are supposed to have good memories) their long remembrance of the Civil War and emancipation. Library of Congress

Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, despite its limitations, was an astonishing feat. Elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere, lawmakers had left emancipated slaves in a condition of semi-citizenship, with no voting rights. But, like almost all Americans, congressional Republicans had extraordinary faith in the power of the vote. Many African Americans agreed. "The colored people of these Southern states have cast their lot with the Government," declared a delegate to Arkansas's constitutional convention, "and with the great Republican Party. . . . The ballot is our only means of protection." In the election of 1870, hundreds of thousands of African Americans voted across the South, in an atmosphere of collective pride and celebration.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How and why did federal Reconstruction policies evolve between 1865 and 1870?

Women's Rights Denied

Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment was a bittersweet victory for national women's rights leaders, who had campaigned for the ballot since the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848. They hoped to secure voting rights for women and African American men at the same time. As Elizabeth Cady Stanton put it, women could "avail ourselves of the strong arm and the blue uniform of the black soldier to walk in by his side." The protected categories for voting in the Fifteenth Amendment could have read "race, color, *sex*, or previous condition of servitude." But that word proved impossible to obtain.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on the women's rights movement in the late nineteenth century.

Enfranchising black men had clear benefits for the authors of Reconstruction. It punished ex-Confederates and ensured Republican support in the South. But women's party loyalties were more divided, and a substantial majority of northern voters — all men, of course — opposed women's enfranchisement. Even Radicals feared that this "side issue" would overburden their program. Influential abolitionists such as Wendell Philips refused to campaign for women's suffrage, fearing it would detract from the focus on black men. Philips criticized women's leaders for being "selfish." "Do you believe," Stanton hotly replied, "the African race is entirely composed of males?"

By May 1869, the former allies were at an impasse. At a convention of the Equal Rights Association, black abolitionist and women's rights advocate Frederick Douglass

"Out in the Cold" Though many women, including African American activists in the South, went to the polls in the early 1870s to test whether the new Fourteenth Amendment had given them the vote, federal courts subsequently rejected women's voting rights. Only Wyoming and Utah territories fully enfranchised women. At the same time, revised naturalization laws allowed immigrant men of African descent — though not of Asian descent — to become citizens. With its crude Irish, African, and Chinese racial caricatures, this 1884 cartoon from the humor magazine *The Judge* echoes the arguments of some white suffragists: though men of races stereotyped as inferior had been enfranchised, white women were not. The woman knocking on the door is also a caricature, with her harsh appearance and masculine hat. Library of Congress

pleaded for white women to consider the situation in the South and allow black male suffrage to take priority. "When women, because they are women, are hunted down, . . . dragged from their homes and hung upon lamp posts," Douglass said, "then they will have an urgency to obtain the ballot equal to our own." Some women's suffrage leaders joined Douglass in backing the Fifteenth Amendment without the word *sex*. But many, especially white women, rejected Douglass's plea. One African American woman remarked that they "all go for sex, letting race occupy a minor position." Embittered, Elizabeth Cady Stanton lashed out against "Patrick and Sambo and Hans and Ung Tung," maligning uneducated freedmen and immigrants who could vote while educated white women could not. Douglass's resolution in support of the Fifteenth Amendment failed, and the convention broke up.

A rift thus opened in the women's movement. The majority, led by Lucy Stone, reconciled themselves to disappointment. Organized into the **American Woman Suffrage Association**, they remained loyal to the Republican Party in hopes that once Reconstruction had been settled, it would be women's turn. A group led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony struck out in a new direction. They saw that, once the Reconstruction amendments had passed, women's suffrage was unlikely in the near future. Stanton declared that woman "must not put her trust in man." The new organization she headed, the **National Woman Suffrage Association** (NWSA), focused exclusively on women's rights and took up the battle for a federal suffrage amendment.

In 1873, NWSA members decided to test the new constitutional amendments. Suffragists all over the United States, including some black women in the South, tried to register and vote. Most were turned away. In an ensuing lawsuit, suffrage advocate Virginia Minor of Missouri argued that the registrar who denied her a ballot had violated her rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. In ***Minor v. Happersett*** (1875), the Supreme Court dashed such hopes. It ruled that suffrage rights were not inherent in citizenship; women were citizens, but state legislatures could deny women the vote if they wished.

Women's rights advocates began to focus narrowly on suffrage as their movement suffered backlash from controversies over sexual freedom. After Victoria Woodhull, a flamboyant young woman from Ohio, became the nation's first female stockbroker on Wall Street, she won notoriety by denouncing marriage as a form of tyranny. She urged that women be "trained like men," for independent thought and economic self-sufficiency. Particularly sensational was Woodhull's insistence, in a speech in New York in 1871, that "I am a free lover. I have an inalienable, constitutional, and natural right to love whom I may, to love as long or as short a period as I can; to change that love every day if I please."

Woodhull helped trigger the **Beecher-Tilton scandal**, a sensational trial that dominated headlines in the mid-1870s. She accused Brooklyn Congregationalist minister Henry Ward Beecher, a staunch Republican and abolitionist from a famous reform family, of secretly being a free lover himself. For making allegations of adultery, Woodhull was tried on obscenity charges, briefly jailed, and released. Beecher was then sued by the husband of a congregant with whom he had allegedly had an affair. The results of the trial were inconclusive, but the relentless publicity, including the publication of intimate letters, damaged the reputation of everyone involved. Many Americans concluded that Radical Republicans wanted to go too far, and that, in private, former

abolitionists like Beecher and his congregants were behaving immorally. Social conservatives, including ex-Confederates in the South, gleefully watched leading abolitionists get their come-uppance. Women's rights advocates, who had welcomed Victoria Woodhull as an ally, soon distanced themselves from her free love proclamations. Leaders such as Susan B. Anthony decided that the only way to win the vote was to practice and advocate strict sexual respectability.

Despite these defeats and embarrassments, Radical Reconstruction had created the conditions for a nationwide women's rights movement. Some argued for suffrage as part of a broader expansion of democracy. Others, on the contrary, saw white women's votes as a possible counterweight to the votes of African American or Chinese men (while opponents pointed out that black and immigrant women would likely be enfranchised, too). When Wyoming Territory gave women full voting rights in 1869, its governor received telegrams of congratulation from around the world. Afterward, contrary to dire predictions, female voters in Wyoming did not appear to neglect their homes, abandon their children, or otherwise "unsex" themselves. Women's suffrage could no longer be dismissed as the absurd notion of a tiny minority. It had become a serious issue for national debate.

Victoria Woodhull Free-love advocate Victoria Woodhull became a controversial figure in the 1870s as she campaigned for universal voting rights, denounced marriage laws for enslaving women, and urged women to work for economic independence. Here, Woodhull and her sister Tennessee Claflin attempt to vote in New York in 1875 — seeking, like other women's rights advocates, to trigger legal challenges over their right to do so. Like others, Woodhull and Claflin were turned away from the polls. In 1872 Woodhull had run as the first woman candidate for president on the Equal Rights ticket. Keal Collection/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What factors explain how Reconstruction policies unfolded between 1865 and 1870, and what was the impact on different groups of Americans?**

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Abolitionists and women's suffrage advocates were generally close allies before 1865. What divisions emerged during Reconstruction and why?

The Meaning of Freedom

While political leaders wrangled in Washington, emancipated slaves acted on their own ideas about freedom. Emancipation meant many things: the end of punishment by the lash; the ability to move around; reunion of families; and opportunities to build schools and churches and to publish and read newspapers. Foremost among freedpeople's demands were voting rights and economic autonomy. Former Confederates opposed these goals. Most southern whites believed the proper place for blacks was as "servants and inferiors," as a Virginia planter testified to Congress. Mississippi's governor, elected under President Johnson's plan, vowed that "ours is and it shall ever be, a government of white men." Meanwhile, as Reconstruction unfolded, it became clear that on economic questions, southern blacks and northern Republican policymakers did not see eye to eye.

The Quest for Land

During the Civil War, wherever Union forces had conquered portions of the South, rural black workers had formed associations that agreed on common goals and even practiced military drills. After the war, when resettlement became the responsibility of

the Freedmen's Bureau, thousands of rural blacks hoped for land distributions. But Johnson's amnesty plan, which allowed pardoned Confederates to recover property seized during the war, blasted such hopes. In October 1865, for example, Johnson ordered General Oliver O. Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau, to restore plantations on South Carolina's Sea Islands to white property holders. Dispossessed blacks protested: "Why do you take away our lands? You take them from us who have always been true, always true to the Government! You give them to our all-time enemies! That is not right!" Former slaves resisted efforts to evict them. Led by black Union veterans, they fought pitched battles with former slaveholders and bands of ex-Confederate soldiers. But white landowners, sometimes aided by federal troops, generally prevailed.

Freed Slaves and Northerners: Conflicting Goals On questions of land and labor, freedmen in the South and Republicans in Washington seriously differed. The economic revolution of the antebellum period had transformed New England and the Mid-Atlantic states. Believing similar development could revolutionize the South, most congressional leaders sought to restore cotton as the country's leading export, and they envisioned former slaves as wageworkers on cash-crop plantations, not independent farmers. Only a handful of Republican leaders, like Thaddeus Stevens, argued that freed slaves had earned a right to land grants, through what Lincoln had referred to as "four hundred years of unrequited toil." Stevens proposed that southern plantations be treated as "forfeited estates of the enemy" and broken up into small farms for former slaves. "Nothing will make men so industrious and moral," Stevens declared, "as to let them feel that they are above want and are the owners of the soil which they till."

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the importance of land ownership as a key to African American self-sufficiency and the continued political power of southern plantation owners.

Today, most historians of Reconstruction agree with Stevens: policymakers did not do enough to ensure freedpeople's economic security. Without land, former slaves were left poor and vulnerable. At the time, though, Stevens had few allies. A deep veneration for private property lay at the heart of his vision, but others interpreted the same principle differently: they defined ownership by legal title, not by labor invested. Though often accused of harshness toward the defeated Confederacy, most Republicans — even Radicals — could not imagine "giving" land to former slaves. The same congressmen, of course, had no difficulty giving away homesteads on the frontier that had been taken from Indians. But they were deeply reluctant to confiscate white-owned plantations.

Some southern Republican state governments did try, without much success, to use tax policy to break up large landholdings and get them into the hands of poorer whites and blacks. In 1869, South Carolina established a land commission to buy property and resell it on easy terms to the landless; about 14,000 black families acquired farms through the program. But such initiatives were the exception, not the rule. Over time, some rural blacks did succeed in becoming small-scale landowners, especially in Upper South states such as Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. But it was an uphill fight, and policymakers provided little aid.

Wage Labor and Sharecropping Without land, most freedpeople had few options but to work for former slave owners. Landowners wanted to retain the old gang-labor system, with wages replacing the food, clothing, and shelter that slaves had once received. Southern planters — who had recently scorned the North for the cruelties of wage labor — now embraced waged work with apparent satisfaction. Maliciously comparing black workers to free-roaming pigs, landowners told them to "root, hog, or die." Former slaves found themselves with rock-bottom wages; it was a shock to find that emancipation and "free labor" did not prevent a hardworking family from nearly starving.

African American workers used a variety of tactics to fight back. As early as 1865, alarmed whites across the South reported that former slaves were holding mass meetings to agree on "plans and terms for labor." Such meetings continued through the Reconstruction years. Facing limited prospects at home, some workers left the fields and traveled long distances to seek better-paying jobs on the railroads or in turpentine and lumber camps. Others — from rice cultivators to laundry workers — organized strikes.

How Free Were Freedwomen in Reconstruction?

What did the Thirteenth Amendment really accomplish? The answer may seem self-evident: it abolished slavery. But how free were newly emancipated slaves during the years immediately following the war, in comparison to earlier and later decades? For historians who measure change over time, it is a question worth asking.

Formerly enslaved people sought out and reunited with family members they could find who had been sold to other regions during slavery. They also founded businesses, churches, and schools and worked to secure economic stability and political rights. The ideological, political, and economic system that had sustained slavery prior to the Civil War, however, did not entirely disappear. Gender made a difference: as they had under slavery, the experiences of women differed from those of men. Historians Tera W. Hunter and Jacqueline Jones focus on the postwar experiences of freedwomen to understand what changes emancipation brought to their lives and to assess how much freedom they were able to secure.

TERA W. HUNTER

SOURCE: Tera W. Hunter, *To Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 28.

African-American women decided to quit work over such grievances as low wages, long hours, and unpleasant tasks. . . . [I]t was an effective strategy to deprive employers of complete power over their labor. . . . Occasional refusals to sell their labor or self-imposed limits enabled working-class women to conduct their own family and community affairs in ways that mitigated the demands of white supremacy and the market economy.

JACQUELINE JONES

SOURCE: Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 7.

[B]lack working women . . . lacked the control over their own productive energies and material resources. . . . Though perhaps "freed" or "liberated" from narrow sex-role conventions, they remained tied to overwhelming wage-earning and child-rearing responsibilities. . . . [W]hen measured against traditional standards of power — usually defined in terms of wealth; personal autonomy; and control over workers, votes, or inheritances — black wives and mothers had little leverage with which to manipulate the behavior of their kinfolk.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How does each historian assess the impact of the Reconstruction era on freedwomen?
2. Name two factors that each historian considers when evaluating freedom for freedwomen during Reconstruction.
3. What evidence from the chapter supports or refutes the interpretation that emancipation empowered freedwomen in the years following the Civil War?

At the same time, struggles raged between employers and freedpeople over women's work. In slavery, African American women's bodies had been the sexual property of white men. Protecting black women from such abuse, as much as possible, was a crucial priority for freedpeople. When planters demanded that black women go back into the fields, African Americans resisted resolutely. "I seen on some plantations," one freedman recounted, "where the white men would . . . tell colored men that their wives and children could not live on their places unless they work in the fields. The colored men [answered that] whenever they wanted their wives to work they would tell them themselves."

There was a profound irony in this man's definition of freedom: it designated a wife's labor as her husband's property. Some black women asserted their independence and headed their own households, though this was often a matter of necessity rather than choice. For many freedpeople, the opportunity for a stable family life was one of the greatest achievements of emancipation. Many enthusiastically accepted the northern ideal of domesticity. Missionaries, teachers, and editors of black newspapers urged men to work diligently and support their families, and they told women (though many worked for wages) to devote themselves to motherhood and the home (AP® Interpreting the Past).

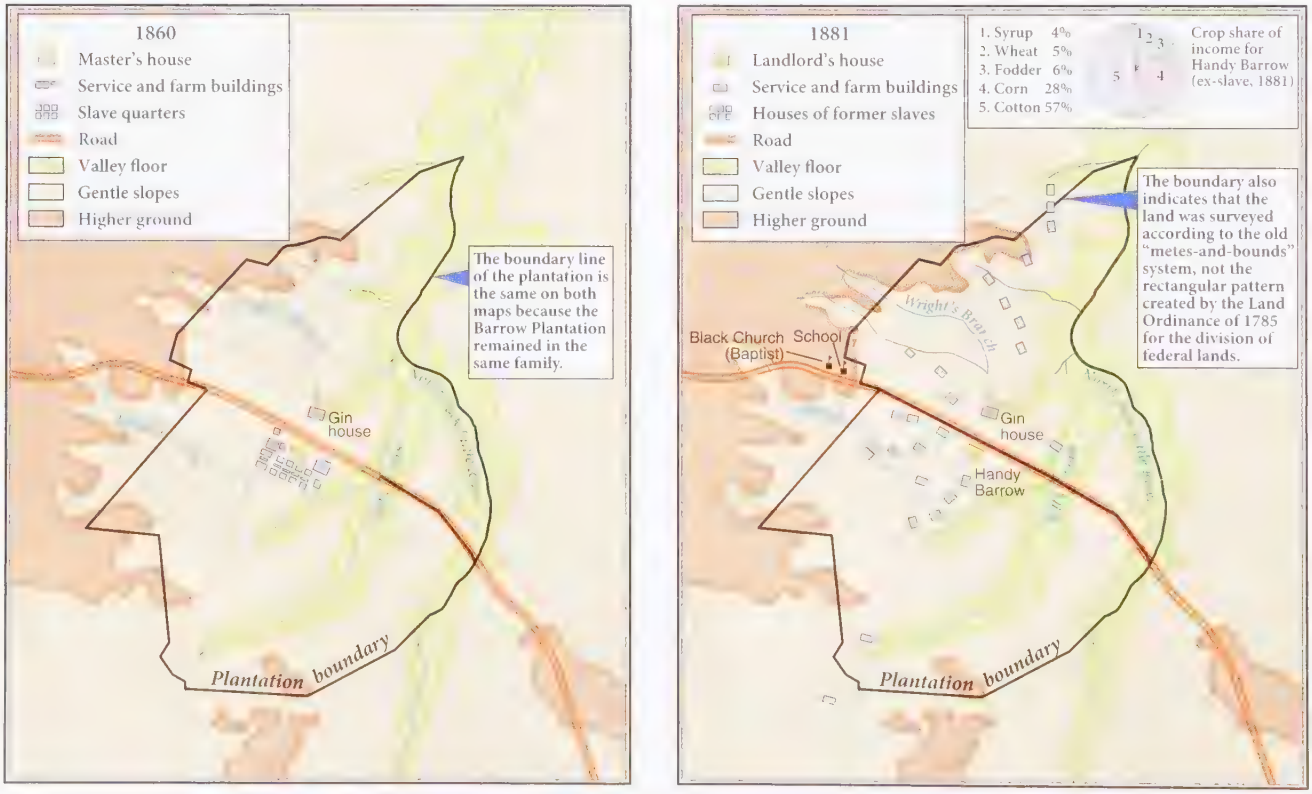
Even in rural areas, former slaves refused to work under conditions that recalled slavery. There would be no gang work, they vowed: no overseers, no whippings, no regulation of their private lives. Across the South, planters who needed labor were forced to yield to what one planter termed the "prejudices of the freedmen, who desire to be masters of their own time." In a few areas, waged work became the norm — for example, on the giant sugar plantations of Louisiana financed by northern capital. But cotton planters lacked money to pay wages, and sometimes, in lieu of a wage, they offered a share of the crop. Freedmen, in turn, paid their rent in shares of the harvest.

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of the sharecropping system on both African Americans and poor whites in the South is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

Thus the Reconstruction years gave rise to a distinctive system of cotton agriculture known as **sharecropping**, in which freedmen worked as renters, exchanging their labor for the use of land, house, implements, and sometimes seed and fertilizer. Sharecroppers typically turned over half of their crops to the landlord (Map 14.2). In a credit-starved agricultural region that grew crops for a world economy, sharecropping was an effective strategy, enabling laborers and landowners to share risks and returns. But it was a very unequal relationship. Starting out penniless, sharecroppers had no way to make it through the first growing season without borrowing for food and supplies.

Country storekeepers stepped in. Bankrolled by northern suppliers, they furnished sharecroppers with provisions and took as collateral a lien on the crop, effectively assuming ownership of croppers' shares and leaving them only what remained after debts had been paid. Crop-lien laws enforced lenders' ownership rights to the crop share. Once indebted at a store, sharecroppers became easy targets for exorbitant prices, unfair interest rates, and crooked bookkeeping. As cotton prices declined in the 1870s, more and more sharecroppers fell into permanent debt. If the merchant was also the


1860
Master's house
Service and farm buildings
Slave quarters
Road
Valley floor
Gentle slopes
Higher ground
The boundary line of the plantation is the same on both maps because the Barrow Plantation remained in the same family.
Gin house
Plantation boundary
1881
Landlord's house
Service and farm buildings
Houses of former slaves
Road
Valley floor
Gentle slopes
Higher ground
1. Syrup 4%
2. Wheat 5%
3. Fodder 6%
4. Corn 28%
5. Cotton 57%
Crop share of income for Handy Barrow (ex-slave, 1881)
The boundary also indicates that the land was surveyed according to the old "metes-and-bounds" system, not the rectangular pattern created by the Land Ordinance of 1785 for the division of federal lands.
Wright's Branch
Black Church (Baptist) School
Gin house
Handy Barrow
Plantation boundary

MAP 14.2 The Barrow Plantation, 1860 and 1881

This map is a modern redrawing of one that first appeared in the popular magazine *Scribner's Monthly* in April 1881, accompanying an article about the Barrow plantation. Comparing the 1860 map of this central Georgia plantation with the 1881 map reveals the impact of sharecropping on patterns of black residence. In 1860, the slave quarters were clustered near the planter's house. In contrast, by 1881 the sharecroppers were scattered across the plantation's 2,000 acres, having built cabins on the ridges between the low-lying streams. The surname *Barrow* was common among the sharecropping families, which means almost certainly that they had been slaves who, years after emancipation, still had not moved on. For sharecroppers, freedom meant not only their individual lots and cabins but also the school and church shown on the map.

landowner or conspired with the landowner, debt became a pretext for forced labor, or **peonage**.

Sharecropping arose in part because it was a good fit for cotton agriculture. Cotton, unlike sugarcane, could be raised efficiently by small farmers (provided they had the lash of indebtedness always on their backs). We can see this in the experience of other regions that became major producers in response to the global cotton shortage set off by the Civil War. In India, Egypt, Brazil, and West Africa, variants of the sharecropping system emerged. Everywhere international merchants and bankers, who put up capital, insisted on passage of crop-lien laws. Indian and Egyptian villagers ended up, like their American counterparts, permanently under the thumb of furnishing merchants.

By 1890, three out of every four black farmers in the South were tenants or sharecroppers; among white farmers, the ratio was one in three. For freedmen, sharecropping was not the worst choice, in a world where former masters threatened to impose labor conditions that were close to slavery. But the costs were devastating. With farms leased on a year-to-year basis, neither tenant nor owner had much incentive to improve the property. The crop-lien system rested on expensive interest payments — money that might otherwise have gone into agricultural improvements or to meet human needs. And sharecropping committed the South inflexibly to cotton, a crop that generated the cash required by landlords and furnishing merchants. The result was a stagnant farm economy that blighted the South's future. As Republican governments tried to remake the region, they confronted not only wartime destruction but also the failure of their hopes that free labor would create a modern, prosperous South, built in the image of the industrializing North. Instead, the South's rural economy remained mired in widespread poverty and based on an uneasy compromise between landowners and laborers.

Picking Cotton in Mississippi After emancipation most African Americans in the South, lacking land or capital, continued to work in agriculture. Through sharecropping and other arrangements, they sought as much autonomy and control over their work as they could obtain. Many families made it a priority for women to work in the home and children to attend school. At harvest time, however, everyone was needed in the fields. The Granger Collection, New York

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why did sharecropping emerge, and how did it affect freedpeople and the southern economy?

Republican Governments in the South

Between 1868 and 1871, all the former Confederate states met congressional stipulations and rejoined the Union. Protected by federal troops, Republican administrations in these states retained power for periods ranging from a few months in Virginia to nine years in South Carolina, Louisiana, and Florida. These governments remain some of the most misunderstood institutions in all U.S. history. Ex-Confederates never accepted their legitimacy. Many other whites agreed, focusing particularly on the role of African Americans who began to serve in public office. "It is strange, abnormal, and unfit," declared one British visitor to Louisiana, "that a *negro* Legislature should deal . . . with the gravest commercial and financial interests." During much of the twentieth century, historians echoed such critics, condemning Reconstruction leaders as ignorant and corrupt. These historians shared the racial prejudices of the British observer: black men were simply unfit to govern.

AP® EXAM TIP

As you read through this section, trace the political opportunities and successes of African Americans during Radical Reconstruction.

In fact, Reconstruction governments were ambitious. They were hated, in part, because they undertook impressive reforms in public education, family law, social services, commerce, and transportation. Like their northern allies, southern Republicans admired the economic and social transformations that had occurred in the North before the Civil War and worked energetically to import them.

The southern Republican Party included former Whigs, a few former Democrats, black and white newcomers from the North, and southern African Americans. From the start, its leaders faced the dilemma of racial prejudice. In the upcountry, white

Cotton Farmers, Marietta, Georgia, c. 1880 Before the Civil War, the South had proudly called itself the "Cotton Kingdom." After the war, cotton was still king, but few southerners got rich on cotton profits. Instead, thousands of small-scale farmers, white and black, struggled with plunging crop prices, debt, and taxes on land to support an array of ambitious Reconstruction programs. The farmers here have baled their cotton for market and pose with their wagons in Marietta's courthouse square. Courtesy Georgia Archives, Vanishing Georgia Collection, cot

Unionists were eager to join the party but sometimes reluctant to work with black allies. In most areas, the Republicans also desperately needed African Americans, who constituted a majority of registered voters in Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, and Mississippi.

For a brief moment in the late 1860s, black and white Republicans joined forces through the Union League, a secret fraternal order. Formed in border states and northern cities during the Civil War, the league became a powerful political association that spread through the former Confederacy. Functioning as a **grassroots** wing of Radical Republicanism, it pressured Congress to uphold justice for freedmen. After blacks won voting rights, the league organized meetings at churches and schoolhouses to instruct freedmen on political issues and voting procedures. League clubs held parades and military drills, giving a public face to the new political order.

The Freedmen's Bureau also supported grassroots Reconstruction efforts. Though some bureau officials sympathized with planters, most were dedicated, idealistic men who tried valiantly to reconcile opposing interests. Bureau men kept a sharp eye out for unfair labor contracts and often forced landowners to bargain with workers and tenants. They advised freedmen on economic matters; provided direct payments to desperate families, especially women and children; and helped establish schools. In cooperation with northern aid societies, the bureau played a key role in founding African American colleges and universities such as Fisk, Tougaloo, and the Hampton Institute. These institutions, in turn, focused on training teachers. By 1869, there were more than three thousand teachers instructing freedpeople in the South. More than half were themselves African Americans.

Ex-Confederates viewed the Union League, Freedmen's Bureau, and Republican Party as illegitimate forces in southern affairs, and they resented the political education of freedpeople. They referred to southern whites who supported Reconstruction as scalawags—an ancient Scots-Irish term for worthless animals—and denounced northern whites as carpetbaggers, self-seeking interlopers who carried all their property in cheap suitcases called carpetbags. Such labels glossed over the actual diversity of white Republicans. Many arrivals from the North, while motivated by personal profit, also brought capital and skills. Interspersed with ambitious schemers were reformers hoping to advance freedmen's rights. So-called scalawags were even more varied. Some southern Republicans were former slave owners; others were ex-Whigs or even ex-Democrats who hoped to attract northern capital. But most hailed from the backcountry and wanted to rid the South of its slaveholding aristocracy, believing slavery had victimized whites as well as blacks.

Southern Democrats' contempt for black politicians, whom they regarded as ignorant field hands, was just as misguided as their stereotypes about white Republicans. Many African American leaders in the South came from the ranks of antebellum free blacks. Others were skilled men like Robert Smalls of South Carolina, who as a slave had worked for wages that he turned over to his master. Smalls, a steamer pilot in Charleston harbor, had become a war hero when he escaped with his family and other slaves and brought his ship to the Union navy. Buying property in Beaufort after the war, Smalls became a state legislator and later a congressman. Blanche K. Bruce, another former slave, had been tutored on a Virginia plantation by his white father; during the war, he escaped and established a school for freedmen in Missouri. In 1869, he moved to Mississippi and became, five years later, Mississippi's second black U.S. senator. Political leaders such as Smalls and Bruce were joined by northern blacks—including ministers, teachers, and Union veterans—who moved south to support Reconstruction.

During radical Reconstruction, such men fanned out into plantation districts and recruited former slaves to participate in politics. Literacy helped freedman Thomas Allen, a Baptist minister and shoemaker, win election to the Georgia legislature. "The colored people came to me," Allen recalled, "and I gave them the best instructions I could. I took the *New York Tribune* and other papers, and in that way I found out a great deal, and I told them whatever I thought was right." Though never proportionate to their numbers in the population, blacks became officeholders across the South. In South Carolina, African Americans constituted a majority in the lower house of the legislature in 1868. Over the course of Reconstruction, twenty African Americans served in state administrations as governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, or lesser offices. More than six hundred became state legislators, and sixteen were congressmen.

Both white and black Republicans had big plans. Their southern Reconstruction governments eliminated property qualifications for the vote and abolished Black Codes. Their new state constitutions expanded the rights of married women, enabling them to own their own property and wages—"a wonderful reform," one white woman in Georgia wrote, for "the cause of Women's Rights." Like their counterparts in the North, southern Republicans also believed in using government to foster economic growth. Seeking to diversify the economy beyond cotton agriculture, they poured money into railroads and other projects.

In myriad ways, Republicans brought southern state and city governments up to date. They outlawed corporal punishments such as whipping and branding. They established hospitals and

Hiram R. Revels In 1870, Hiram Rhodes Revels (1827–1901) was elected to the U.S. Senate from Mississippi to fill Jefferson Davis's former seat. Revels was a free black from North Carolina who had moved to the North and attended Knox College in Illinois. During the Civil War he had recruited African Americans for the Union army and, as an ordained Methodist minister, served as chaplain of a black regiment in Mississippi, where he settled after the war.

asylums for orphans and the disabled. South Carolina offered free public health services, while Alabama provided free legal representation for defendants who could not pay. Some municipal governments paved streets and installed streetlights. Petersburg, Virginia, established a board of health that offered free medical care during the smallpox epidemic of 1873. Nashville, Tennessee, created soup kitchens for the poor.

Most impressive of all were achievements in public education, where the South had lagged woefully. Republicans viewed education as the foundation of a true democratic order. By 1875, over half of black children were attending school in Mississippi, Florida, and South Carolina. African Americans of all ages rushed to the newly established schools, even when they had to pay tuition. They understood why slaveholders had criminalized slave literacy: the practice of freedom rested on the ability to read newspapers, labor contracts, history books, and the Bible. A school official in Virginia reported that freedpeople were "*crazy* to learn." One Louisiana man explained why he was sending his children to school, even though he needed their help in the field. It was "better than leaving them a fortune; because if you left them even five hundred dollars, some man having more education than they had would come along and cheat them out of it all." Thousands of white children, particularly girls and the sons of poor farmers and laborers, also benefitted from new public education systems. Young white women's graduation from high school, an unheard-of occurrence before the Civil War, became a celebrated event in southern cities and towns.

Southern Reconstruction governments also had their flaws—flaws that would become more apparent as the 1870s unfolded. In the race for economic development, for example, state officials allowed private companies to hire out prisoners to labor in mines and other industries, in a notorious system known as **convict leasing**. Corruption was rife and conditions horrific. In 1866, Alabama's governor leased 200 state convicts to a railroad construction company for the grand total of $5. While they labored to build state-subsidized lines such as the Alabama and Chattanooga, prisoners were housed at night in open, rolling cages. Physical abuse was common and medical care nonexistent. At the start of 1869, Alabama counted 263 prisoners available for leasing; by the end of the year, a staggering 92 of them had died. While convict leasing expanded in later decades, it began during Reconstruction, supported by both Republicans and Democrats.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What policies did southern Reconstruction legislators pursue, and what needs of the postwar South did they seek to serve?

Freedmen's School, Petersburg, Virginia, 1870s A Union veteran, returning to Virginia in the 1870s to photograph battlefields, captured this image of an African American teacher and her students at a freedmen's school. Note the difficult conditions in which they study: many are barefoot, and there are gaps in the walls and floor of the school building. Nonetheless, the students have a few books. Despite poverty and relentless hostility from many whites, freedpeople across the South were determined to get a basic education for themselves and their children. William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

Building Black Communities

Enslaved African Americans had built networks of religious worship and mutual aid, but these operated largely in secret. After emancipation, southern blacks could engage in open community building. In doing so, they cooperated with northern missionaries and teachers, both black and white, who came to help in the great work of freedom. "Ignorant though they may be, on account of long years of oppression, they exhibit a desire to hear and to learn, that I never imagined," reported African American minister Reverend James Lynch, who traveled from Maryland to the Deep South. "Every word you say while preaching, they drink down and respond to, with an earnestness that sets your heart all on fire."

Independent churches quickly became central community institutions, as blacks across the South left white-dominated congregations, where they had sat in segregated balconies, and built churches of their own. These churches joined their counterparts in the North to become national denominations, including, most prominently, the National Baptist Convention and the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Black churches served not only as sites of worship but also as schools, social centers, and meeting halls. Ministers were often political spokesmen as well. As Charles H. Pearce, a black Methodist pastor in Florida, declared, "A man in this State cannot do his whole duty as a minister except he looks out for the political interests of his people." Religious leaders articulated the special destiny of freedpeople as the new "Children of Israel."

The flowering of black churches, schools, newspapers, and civic groups was one of the most enduring initiatives of the Reconstruction era. Dedicated teachers and charity leaders embarked on a project of "race uplift" that never ceased thereafter, while black entrepreneurs were proud to build businesses that served their communities. The issue of desegregation — sharing public facilities with whites — was a trickier one. Though some black leaders pressed for desegregation, they were keenly aware of the backlash this was likely to provoke. Others made it clear that they preferred their children to attend all-black schools, especially if they encountered hostile or condescending white teachers and classmates. Many had pragmatic concerns. Asked whether she wanted her boys to attend an integrated school, one woman in New Orleans said no: "I don't want my children to be pounded by . . . white boys. I don't send them to school to fight, I send them to learn."

At the national level, congressmen wrestled with similar issues as they debated an ambitious civil rights bill championed by Radical Republican senator Charles Sumner. Sumner first introduced his bill in 1870, seeking to enforce, among other things, equal access to schools, public transportation, hotels, and churches. Due to a series of defeats and delays, the bill remained on Capitol Hill for five years. Opponents charged that shared public spaces would lead to race mixing and intermarriage. Some sympathetic Republicans feared a backlash, while others

AP® EXAM TIP

The importance of black churches to African American communities before and after the Civil War is a key pattern to recognize for the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

Compare the results of African Americans' community building with their struggles to obtain better working conditions. What links do you see between these efforts?

Fisk Jubilee Singers, 1873 Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, was established in 1865 to provide higher education for African Americans from across the South. When funds ran short in 1871, enterprising students formed the Jubilee Singers choral group (bottom) and toured to raise money for the school. They performed African American spirituals and folk songs, such as "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot," arranged in ways that appealed to white audiences, making this music nationally popular for the first time. In 1872, the group performed for President Grant at the White House. Money raised by this acclaimed group saved Fisk from bankruptcy and built the university's imposing Jubilee Hall (top). From [illegible] Book and Learn/ Illustrated Papers Collection/Bridgeman [illegible]

To see a call for passage of the Civil Rights Act from an African American Congress, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

questioned whether, because of the First Amendment, the federal government had the right to regulate churches. On his deathbed in 1874, Sumner exhorted a visitor to remember the civil rights bill: "Don't let it fail." In the end, the Senate removed Sumner's provision for integrated churches, and the House removed the clause requiring integrated schools. But to honor the great Massachusetts abolitionist, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1875**. The law required "full and equal" access to jury service and to transportation and public accommodations, irrespective of race. It was the last such act for almost a hundred years — until the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What goals were southern freedmen and freedwomen able to achieve in the post–Civil War years, and why? What goals were they not able to achieve, and why not?**

The Undoing of Reconstruction

Sumner's death marked the waning of Radical Reconstruction. That movement had accomplished more than anyone dreamed a few years earlier. But a chasm had opened between the goals of freedmen, who wanted autonomy, and policymakers, whose first priorities were to reincorporate ex-Confederates into the nation and build a powerful national economy. Meanwhile, the North was flooded with one-sided, racist reports such as James M. Pike's influential book *The Prostrate State* (1873), which claimed South Carolina was in the grip of "black barbarism." Events of the 1870s deepened the northern public's disillusionment. Scandals rocked the Grant administration, and an economic depression curbed both private investment and public spending. At the same time, northern resolve was worn down by continued ex-Confederate resistance and violence. Only full-scale military intervention could reverse the situation in the South, and by the mid-1870s the North had no political willpower to renew the occupation.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of waning northern resolve to implement change in the South on the gradual loss of rights for African Americans.

The Republicans Unravel

Republicans had banked on economic growth to underpin their ambitious program, but their hopes were dashed in 1873 by the sudden onset of a severe worldwide depression. In the United States, the initial panic was triggered by the bankruptcy of the Northern Pacific Railroad, backed by leading financier Jay Cooke. Cooke's supervision of Union finances during the Civil War had made him a national hero; his downfall was a shock, and since Cooke was so well connected in Washington, it raised suspicions that Republican financial manipulation had caused the depression. Officials in the Grant administration deepened public resentment toward their party when they rejected pleas to increase the money supply and provide relief from debt and unemployment.

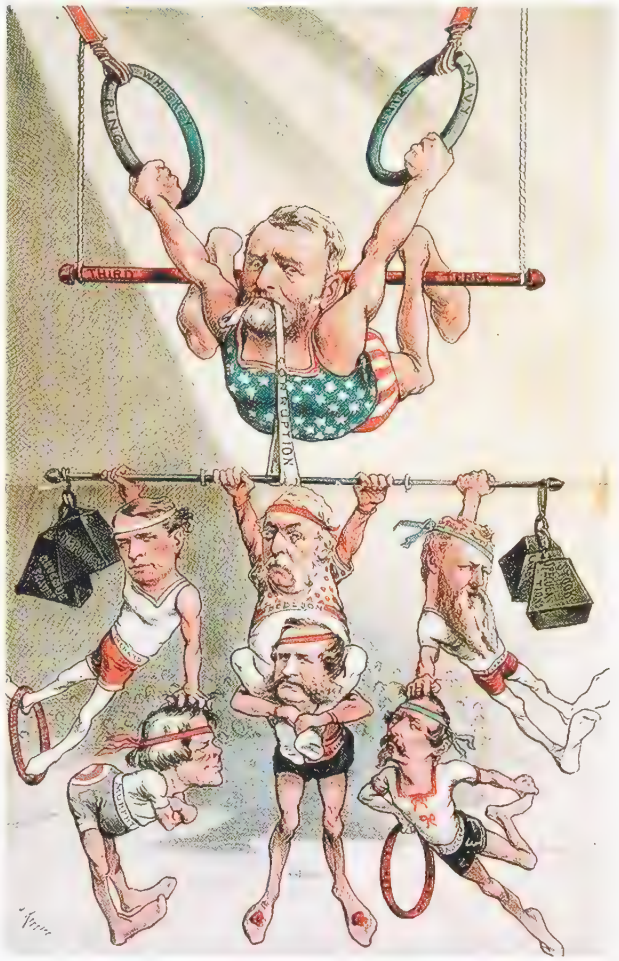
The impact of the depression varied in different parts of the United States. Farmers suffered a terrible plight as crop prices plunged, while industrial workers faced layoffs and sharp wage reductions. Within a year, 50 percent of American iron manufacturing had stopped. By 1877, half the nation's railroad companies had filed for bankruptcy. Rail construction halted. With hundreds of thousands thrown out of work, people took to the road. Wandering "tramps," who camped by railroad tracks and knocked on doors to beg for work and food, terrified prosperous Americans.

In addition to discrediting Republicans, the depression directly undercut their policies, most dramatically in the South. The ex-Confederacy was still recovering from the ravages of war, and its new economic and social order remained fragile. The bold policies of southern Republicans — for education, public health, and grants to railroad builders — cost a great deal of money. Federal support, through programs like the Freedmen's Bureau, had begun to fade even before 1873. Republicans had banked on

major infusions of northern and foreign investment capital; for the most part, these failed to materialize. Investors who had sunk money into Confederate bonds, only to have those repudiated, were especially wary. The South's economy grew more slowly than Republicans had hoped, and after 1873, growth screeched to a halt. State debts mounted rapidly, and as crushing interest on bonds fell due, public credit collapsed.

Not only had Republican officials failed to anticipate a severe depression; during the era of generous spending, considerable funds had also been wasted or had ended up in the pockets of corrupt officials. Two swindlers in North Carolina, one of them a former Union general, were found to have distributed more than $200,000 in bribes and loans to legislators to gain millions in state funds for rail construction. Instead of building railroads, they used the money to travel to Europe and speculate in stocks and bonds. Not only Republicans were on the take. "You are mistaken," wrote one southern Democrat to a northern friend, "if you suppose that all the evils . . . result from the carpetbaggers and negroes. The Democrats are leagued with them when anything is proposed that promises to pay." In South Carolina, when African American congressman Robert Smalls was convicted of taking a bribe, the Democratic governor pardoned him in exchange for an agreement that federal officials would drop an investigation of Democratic election fraud.

One of the depression's most tragic results was the failure of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company. This private bank, founded in 1865, had worked closely with the Freedmen's Bureau and Union army across the South. Former slaves associated it with the party of Lincoln, and thousands responded to northerners' call for thrift and savings by bringing their small deposits to the nearest branch. African American farmers, entrepreneurs, churches, and charitable groups opened accounts at the bank. But in the early 1870s, the bank's directors sank their money into risky loans and speculative investments. In June 1874, the bank failed.



"Grantism" During his second term of office, President Grant was lampooned for the problems of his scandal-ridden administration. Here, the humor magazine *Puck* shows Grant barely defying gravity to keep himself and his corrupt subordinates aloft and out of jail. He hangs from a "third term" bar because many predicted that the Republican party would nominate him yet again in 1876. Due in large part to the administration's scandals, this did not happen, but the Union war hero nonetheless remained personally popular.
Library of Congress

Some Republicans believed that, because the bank had been so closely associated with the U.S. Army and federal agencies, Congress had a duty to step in. Even one southern Democrat argued that the government was "morally bound to see to it that not a dollar is lost." But in the end, Congress refused to compensate the 61,000 depositors. About half recovered small amounts — averaging $18.51 — but the others received nothing. The party of Reconstruction was losing its moral gloss.

The Disillusioned Liberals As a result of the depression and rising criticism of postwar activist government, a revolt emerged in the Republican Party. It was led by influential intellectuals, journalists, and businessmen who believed in **classical liberalism**: free trade, small government, low property taxes, and limitation of voting rights to men of education and property. Liberals responded to the massive increase in federal power, during the Civil War and Reconstruction, by urging a policy of *laissez faire*, in which government "let alone" business and the economy. In the postwar decades, laissez faire advocates never succeeded in ending federal policies such as the protective tariff and national banking system (Chapter 16), but their arguments helped roll back Reconstruction. Unable to block Grant's renomination for the presidency in 1872, the dissidents broke away and formed a new party under the name Liberal Republican. Their candidate was Horace Greeley, longtime publisher of the *New York Tribune* and

veteran reformer and abolitionist. The Democrats, still in disarray, also nominated Greeley, notwithstanding his editorial **diatribes** against them. A poor campaigner, Greeley was assailed so severely that, as he said, "I hardly knew whether I was running for the Presidency or the penitentiary."

Grant won reelection overwhelmingly, capturing 56 percent of the popular vote and every electoral vote. Yet Liberal Republicans had shifted the terms of debate. The agenda they advanced — smaller government, restricted voting rights, and reconciliation with ex-Confederates — resonated with Democrats, who had long advocated limited government and were working to reclaim their status as a legitimate national party. Liberalism thus crossed party lines, uniting disillusioned conservative Republicans with Democrats who denounced government activism. E. L. Godkin of *The Nation* and other classical liberal editors played key roles in turning northern public opinion against Reconstruction. With unabashed elitism, Godkin and others claimed that freedmen were unfit to vote. They denounced universal suffrage, which "can only mean in plain English the government of ignorance and vice."

The second Grant administration gave liberals plenty of ammunition. The most notorious scandal involved **Crédit Mobilier**, a sham corporation set up by shareholders in the Union Pacific Railroad to secure government grants at an enormous profit. Organizers of the scheme protected it from investigation by providing gifts of Crédit Mobilier stock to powerful members of Congress. Controversy over this railroad scandal arose even before Grant's reelection; by 1875 another scandal emerged involving the so-called "Whiskey Ring," a network of liquor distillers and treasury agents who defrauded the government of millions of dollars of excise taxes on whiskey. The ringleader was Grant's private secretary, Orville Babcock. Others went to prison, but Grant stood by Babcock, possibly perjuring himself to save his secretary from jail. The stench of scandal permeated the White House.

Counterrevolution in the South

While northerners became preoccupied with scandals and the shock of economic depression, ex-Confederates seized power in the South. Most believed (as northern liberals had also begun to argue) that southern Reconstruction governments were illegitimate "regimes." Led by the planters, ex-Confederates staged a massive insurgency to take back the South.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the role of organized violence and terrorist organizations in the loss of constitutional rights of African Americans is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

When they could win at the ballot box, southern Democrats took that route. They got ex-Confederate voting rights restored and campaigned against "negro rule." But when force was necessary, southern Democrats used it. Present-day Americans, witnessing political violence in other countries, seldom remember that our own history includes the overthrow of elected governments by paramilitary groups. But this is exactly how Reconstruction ended in many parts of the South. Ex-Confederates terrorized Republicans, especially in districts with large proportions of black voters. Black political leaders were shot, hanged, beaten to death, and in one case even beheaded (AP® Analyzing Voices). Many Republicans, both black and white, went into hiding or fled for their lives. Southern Democrats called this violent process "Redemption" — a heroic name that still lingers today, even though this seizure of power was murderous and undemocratic.

No one looms larger in this bloody story than Nathan Bedford Forrest, a decorated Confederate general. Born in poverty in 1821, Forrest had risen to become a big-time slave trader and Mississippi planter. A fiery secessionist, Forrest had formed a Tennessee Confederate cavalry regiment, fought bravely at the battle of Shiloh, and won fame as a daring raider. On April 12, 1864, his troops perpetrated one of the war's worst atrocities, the massacre at Fort Pillow, Tennessee, of black Union soldiers who were trying to surrender.

After the Civil War, Forrest's determination to uphold white supremacy altered the course of Reconstruction. William G. Brownlow, elected as Tennessee's Republican governor in 1865, was a tough man, a former prisoner of the Confederates who was

not shy about calling his enemies to account. Ex-Confederates struck back with a campaign of terror, targeting especially Brownlow's black supporters. Amid the mayhem, ex-Confederates formed the first **Ku Klux Klan** group in late 1865 or early 1866. As it **proliferated** across the state, the Klan turned to Forrest, who had been trying, unsuccessfully, to rebuild his prewar fortune. Late in 1866, at a secret meeting in Nashville, Forrest donned the robes of Grand Wizard. His activities are mostly cloaked in mystery, but there is no mistake about his goals: the Klan would strike blows against the despised Republican government of Tennessee.

In many towns, the Klan became virtually identical to the Democratic Party. Klan members—including Forrest—dominated Tennessee's delegation to the Democratic national convention of 1868. At home, the Klan unleashed a murderous campaign of terror, and though Governor Brownlow responded resolutely, in the end Republicans cracked. The Klan and similar groups—organized under such names as the White League and Knights of the White Camelia—arose in other states. Vigilantes burned freedmen's schools, beat teachers, attacked Republican gatherings, and murdered political opponents. By 1870, Democrats had seized power in Georgia and North Carolina and were making headway across the South. Once they took power, they slashed property taxes and passed other laws favorable to landowners. They terminated Reconstruction programs and cut funding for schools, especially those teaching black students.

Ku Klux Klan Mask White supremacists of the 1870s organized under many names and wore many costumes, not simply (or often) the white cone-shaped hats that were made famous later, in the 1920s, when the Klan underwent a nationwide resurgence. Few masks from the 1870s have survived. The horns and fangs on this one, from North Carolina, suggest how Klan members sought to strike terror in their victims, while also hiding their own identities. North Carolina Museum of History

In responding to the Klan between 1869 and 1871, the federal government showed it could still exert power effectively in the South. Determined to end Klan violence, Congress held extensive hearings and in 1870 passed laws designed to protect freedmen's rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. These so-called **Enforcement Laws** authorized federal prosecutions, military intervention, and martial law to suppress terrorist activity. Grant's administration made full use of these new powers. In South Carolina, where the Klan was deeply entrenched, U.S. troops occupied nine counties, made hundreds of arrests, and drove as many as 2,000 Klansmen from the state.

This assault on the Klan, while raising the spirits of southern Republicans, revealed how dependent they were on Washington. "No such law could be enforced by state authority," one Mississippi Republican observed, "the local power being too weak." But northern Republicans were growing disillusioned with Reconstruction, while in the South, prosecuting Klansmen was an uphill battle against all-white juries and unsympathetic federal judges. After 1872, prosecutions dropped off. Meanwhile, the Texas government fell to the Democrats in 1873 and Alabama and Arkansas fell in 1874.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did ex-Confederates, freedpeople, Republicans, and classical liberals view the end of Reconstruction?

Reconstruction Rolled Back

As divided Republicans debated how to respond, voters in the congressional election of 1874 handed them one of the most stunning defeats of the nineteenth century. Responding especially to the severe depression that gripped the nation, they removed almost half of the party's 199 representatives in the House. Democrats, who had held 88 seats, now commanded an overwhelming majority of 182. "The election is not merely a victory but a revolution," exulted a Democratic newspaper in New York.

After 1874, with Democrats in control of the House, Republicans who tried to shore up their southern wing had limited options. Bowing to election results, the Grant administration began to reject southern Republicans' appeals for aid. Events in Mississippi showed the outcome. As state elections neared there in 1875, paramilitary

The Impact of Terror

In 1871, thousands of southerners testified before a congressional committee investigating white vigilantism and Ku Klux Klan night-riding in former Confederate states. Their testimony provides a window into the local operations of violence and intimidation. Here, William Coleman, formerly of Winston County, Mississippi, testified to the impact of Klan violence on himself, his family, and his neighbors.

WILLIAM COLEMAN

Testimony on Klan Violence

SOURCE: *Testimony Taken by the Joint Select Committee to Inquire into the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, Mississippi* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1872), 1: 482–488.

Macon, Mississippi, November 6, 1871.
William Coleman (colored) sworn and examined.

Q. Where do you live?
A. I live in Macon.
Q. How long have you lived here?
A. I came here about the last of April.
Q. Where did you come from?
A. I came from Winston County.
Q. —What occasioned your coming here?
A. I got run by the Ku-Klux.
Q. Give the particulars to the committee.
A. Give the particulars?
Q. Tell how it occurred. . . .
A. Well, I don't know anything that I had said or done that injured any one, further than being a radical, . . . I had done bought my land and paid for it, and I had . . . —eighteen head of hogs to kill this fall. I had twelve head of sheep, and one good milk-cow, and a yearling, and the cow had a right young calf again, and I had my mule and my filly, and all of it was paid for but my mule. . . . The mule cost me $65, and I had him hired out to pay for him. . . .
Q. Did any of the Ku-Klux come to your house?
A. They did.
Q. In the night-time?
A. They came about a half hour or more before day, as nigh as I can recollect. . . . When they busted the door open, coming in shooting, I was frightened, and I can only tell you as nigh as my recollection will afford. . . . I jumped up and said, "Hallo." Then one at the door said, "Raise a light in there." "What for; who is you?" I said. . . . He says, "God damn you, we didn't come to tell you who we are." I was peeping through the little crack in the door. . . . I saw men out there standing with horns and faces [masks] on all of them, and they all had great, long white cow-tails way down the breast. . . . They told me they rode from Shiloh in two hours, and came to kill me. . . . They shot right smart in that house before they got in, but how many times I don't know, they shot so fast outside; but when they come in, they didn't have but three loads to shoot. . . . I dashed about among them, but they knocked me down several times. Every time I would get up, they would knock me down again. I saw they were going to kill me. . . . I grabbed my ax-handle, and commenced fighting, and then they just took and cut me with knives. They surrounded me in the floor and took my shirt off. They got me out on the floor; some had me by the legs and some by the arms and the neck and anywhere, just like dogs string out a coon, and they took me out to the big road before my gate and whipped me until I couldn't move or holler or do nothing, but just lay there. . . . They left me there for dead, and what it was done for was because I was a radical, and I didn't deny my profession anywhere and I never will. I never will vote that conservative ticket if I die.
Q. Did they tell you they whipped you because you were a radical?
A. They told me, "God damn you, when you meet a white man in the road lift your hat; I'll learn you, God damn you, that you are a nigger, and not to be going about like you thought yourself a white man. . . ." [I believe it was] because I had my filly; I had bought her to ride, not to stay in the stable, but

to ride when I got ready, like you would do with your property. When I bought her I bought her for $75; she was not nigh grown; a little thing, with flaxen mane and tail, and light cream-color. . . .

Q. Were you working on your own land?

A. Yes sir; that I bought and paid for; $473 for it.

Q. How many men were concerned in beating you?

A. Eight men.

Q. Were they all disguised?

A. Yes sir; every one of them. . . .

Q. Did you know any one that night?

A. Of course I did. I ought to know them, my neighbors; and I knocked off the faces [masks] and horns fighting . . . [and saw one without his mask]; of course I knowed him. I would know him again except it was his ashes. . . .

Q. They said they came from Shiloh? . . . Did they say they were the spirits of the confederate dead?

A. They didn't tell me nothing about spirits. . . .

Q. When was Nathan Cannon whipped?

A. He was whipped last year. . . . I went one night to stay with him to go to church [but came late and saw night-riders] stripping him and beating him and knocking him about with pistols. . . . They whipped him about an hour before he started to holler, and when he started to holler "murder, murder" — every word was murder — I just jumped on my filly and started for home. . . . I wouldn't tell my wife about it, for fear she would get so uneasy and be tore up in mind, and I didn't tell it, but somebody told it. . . .

Q. Was he badly whipped?

A. He never worked none, to my recollection, in five weeks. . . .

Q. Have you known any teachers of colored schools to be interfered with?

A. Peter Cooper was run from there a short time after I was. He is down here making shoes.

Q. Was he a teacher of a colored school?

A. Yes, sir; they burned up his books and took several dollars of money from him. I know they got $23 from him that night. . . .

Q. Do you know of any colored churches or schools being burned down?

A. There was only one school-house that I ever knew burned down. They teached in it about a week.

Q. Was it a school for colored children?

A. Yes, sir. . . .

Q. Did you ever hear of any colored people sleeping out of their houses in that county?

A. I have heard it and done it myself.

Q. Why?

A. Because I was afraid to stay in my own house. . . . I have left my house and told my wife to stay in there, for they don't hurt women unless some of the women is sassy to some of their wives, or speak like a white woman, and they call that sass; then they go and whip them nearly to death; but I knew my wife wouldn't say nothing. . . .

Q. Do you think that colored people feel afraid of personal harm and violence in that country?

A. Yes, sir, they do . . . and you would, too, if you were most devoured with devils like that. . . . Here is a knot on my head they did to me that night, [indicating,] and here is one in the edge of my ear, the whole width of the stick, and a long hole over here, in the back of my head. When they took me out of the house I was as bloody as a hog that had been knocked down and stuck in a hog-pen and wallered in his own blood. . . . They meant to beat me to death. . . .

Q. Are you afraid to go back there?

A. . . . My life is better to me than anything there. I would not go back there if there was gold there higher than one of these pines.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In this testimony, what achievements does Coleman describe in his life and work in the six years since emancipation? What does this tell us about African Americans' priorities and strategies when freedom came?
2. What does his testimony reveal about the tactics and motivations of night-riders?
3. How does Coleman describe the impact of the riders' violence on his life and those of his neighbors and community? How do you think Winston County was different after the vigilantes had done their work?
4. Coleman and his wife adopted different strategies for dealing with Klan violence. Imagine a conversation between them about how to respond when night-riders came to the door. What were the advantages and dangers of each approach?

groups such as the Red Shirts operated openly. Mississippi's Republican governor, Adelbert Ames, a Union veteran from Maine, appealed for U.S. troops, but Grant refused. "The whole public are tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South," complained a Grant official, who told southern Republicans that they were responsible for their own fate. Facing a rising tide of brutal murders, Governor Ames — realizing that only further bloodshed could result — urged his allies to give up the fight. Brandishing guns and stuffing ballot boxes, Democratic "Redeemers" swept the 1875 elections and took control of Mississippi. By 1876, Reconstruction was largely over. Republican governments, backed by token U.S. military units, remained in only three southern states: Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida. Elsewhere, former Confederates and their allies took power.

The Supreme Court Rejects Equal Rights Though ex-Confederates seized power in southern states, new landmark constitutional amendments and federal laws remained in force. If the Supreme Court had left these intact, subsequent generations of civil rights advocates could have used the federal courts to combat racial discrimination and violence. Instead, the Court closed off this avenue for the pursuit of justice, just as it dashed the hopes of women's rights advocates.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the Supreme Court in undermining the rights of African Americans in the Reconstruction era.

As early as 1873, in a group of decisions known collectively as the ***Slaughter-House Cases***, the Court began to undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment. In *Slaughter-House* and a related ruling, *U.S. v. Cruikshank* (1876), the justices argued that the Fourteenth Amendment offered only a few, rather trivial federal protections to citizens (such as access to navigable waterways). In *Cruikshank* — a case that emerged from a gruesome killing of African American farmers by ex-Confederates in Colfax, Louisiana, followed by a Democratic political coup — the Court ruled that voting rights remained a state matter unless the state itself violated those rights. If former slaves' rights were violated by individuals or private groups (including the Klan), that lay beyond federal jurisdiction. The Fourteenth Amendment did not protect citizens from armed vigilantes, even when those vigilantes seized political power. The Court thus gutted the Fourteenth Amendment. In the ***Civil Rights Cases*** (1883), the justices also struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, paving the way for later decisions that sanctioned segregation. The impact of these decisions endured well into the twentieth century.

The Political Crisis of 1877

After the grim election results of 1874, Republicans faced a major battle in the presidential election of 1876. Abandoning Grant, they nominated Rutherford B. Hayes, a former Union general who was untainted by corruption and — even more important — hailed from the key swing state of Ohio. Hayes's Democratic opponent was New York governor Samuel J. Tilden, a Wall Street lawyer with a reform reputation. Tilden favored home rule for the South, but so, more discreetly, did Hayes. With enforcement on the wane, Reconstruction did not figure prominently in the campaign, and little was said about the states still led by Reconstruction governments: Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana.

Once returns started coming in on election night, however, those states loomed large. Tilden led in the popular vote and seemed headed for victory until sleepless politicians at Republican headquarters realized that the electoral vote stood at 184 to 165, with the 20 votes from Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana still uncertain. If Hayes took those votes, he would win by a margin of 1. Citing ample evidence of Democratic fraud and intimidation, Republican officials certified all three states for Hayes. "Redeemer" Democrats who had taken over the states' governments submitted their own electoral votes for Tilden. When Congress met in early 1877, it confronted two sets of electoral votes from those states.

The Constitution does not provide for such a **contingency**. All it says is that the president of the Senate (in 1877, a Republican) opens the electoral certificates before the House (Democratic) and the Senate (Republican) and "the Votes shall then be counted" (Article 2, Section 1). Suspense gripped the country. There was talk of inside deals or a new election — even a violent coup. Finally, Congress appointed an electoral commission to settle the question. The commission included seven Republicans, seven Democrats, and, as the deciding member, David Davis, a Supreme Court justice not known to have fixed party loyalties. Davis, however, disqualified himself by accepting an Illinois Senate seat. He was replaced by Republican justice Joseph P. Bradley, and by a vote of 8 to 7, on party lines, the commission awarded the election to Hayes.

In the House of Representatives, outraged Democrats vowed to stall the final count of electoral votes so as to prevent Hayes's inauguration on March 4. But in the end, they went along, partly because Tilden himself urged that they do so. Hayes had publicly indicated his desire to offer substantial patronage to the South, including federal funds for education and internal improvements. He promised "a complete change of men and policy," naively hoping he could count on support from old-line southern Whigs and protect black voting rights. Hayes was inaugurated on schedule. He expressed hope in his inaugural address that the federal government could serve "the interests of both races carefully and equally." But, setting aside the U.S. troops who were serving on border duty in Texas, only 3,000 Union soldiers remained in the South. As soon as the new president ordered them back to their barracks, the last Republican administrations in the South collapsed. Reconstruction had ended.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of political compromise in stripping away African Americans' rights in the South is critical for success on the AP® exam.

Lasting Legacies

In the short run, the political events of 1877 had little impact on most southerners. Much of the work of "Redemption" had already been done. What mattered was the long, slow decline of Radical Republican power and the corresponding rise of Democrats in the South and nationally. It was obvious that so-called Redeemers in the South had assumed power through violence. But many Americans, including prominent classical liberals who shaped public opinion, believed the Democrats had overthrown corrupt, illegitimate governments. Thus the end justified the means. After 1874, those who deplored the results had little political traction. The only remaining question was how far Reconstruction would be rolled back.

The South never went back to the antebellum status quo. Sharecropping, for all its flaws and injustices, was not slavery. Freedmen and freedwomen managed to resist gang labor and work on their own terms. They also established their right to marry, read and write, worship as they pleased, and travel in search of a better life — rights that were not easily revoked. Across the South, black farmers overcame great odds to buy and work their own land. African American businessmen built thriving enterprises. Black churches and community groups sustained networks of mutual aid. Parents sacrificed to send their children to school, and a few proudly watched their sons and daughters graduate from college.

Reconstruction had also shaken, if not fully overturned, the legal and political framework that had made the United States a white man's country. This was a stunning achievement, and though hostile courts and political opponents undercut it, no one ever repealed the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, or Fifteenth Amendments. They remained in the Constitution, and the civil rights movement of the twentieth century would return and build on this framework (Chapter 26).

Still, in the final reckoning, Reconstruction failed. The majority of freedpeople remained in poverty, and by the late 1870s their political rights were also eroding. Vocal advocates of smaller government argued that Reconstruction had been a mistake; pressured by economic hardship, northern voters abandoned their southern Unionist allies.

AP® EXAM TIP

Defining the ways that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments established a basis for full equality of all citizens is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

The South's "Lost Cause"

After Reconstruction ended, many white southerners celebrated the Confederacy as a heroic "Lost Cause." Through organizations such as the Sons of Confederate Veterans and United Daughters of the Confederacy, they profoundly influenced the nation's memories of slavery, the Civil War, and Reconstruction.

1. **Commemorative postcard of living Confederate flag, Robert E. Lee Monument, Richmond, Virginia, 1907.** *An estimated 150,000 people gathered in 1890 to dedicate this statue — ten times more than had attended earlier memorial events.*

: The Library of Virginia

2. **From the United Daughters of the Confederacy Constitution, 1894.** *The United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in 1894, grew in three years to 136 chapters and by the late 1910s counted a membership of 100,000.*

   The objects of this association are historical, educational, memorial, benevolent, and social: To fulfill the duties of sacred charity to the survivors of the war and those dependent on them; to collect and preserve material for a truthful history of the war; to protect historic places of the Confederacy; to record the part taken by the Southern women . . . in patient endurance of hardship and patriotic devotion during the struggle; to perpetuate the memory of our Confederate heroes and the glorious cause for which they fought; to cherish the ties of friendship among members of this Association; to endeavor to have used in all Southern schools only such histories as are just and true.

3. **McNeel Marble Co. advertisement in *Confederate Veteran* magazine, 1905.**

   To the Daughters of the Confederacy: In regard to that Confederate monument which your Chapter has been talking about and planning for since you first got organized. Why not buy it NOW and have it erected before all the old veterans have answered the final roll call? Why wait and worry about raising funds? Our terms to U.D.C. Chapters are so liberal and our plans for raising funds are so effective as to obviate the necessity of either waiting or worrying. During the last three or four years we have sold Confederate monuments to thirty-seven of your sister Chapters. . . . Our designs, our prices, our work, our business methods have pleased them, and we can please you. What your sister Chapters have done, you can do. . . . WRITE TO-DAY.

4. **Confederate veteran's letter, *Confederate Veteran* magazine, 1910.** *An anonymous Georgian who had served in Lee's army sent the following letter to the veterans' magazine after attending a reunion in Memphis.*

   Reunion gatherings are supposed to be for the benefit of the old veterans; but will you show us where the privates, the men who stood the hardships and did the fighting, have any consideration when they get to the city that is expected to entertain them? . . . [In Memphis, I] stopped at the school building, where there were at least twenty-five or thirty old veterans lying on the ground, and had been there all night. All this while the officers were being banqueted, wined, dined, and quartered in the very best hotels; but the private must shift for himself, stand

One of the enduring legacies of this process was the way later Americans remembered Reconstruction itself. After "Redemption," generations of schoolchildren were taught that ignorant, lazy blacks and corrupt whites had imposed illegitimate Reconstruction "regimes" on the South. White southerners won national support for their celebration of a heroic Confederacy (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

One of the first historians to challenge these views was the great African American intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois. In *Black Reconstruction in America* (1935), Du Bois meticulously documented the history of African American struggle, white vigilante violence, and national policy failure. If Reconstruction, he wrote, "had been conceived as a major national program . . . whose accomplishment at any price was well worth the effort, we should be living today in a different world." His words still ring true, but

around on the street, or sit on the curbstone. He must march if he is able, but the officers ride in fine carriages. Pay more attention to the men of the ranks — men who did service! I always go prepared to pay my way; but I do not like to be ignored.

5. **Matthew Page Andrews, *The Women of the South in War Times*, 1923.** *Matthew Page Andrews's* The Women of the South in War Times, *approved by the UDC, was a popular textbook for decades in schools throughout the South.*

The Southern people of the "old regime" have been pictured as engaged primarily in a protracted struggle for the maintenance of negro slavery. . . . Fighting on behalf of slavery was as far from the minds of these Americans as going to war in order to free the slaves was from the purpose of Abraham Lincoln, whose sole object, frequently expressed by him, was to "preserve the Union." . . .

That, in the midst of war, there were almost no instances of arson, murder, or outrage committed by the negroes of the South is an everlasting tribute to the splendid character of the dominant race and their moral uplift of a weaker one. . . . When these negroes were landed on American shores, almost all were savages taken from the lowest forms of jungle life. It was largely the women of the South who trained these heathen people, molded their characters, and, in the second and third generations, lifted them up a thousand years in the scale of civilization.

6. **Susie King Taylor, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33d United States Colored Troops, Late 1st S.C. Volunteers*, 1902.** *Susie King Taylor, born in slavery in Georgia in 1848, fled with her uncle during the Civil War and served as a nurse in the Union army.*

I read an article, which said the ex-Confederate Daughters had sent a petition to the managers of the local theatres in Tennessee to prohibit the performance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," claiming it was exaggerated (that is, the treatment of the slaves), and would have a very bad effect on the children who might see the drama. I paused and thought back a few years of the heart-rending scenes I have witnessed. . . . I remember, as if it were yesterday, seeing droves of negroes going to be sold, and I often went to look at them, and I could hear the auctioneer very plainly from my house, auctioning these poor people off.

Do these Confederate Daughters ever send petitions to prohibit the atrocious lynchings and wholesale murdering and torture of the negro? Do you ever hear of them fearing this would have a bad effect on the children? Which of these two, the drama or the present state of affairs, makes a degrading impression upon the minds of our young generation? In my opinion it is not "Uncle Tom's Cabin." . . . It does not seem as if our land is yet civilized.

SOURCES: (2) *Minutes of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Nashville, TN: Press of Foster & Webb, Printers, 1901), 235; (3) *Confederate Veteran*, 1905; (4) *Confederate Veteran*, Vol. XVIII (Nashville, TN: S. A. Cunningham, 1910); (5) Matthew Page Andrews, ed., *The Women of the South in War Times* (Baltimore: The Norman, Remington Co., 1923), 3–4, 9–10; (6) Susie King Taylor, *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp* (Boston: Published by the author, 1902), 65–66.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What do sources 2 and 3 tell us about the work of local UDC chapters? What does the advertisement suggest about the economy of the postwar South?
2. What can you infer from these sources about the situation in the South after the Civil War? Why might women have played a particularly important role in memorial associations?
3. Compare and contrast sources 4 and 6. Who did "Lost Cause" associations serve, and how is this connected to issues of class and race?
4. How does source 5 depict slaves? Slaveholders? Is this an accurate account of the history of the South, and how does this compare to source 4? What do these different interpretations suggest about the legacy of "Redemption"?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

"Lost Cause" advocates often stated that their work was not political. To what extent was this true, based on the evidence here? What do these documents suggest about the influence of the Lost Cause, and also the limitations and challenges it faced? What do they tell us about the legacies of Reconstruction more broadly?

in 1935 historians ignored him. Not a single scholarly journal reviewed Du Bois's important book. Ex-Confederates had lost the war, but they won control over the nation's memory of Reconstruction.

Meanwhile, though their programs failed in the South, Republicans carried their nation-building project into the West, where their policies helped consolidate a continental empire. There, the federal power that had secured emancipation created the conditions for the United States to become an industrial power and a major leader on the world stage.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS Why and how did federal Reconstruction policies falter in the South?

SUMMARY

Postwar Republicans faced two tasks: restoring rebellious states to the Union and defining the role of emancipated slaves. After Lincoln's assassination, his successor, Andrew Johnson, hostile to Congress, unilaterally offered the South easy terms for reentering the Union. Exploiting this opportunity, southerners adopted oppressive Black Codes and put ex-Confederates back in power. Congress impeached Johnson and, though failing to convict him, seized the initiative and placed the South under military rule. In this second, or radical, phase of Reconstruction, Republican state governments tried to transform the South's economic and social institutions. Congress passed innovative civil rights acts and funded new agencies like the Freedmen's Bureau. The Fourteenth Amendment defined U.S. citizenship and asserted that states could no longer supersede it, and the Fifteenth Amendment gave voting rights to formerly enslaved men. Debate over this amendment precipitated a split among women's rights advocates, since women did not win inclusion.

Freedmen found that their goals conflicted with those of Republican leaders, who counted on cotton to fuel economic growth. Like southern landowners, national lawmakers envisioned former slaves as wageworkers, while freedmen wanted their own land. Sharecropping, which satisfied no one completely, emerged as a compromise suited to the needs of the cotton market and an impoverished, credit-starved region.

Nothing could reconcile ex-Confederates to Republican government, and they staged a violent counterrevolution in the name of white supremacy and "Redemption." Meanwhile, struck by a massive economic depression, northern voters handed Republicans a crushing defeat in the election of 1874. By 1876, Reconstruction was dead. Rutherford B. Hayes's narrow victory in the presidential election of that year resulted in withdrawal of the last Union troops from the South. A series of Supreme Court decisions also undermined the Fourteenth Amendment and civil rights laws, setting up legal parameters through which, over the long term, disenfranchisement and segregation would flourish.

CHAPTER 14 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What factors explain how Reconstruction policies unfolded between 1865 and 1870, and what was the impact on different groups of Americans?
2. What goals were southern freedmen and freedwomen able to achieve in the post–Civil War years, and why? What goals were they not able to achieve, and why not?
3. Why and how did federal Reconstruction policies falter in the South?
4. Look again at the events listed under "American and National Identity" on the thematic timeline on page 364. Some historians have argued that, during this era, the United States moved, politically and socially, from being a loose union of states to being a more unified and inclusive *nation*. To what extent do you agree? Use the events of Reconstruction as evidence in making your case.

AP® TERMS TO KNOW *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

Ten Percent Plan (p. 434)
Wade-Davis Bill (p. 434)
Black Codes (p. 435)
Freedmen's Bureau (p. 435)
Civil Rights Act of 1866 (p. 435)
Fourteenth Amendment (p. 436)
Reconstruction Act of 1867 (p. 437)
Fifteenth Amendment (p. 439)
American Woman Suffrage Association (p. 440)
National Woman Suffrage Association (p. 440)
Minor v. Happersett (p. 440)
Beecher-Tilton scandal (p. 440)
sharecropping (p. 444)
convict leasing (p. 448)
Civil Rights Act of 1875 (p. 450)
classical liberalism (p. 451)
Crédit Mobilier (p. 452)
Ku Klux Klan (p. 453)
Enforcement Laws (p. 453)
Slaughter-House Cases (p. 456)
Civil Rights Cases (p. 456)

Key People

Andrew Johnson (p. 434)
Charles Sumner (p. 437)
Thaddeus Stevens (p. 437)
Ulysses S. Grant (p. 437)
Elizabeth Cady Stanton (p. 439)
Victoria Woodhull (p. 440)
Robert Smalls (p. 447)
Blanche K. Bruce (p. 447)
Nathan Bedford Forrest (p. 452)

Key Academic Terms

flagrant (p. 432)
amnesty (p. 432)
peonage (p. 445)
grassroots (p. 446)
diatribe (p. 452)
proliferate (p. 453)
contingency (p. 457)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. Ex-Confederates were not the first Americans to engage in violent protest against what they saw as tyrannical government power. Imagine, for example, a conversation between a participant in Shays's Rebellion (Chapter 6) and a southern Democrat who participated in the overthrow of a Republican government in his state. How would each describe his grievances? Whom would he name as enemies? Compare and contrast the tactics of these and other violent protests against government power in the United States. To what extent did these groups succeed?

2. Return to the image at the start of this chapter (p. 433), which shows a celebration in Baltimore after ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Note the various activities depicted as representations of the impact of emancipation and voting rights for black men. How might an African American family at the time have understood the image? What about a southern white family opposed to the Fifteenth Amendment?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 434 for help in answering the question below.*

Identify two crucial turning points in the course of Reconstruction. What caused those shifts in direction, and what were the results?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "*Sec. 2* . . . All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years . . . with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night . . . shall be deemed vagrants . . . and shall be imprisoned at the discretion of the court. . . ."
>
> *Sec. 2* . . . it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto to intermarry with any white person . . . and any person who shall so intermarry, shall be deemed guilty of a felony, and upon conviction thereof shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life. . . .
>
> *Sec. 1* . . . no freedman, free negro or mulatto, not in the military service of the United States government . . . shall keep or carry firearms of any kind, or any ammunition. . . .
>
> *Sec. 5* . . . If any freedman, free negro or mulatto, convicted of any of the misdemeanors provided against in this act, shall fail or refuse . . . to pay the fine and costs imposed, such person shall be hired out by the sheriff or other officers . . . to any white person who will pay said fine and all costs, and take said convict. . . ."
>
> The Mississippi Black Code, 1865

1. The Black Codes emerged most directly from the context of which of the following?
   - **a.** Southern resistance to Reconstruction
   - **b.** A "New South" economy based on sharecropping
   - **c.** The rise of democratic beliefs that influenced moral and social reforms
   - **d.** The spread of the ideology of Social Darwinism
2. The conditions leading to the establishment of the Black Codes showed the most similarity with which of the following developments?
   - **a.** 1920s political controversies over cultural modernism
   - **b.** 1950s policies and methods exposing suspected communists within the United States
   - **c.** 1960s social and political unrest sparked by desegregation
   - **d.** 2000s political and cultural debates over gender roles
3. Which of the following groups of the period would have most directly opposed the creation of the Black Codes?
   - **a.** Radical Republicans
   - **b.** Labor activists
   - **c.** The U.S. Supreme Court
   - **d.** The Populist Party

Questions 4–6 refer to the image below.

Library of Congress

4. The image is a response to which of the following developments in the United States?
   - **a.** Republican efforts to reorder race relations in the defeated South
   - **b.** The South's restriction of political opportunities and other leadership roles for former slaves
   - **c.** The abolitionist movement's willingness to use violence to achieve its goals
   - **d.** The support for racial segregation in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision

5. An individual who agreed with the artist's perspective as portrayed in the cartoon would express the greatest support for
   a. placing limits on African American rights.
   b. maintaining full legal equality for African Americans.
   c. utilizing systems of patronage at all levels of government.
   d. a moral obligation of wealthy people to help the less fortunate in society.

6. The image best reflects a growing trend in the North supporting policies in the South of political
   a. isolationism.
   b. imperialism.
   c. interventionism.
   d. reconciliation.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

1. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly describe ONE specific historical change in the political behavior of women from after the Civil War to 1898.
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical factor that led to the change you identified in (a).
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical result of the change you described in (a) on American politics.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference in the economic lives of African Americans from the period before the Civil War to the period after.
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity in the economic lives of African Americans from the period before the Civil War to the period after.
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical factor that caused the similarity you explained in (b).

"African-American women decided to quit work over such grievances as low wages, long hours, and unpleasant tasks. . . . [I]t was an effective strategy to deprive employers of complete power over their labor. . . . Occasional refusals to sell their labor or self-imposed limits enabled working class women to conduct their own family and community affairs in ways that mitigated the demands of white supremacy and the market economy."

Tera W. Hunter, *To Joy My Freedom; Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War*, 1997

"[B]lack working women . . . lacked the control over their own productive energies and material resources. . . . Though perhaps "freed" or "liberated" from narrow sex-role conventions, they remained tied to overwhelming wage-earning and child-rearing responsibilities. . . . [W]hen measured against traditional standards of power — usually defined in terms of wealth; personal autonomy; and control over workers, votes, or inheritances — black wives and mothers had little leverage with which to manipulate the behavior of their kinfolk.

Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow; Black Women, Work, and the Family, from Slavery to the Present*, 1986

3. Using the two excerpts at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Hunter's and Jones's historical interpretations of the lives of African American women in the second half of the nineteenth century.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Hunter's argument.
   c. Briefly mention how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Jones's argument.

CHAPTER 15

Conquering a Continent

1860–1890

The Republican Vision

The New Union and the World

Integrating the National Economy

Incorporating the West

Mining Empires

Cattlemen on the Plains

Homesteaders

The First National Park

A Harvest of Blood: Native Peoples Dispossessed

The Civil War and Indians on the Plains

Grant's Peace Policy

The End of Armed Resistance

Strategies of Survival

Western Myths and Realities

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

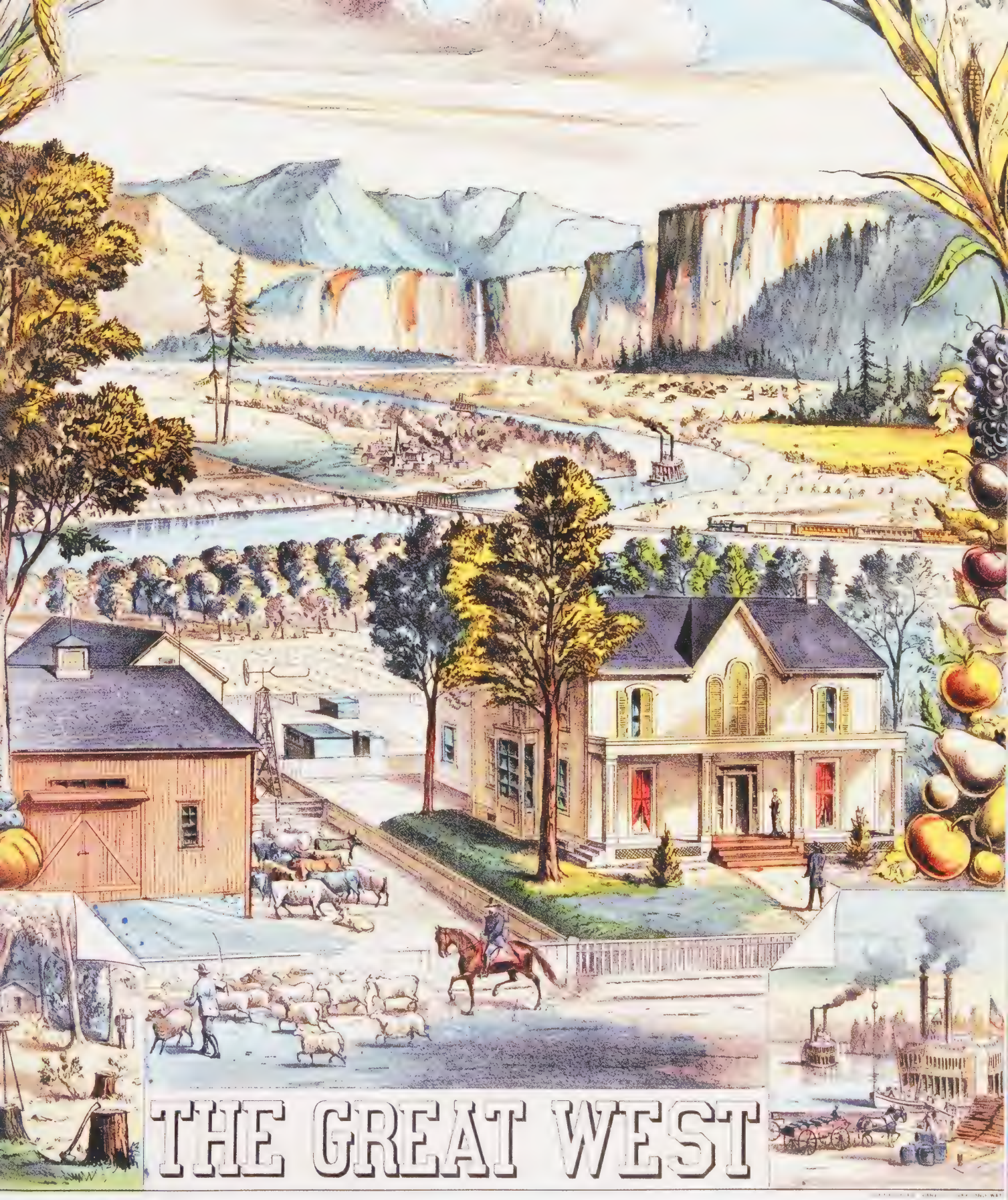
How did U.S. policymakers seek to stimulate the economy and integrate the trans-Mississippi west into the nation, and how did this affect people living there?

On May 10, 1869, Americans poured into the streets for a giant party. In big cities, the racket was incredible. Cannons boomed and train whistles shrilled. New York fired a hundred-gun salute at City Hall. Congregations sang anthems, while the less religious gathered in saloons to celebrate with whiskey. Philadelphia's joyful throngs reminded an observer of the day, four years earlier, when news had arrived of Lee's surrender. The festivities were prompted by a long-awaited telegraph message: executives of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads had driven a golden spike at Promontory Point, Utah, linking up their lines. Unbroken track now stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A journey across North America could be made in less than a week.

The first **transcontinental railroad** meant jobs and money. San Francisco residents got right to business: after firing a salute, they loaded Japanese tea on a train bound for St. Louis, marking California's first overland delivery to the East. In coming decades, trade and tourism fueled tremendous growth west of the Mississippi. San Francisco, which in 1860 had handled $7.4 million in imports, increased that figure to $49 million over thirty years. The new railroad would, as one speaker predicted in 1869, "populate our vast territory" and make America "the highway of nations."

The railroad was also a political triumph. Victorious in the Civil War, Republicans saw themselves as heirs to the American System envisioned by antebellum Whigs. They believed government intervention in the economy was the key to nation building. But unlike Whigs, whose plans had met stiff Democratic opposition, Republicans enjoyed a decade of unparalleled federal power. They used it vigorously: U.S. government spending per person, after skyrocketing in the Civil War, remained well above earlier levels. Republicans believed that national economic integration was the best guarantor of lasting peace. As a New York minister declared, the federally supported transcontinental railroad would "preserve the Union."

The minister was wrong on one point. He claimed the railroad was a peaceful achievement, in contrast to military battles that had brought "devastation, misery, and woe." In fact, creating a continental empire caused plenty of woe. Regions west of the Mississippi could only be incorporated if the United States subdued Native peoples and established favorable conditions for international investors—often at great domestic cost. And while conquering the West helped make the United States into an industrial power, it also deepened America's rivalry with European empires and created new patterns of exploitation.



The Great West In the wake of the Civil War, Americans looked westward. Republicans implemented an array of policies to foster economic development in the "Great West." Ranchers, farmers, and lumbermen cast hungry eyes on the remaining lands held by Native Americans. Steamboats and railroads, both visible in the background of this image, became celebrated as symbols of the expanding reach of U.S. economic might. This 1881 promotional poster illustrates the bountiful natural resources to be found out west, as well as the land available for ranching, farming, and commerce The men in the lower left corner are surveying land for sale. Libr

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1859** ▸ Comstock silver lode discovered in Nevada
- **1862** ▸ Homestead Act
  ▸ Dakota Sioux uprising in Minnesota
  ▸ Morrill Act funds public state universities
- **1864** ▸ Sand Creek massacre of Cheyennes in Colorado
  ▸ Yosemite Valley reserved as public park
- **1865** ▸ Long Drive of Texas longhorns begins
- **1866** ▸ Fetterman massacre
- **1868** ▸ Burlingame Treaty with China
- **1869** ▸ Transcontinental railroad completed
  ▸ Wyoming women's suffrage
- **1870** ▸ Utah women's suffrage
- **1872** ▸ General Mining Act
  ▸ Yellowstone National Park created
- **1873** ▸ United States begins to move to gold standard
- **1876** ▸ Battle of Little Big Horn
- **1877** ▸ Nez Perce forcibly removed from ancestral homelands in Northwest
  ▸ *Munn v. Illinois* Supreme Court decision
- **1879** ▸ Exoduster migration to Kansas
  ▸ John Wesley Powell presents *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States*
- **1880s** ▸ Rise of the Ghost Dance movement
- **1885** ▸ Sitting Bull tours with Buffalo Bill's Wild West
- **1886** ▸ Dry cycle begins on the plains
  ▸ Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo surrenders
- **1887** ▸ Dawes Severalty Act
- **1890** ▸ Massacre of Sioux Ghost Dancers at Wounded Knee, South Dakota

The Republican Vision

Reshaping the former Confederacy was only part of Republicans' plan for a reconstructed nation. They remembered the era after Andrew Jackson's destruction of the Second National Bank as one of economic chaos, when the United States had become vulnerable to international creditors and market fluctuations. Land speculation on the frontier had provoked extreme cycles of boom and bust. Failure to fund a transcontinental railroad had left different regions of the country disconnected. This, Republicans believed, had helped trigger the Civil War, and they were determined to set a new direction.

Even while the war raged, Congress made vigorous use of federal power, launching the transcontinental rail project and a new national banking system. Congress also raised the **protective tariff** on a range of manufactured goods, from textiles to steel, and on some agricultural products, like wool and sugar. At federal customhouses in each port, foreign manufacturers who brought merchandise into the United States had to pay import fees. These tariff revenues gave U.S. manufacturers, who did not pay the fees, a competitive advantage in America's vast domestic market.

The economic depression that began in 1873 set limits on Republicans' economic ambitions, just as it hindered their Reconstruction plans in the South. But their policies continued to shape the economy. Though some historians argue that the late nineteenth century was an era of *laissez faire* or unrestrained capitalism, in which government sat passively by, the industrial United States was actually the product of a massive public-private partnership in which government played critical roles.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

In what ways did Republicans use federal power on the world stage, and in what ways did they continue policies from the pre–Civil War era?

The New Union and the World

The United States emerged from the Civil War with new leverage in its negotiation with European countries, especially Great Britain, whose navy dominated the seas. Britain, which had allowed Confederate raiding ships such as CSS *Alabama* to be built in its shipyards, submitted afterward to arbitration and paid the United States $15.5 million in damages. Flush with victory, many Americans expected more British and Spanish territories to drop into the Union's lap. Senator Charles Sumner proposed, in fact, that Britain settle the *Alabama* claims by handing over Canada.

Such dreams were a logical extension of pre–Civil War conquests, especially in the U.S.-Mexico War. With the coasts now linked by rail, merchants and manufacturers looked across the Pacific, hungry for trade with Asia.

Union victory also increased U.S. economic influence in Latin America. While the United States was preoccupied with its internal war, France had **deposed** Mexico's government and installed an emperor. On May 5, 1867, Mexico overthrew the French invaders and executed Emperor Maximilian. But while Mexico regained independence, it lay open to the economic designs of its increasingly powerful northern neighbor.

A new model emerged for asserting U.S. power in Latin America and Asia: not by direct conquest, but through trade. The architect of this vision was William Seward, secretary of state from 1861 to 1869 under presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. A New Yorker of grand ambition and ego, Seward believed, like many contemporaries, that Asia would become "the chief theatre of [world] events" and that commerce there was key to America's prosperity. He urged the Senate to purchase sites in both the Pacific and the Caribbean for naval bases and refueling stations. When Japan changed policy and tried to close its ports to foreigners, Seward dispatched U.S. naval vessels to join those of Britain, France, and the Netherlands in reopening trade by force. At the same time, Seward urged annexation of Hawaii. He also predicted that the United States would one day claim the Philippines and build a Panama canal.

Seward's short-term achievements were modest. Exhausted by civil war, Americans had little enthusiasm for further military exploits. Seward achieved only two significant victories. In 1868, he secured congressional approval for the **Burlingame Treaty** with China, which guaranteed the rights of U.S. missionaries in China and set official terms for the emigration of Chinese laborers, some of whom were already clearing farmland and building railroads in the West. That same year, Seward negotiated the purchase of Alaska from Russia. After the Senate approved the deal, Seward waxed poetic:

> Our nation with united interests blest
> Not now content to poise, shall sway the rest;
> Abroad our empire shall no limits know,
> But like the sea in endless circles flow.

Many Americans scoffed at the purchase of Alaska, a frigid arctic tract that skeptics nicknamed "Seward's Icebox." But the secretary of state mapped out a path his Republican successors would follow thirty years later in an aggressive bid for global power.

Christmas in Washington, 1883 Because high tariffs paid off the Union's Civil War debts with astonishing speed, and because the federal government provided no social services or safety net for workers in the booming economy, politicians in Washington faced a happy problem by the mid-1880s: a surplus. Here, *Puck* depicts congressional leaders dancing around a Christmas tree loaded with the treats they can buy with the extra money — while the taxpayer stands out in the cold. The Granger Collection, New York

Integrating the National Economy

Closer to home, Republicans focused on transportation infrastructure. Railroad development in the United States began well before the Civil War, with the first locomotives arriving from Britain in the early 1830s. Unlike canals or roads, railroads offered the promise of year-round, all-weather service. Locomotives could run in the dark and never needed to rest, except to take on coal and water. Steam engines crossed high mountains and rocky gorges where pack animals could find no fodder and canals could never reach. West of the Mississippi, railroads opened vast regions for farming, trade, and tourism. A transcontinental railroad executive was only half-joking when he said, "The West is purely a railroad enterprise."

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the development of railroads as a partnership between the federal government and private enterprise is critical for success on the AP® exam.

Governments could choose to build and operate railroads themselves or promote construction by private companies. Unlike most European countries, the United States chose the private approach. The federal government, however, provided essential loans, subsidies, and grants of public land. States and localities also lured railroads with offers of financial aid, mainly by buying railroad bonds. Without this aid, rail networks would have grown much more slowly and would probably have concentrated in urban regions. With it, railroads enjoyed an enormous — and reckless — boom. By 1900, virtually no corner of the country lacked rail service (Map 15.1). At the same time, U.S. railroads built across the border into Mexico (AP® America in the World).

Railroad companies transformed American capitalism. They adopted a legal form of organization, the corporation, that enabled them to raise private capital in prodigious amounts. In earlier decades, state legislatures had chartered corporations for specific public purposes, binding these creations to government goals and oversight. But over the course of the nineteenth century, legislatures gradually began to allow any business to become a corporation by simply applying for a state charter. Among the first corporations to become large interstate enterprises, private railroads were much freer than earlier companies to do as they pleased. After the Civil War, they received lavish public aid with few strings attached. Their position was like that of American banks in late 2008 after the big federal bailout: even critics acknowledged that public aid to these giant companies was good for the economy, but they observed that it also lent government support to fabulous accumulations of private wealth.

MAP 15.1 Expansion of the Railroad System, 1850–1890

In 1850, the United States had 9,000 miles of rail track; by 1890, it had 167,000 miles, including transcontinental lines terminating in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle. The tremendous burst of construction during the last twenty years of that period essentially completed the nation's rail network, although there would be additional expansion for the next two decades. The main areas of growth were in the South and in lands west of the Mississippi. Time zones — an innovation introduced not by government entities, but by railroad corporations in 1883 — are marked by the white lines.

Tariffs and Economic Growth Along with the transformative power of railroads, Republicans' protective tariffs helped build other U.S. industries, including textiles and steel in the Northeast and Midwest and, through tariffs on imported sugar and wool, sugar beet farming and sheep ranching in the West. Tariffs also funded government itself. In an era when the United States did not levy income taxes, tariffs provided the bulk of treasury revenue. The Civil War had left the Union with a staggering debt of $2.8 billion. Tariff income erased that debt and by the 1880s generated huge budget *surpluses*—a circumstance hard to imagine today.

As Reconstruction faltered, tariffs came under political fire. Democrats argued that tariffs taxed American consumers by denying them access to low-cost imported goods and forcing them to pay subsidies to U.S. manufacturers. Republicans claimed, conversely, that tariffs benefitted workers because they created jobs, blocked low-wage foreign competition, and safeguarded America from the kind of industrial poverty that had arisen in Europe. According to this argument, tariffs helped American men earn enough to support their families; wives could devote themselves to homemaking, and children could go to school, not the factory. For protectionist Republicans, high tariffs were akin to the abolition of slavery: they protected and uplifted the most vulnerable workers.

In these fierce debates, both sides were partly right. Protective tariffs did play a powerful role in economic growth. They helped transform the United States into a global industrial power. Eventually, though, even protectionist Republicans had to admit that Democrats had a point: tariffs had not prevented industrial poverty in the United States. Corporations accumulated massive benefits from tariffs but failed to pass them along to workers, who often toiled long hours for low wages. Furthermore, tariffs helped foster trusts, corporations that dominated whole sectors of the economy and wielded near-monopoly power. The rise of large private corporations and trusts generated enduring political problems.

Building the Central Pacific Railroad In 1865, Chinese workers had labored to build the 1,100-foot-long, 90-foot-high trestle over the divide between the American and Bear rivers at Secret Town in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. In 1877, the Chinese workers shown in this photograph by Carleton Watkins were again at work on the site, burying the trestle to avoid replacement of the aging timbers, which had become a fire hazard. Copyright Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology and the Regents of the University of California Photography by unknown (Catalog No. 13.1304ee)

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the ways that the federal government used its power to support the growth of a national economy after the Civil War.

The Role of Courts While fostering growth, most historians agree, Republicans did not give government enough regulatory power over the new corporations. State legislatures did pass hundreds of regulatory laws after the Civil War, but interstate companies challenged them in federal courts. In ***Munn v. Illinois*** (1877), the Supreme Court affirmed that states could regulate key businesses, such as railroads and grain elevators, that were "clothed in the public interest." However, the justices feared that too many state and local regulations would impede business and fragment the national marketplace. Starting in the 1870s, they interpreted the "due process" clause of the new Fourteenth Amendment—which dictated that no state could "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law"—as shielding corporations from excessive regulation. Ironically, the Court refused to use the same amendment to protect the rights of African Americans.

In the Southwest as well, federal courts promoted economic development at the expense of racial justice. Though the United States had taken control of New Mexico and Arizona after the U.S.-Mexico War, much land remained afterward in the hands of Mexican farmers and ranchers. Many lived as *peónes*, under long-standing agreements with landowners who held large tracts originally granted by the Spanish crown. The post–Civil War years brought railroads and an influx of land-hungry Anglos. New Mexico's governor reported indignantly that Mexican shepherds were often "asked" to leave their ranges "by a cowboy or cattle herder with a brace of pistols at his belt and a Winchester in his hands."

The Santa Fe Railroad in Mexico and the United States

This map, based on an 1885 traveler's guide published by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, includes the company's U.S. lines and also those of its Mexican Central Railroad, an ATSF subsidiary that crossed the border and terminated at Guaymas and Mexico City, Mexico. The dots represent the many stops that the trains made along the routes between major cities. Most Mexican railroads in this era were built and operated by U.S. companies. As you analyze this map, consider the significance of imported Mexican raw materials and agricultural products to the U.S. economy.

MAP 15.2 The Santa Fe Railroad System, 1885

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what directions could passengers and freight travel on ATSF lines in each country? What does this suggest about the objectives of railroad companies like this one?
2. Based on this evidence, how might Mexicans have experienced the arrival of railroads differently from residents of the western United States?

Existing land claims were so complex that Congress eventually set up a special court to rule on land titles. Between 1891 and 1904, the court invalidated most traditional claims, including those of many New Mexico *ejidos*, or villages owned collectively by their communities. Mexican Americans lost about 64 percent of the contested lands. In addition, much land was sold or appropriated through legal machinations like those of a notorious **cabal** of politicians and lawyers known as the Santa Fe Ring. The result was displacement of thousands of Mexican American villagers and farmers. Some found work as railroad builders or mine workers; others, moving into the sparse high country of the Sierras and Rockies where cattle could not survive, developed sheep raising into a major enterprise.

Silver and Gold In an era of nation building, U.S. and European policymakers sought new ways to rationalize markets. Industrializing nations, for example, tried to develop an international system of standard measurements and even a unified currency. Though these proposals failed as each nation **succumbed** to self-interest, governments did increasingly agree that, for "scientific" reasons, money should be based on gold, which was thought to have an intrinsic worth above other metals. Great Britain had long held to the **gold standard**, meaning that paper notes from the Bank of England could be backed by gold held in the bank's vaults. During the 1870s and 1880s, the United States, Germany, France, and other countries also converted to gold.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the impact of the gold standard on the growth of industries and on farmers and workers.

Beforehand, these nations had been on a bimetallic standard: they issued both gold and silver coins, with respective weights fixed at a relative value. The United States switched to the gold standard in part because treasury officials and financiers were watching developments out west. Geologists accurately predicted the discovery of immense silver deposits, such as Nevada's Comstock Lode, without comparable new gold strikes. A massive influx of silver would clearly upset the long-standing ratio. Thus, with a law that became infamous to later critics as the **"Crime of 1873,"** Congress chose gold. It directed the U.S. Treasury to cease minting silver dollars and, over a six-year period, retire Civil War–era greenbacks (paper dollars) and replace them with notes from an expanded system of national banks. After this process was complete in 1879, the treasury exchanged these notes for gold on request. (Advocates of bimetallism did achieve one small victory: the Bland-Allison Act of 1878 required the U.S. Mint to coin a modest amount of silver.)

By adopting the gold standard, Republican policymakers sharply limited the nation's money supply, to the level of available gold. The amount of money circulating in the United States had been $30.35 per person in 1865; by 1880, it fell to only $19.36 per person. Today, few economists would sanction such a plan, especially for an economy growing at breakneck speed. They would recommend, instead, increasing money supplies to keep pace with development. But at the time, policymakers remembered rampant antebellum speculation and the hardships of inflation during the Civil War. The United States, as a developing country, also needed to attract investment capital from Britain, Belgium, and other European nations that were on the gold standard. Making it easy to exchange U.S. bonds and currency for gold encouraged European investors to send their money to the United States.

Republican policies fostered exuberant growth and a breathtakingly rapid integration of the economy. Railroads and telegraphs tied the nation together. U.S. manufacturers amassed staggering amounts of capital and built corporations of national and even global scope. With its immense, integrated marketplace of workers, consumers, raw materials, and finished products, the United States was poised to become a mighty industrial power.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What federal policies contributed to the rise of America's industrial economy, and what were their results?

Incorporating the West

Republicans wanted farms as well as factories. As early as 1860, popular lyrics hailed the advent of "Uncle Sam's Farm":

> A welcome, warm and hearty, do we give the sons of toil,
> To come west and settle and labor on Free Soil;
> We've room enough and land enough, they needn't feel alarmed—
> Oh! Come to the land of Freedom and vote yourself a farm.

The **Homestead Act** (1862) gave 160 acres of federal land to any applicant who occupied and improved the property. Republicans hoped the bill would help build up the interior West, which was inhabited by Indian peoples but remained "empty" on U.S. government survey maps.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the impact of the Homestead Act and the Morrill Act on the development of the West in the late nineteenth century.

Implementing this plan required innovative policies. The same year it passed the Homestead Act, Congress also created the federal Department of Agriculture and, through the Morrill Act, set aside 140 million federal acres that states could sell to raise money for public universities. The goal of these **land-grant colleges** was to broaden educational opportunities and foster technical and scientific expertise. After the Civil War, Congress also funded a series of geological surveys, dispatching U.S. Army officers, scientists, and photographers to chart unknown western terrain and catalog resources.

To a large extent, these policies succeeded in incorporating lands west of the Mississippi. The United States began to exploit its western empire for minerals, lumber, and other raw materials. But for ordinary Americans who went west, dreams often outran reality. Well-financed corporations, not individual prospectors, reaped most of the profits from western mines, while the Great Plains environment proved resistant to ranching and farming.

MAP 15.3 Mining Frontiers, 1848–1890

The Far West was America's gold country because of its geological history. Veins of gold and silver form when molten material from the earth's core is forced up into fissures caused by the tectonic movements that create mountain ranges, such as the ones that dominate the far western landscape. It was these veins, the product of mountain-forming activity many thousands of years earlier, that prospectors began to discover after 1848 and furiously exploit. Although widely dispersed across the Far West, the lodes that they found followed the mountain ranges bisecting the region and bypassing the great plateaus not shaped by the ancient tectonic activity.

Mining Empires

In the late 1850s, as easy pickings in the California gold rush diminished, prospectors scattered in hopes of finding riches elsewhere. They found gold at many sites, including Nevada, the Colorado Rockies, and South Dakota's Black Hills (Map 15.3). As news of each strike spread, remote areas turned overnight into mob scenes of prospectors, traders, prostitutes, and saloon keepers. At community meetings, white prospectors made their own laws, often using them as an instrument for excluding Mexicans, Chinese, and blacks.

The silver from Nevada's **Comstock Lode**, discovered in 1859, built the boomtown of Virginia City, which soon acquired fancy hotels, a Shakespearean theater, and even its own stock exchange. In 1870, a hundred saloons operated in Virginia City, brothels lined D Street, and men outnumbered women 2 to 1. In the 1880s, however, as the Comstock ore gave out, Virginia City suffered the fate of many mining camps: it became a ghost town. What remained was a ravaged landscape with mountains of debris, poisoned water sources, and surrounding lands stripped of timber.

In hopes of encouraging development of western resources, Congress passed the General Mining Act of 1872, which allowed those who discovered minerals on federally owned land to work the claim and keep all the proceeds. (The law — including the $5-per-acre fee for filing a claim — remains in force today.) Americans idealized the notion of the lone, hardy mining prospector with his pan and his mule, but digging into deep veins of underground ore required big money. **Consortiums** of powerful investors, bringing engineers and advanced equipment, generally extracted the most wealth. This was the case for the New York trading firm Phelps Dodge, which invested in massive copper mines and smelting operations on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border. The mines created jobs in new towns like Bisbee and Morenci, Arizona — but with dangerous conditions and low pay, especially for those who received the segregated "Mexican wage." Anglos, testified one Mexican mine worker, "occupied decorous residences . . . and had large amounts of money," while "the Mexican population and its economic condition offered a pathetic contrast." He protested this affront to "the most elemental principles of justice."

The rise of western mining created an insatiable market for timber and produce from the Pacific Northwest. Seattle and Portland grew rapidly as supply centers, especially during the great gold rushes of California (after 1848) and the Klondike in Canada's Yukon Territory (after 1897). Residents of Tacoma, Washington, claimed theirs was the "City of Destiny" when it became the Pacific terminus for the Northern Pacific, the nation's third transcontinental railroad, in 1887. But rival businessmen in Seattle succeeded in promoting their city as the gateway to Alaska and the Klondike. Seattle, a town with 1,000 residents in 1870, grew over the next forty years to a population of a quarter million.

Hydraulic Mining, New Dutch Flat, California, 1868 When surface veins of gold played out, miners turned to hydraulic mining, the modern form of which was invented in California in 1853. The technology was simple, using high-pressure streams of water to wash away hillsides of gold-bearing soil. Although building the reservoirs, piping systems, and sluices cost money, the profits from hydraulic mining helped transform western mining into big business. But, as this photograph suggests, extensive hydraulic mining wreaked large-scale havoc on the environment. Library of Congress

Cattlemen on the Plains

While boomtowns arose across the West, hunters began transforming the plains. As late as the Civil War years, great herds of bison still roamed this region. But overhunting and the introduction of European animal afflictions, like the bacterial disease brucellosis, were already decimating the herds. In the 1870s, hide hunters finished them off so thoroughly that at one point fewer than two hundred bison remained in U.S. territory. Hunters hidden downwind, under the right conditions, could kill four dozen at a time without moving from the spot. They took hides but left the meat to rot, an act of vast wastefulness that shocked Native peoples.

Removal of the bison opened opportunities for cattle ranchers. South Texas provided an early model for their ambitious plans. By the end of the Civil War, about five million head of longhorn cattle grazed on Anglo ranches there. In 1865, the Missouri Pacific Railroad reached Sedalia, Missouri, far enough west to be accessible as Texas reentered the Union. A longhorn worth $3 in Texas might command $40 at Sedalia. With this incentive, ranchers inaugurated the Long Drive, hiring cowboys to herd cattle hundreds of miles north to the new rail lines, which soon extended into Kansas. At Abilene and Dodge City, Kansas, ranchers sold their longhorns and trail-weary cowboys crowded into saloons. These cow towns captured the nation's imagination as symbols of the Wild West, but the reality was much less exciting. Cowboys, many of them African Americans and Latinos, were really farmhands on horseback who worked long, harsh hours for low pay.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the experiences of settlers in the West who engaged in ranching and in mining in the late nineteenth century.

North of Texas, public grazing lands drew investors and adventurers eager for a taste of the West. By the early 1880s, as many as 7.5 million cattle were overgrazing the plains' native grasses. A cycle of good weather postponed disaster, which arrived in 1886: record blizzards and bitter cold. An awful scene of rotting carcasses greeted cowboys as they rode onto the range that spring. Further hit by a severe drought the following summer, the cattle boom collapsed.

Thanks to new strategies, however, cattle ranching survived and became part of the integrated national economy. As railroads reached Texas and ranchers there abandoned the Long Drive, the invention of barbed wire—which

Bison Skulls on the Plain, 1892 After hunters slaughtered millions of bison and left the carcasses to rot, pioneers gathered the skulls and sold them for processing. The destruction of the great bison herds, then, occurred as part of the broad process of industrialization: buffalo leather was converted into belts that operated industrial machinery, while the skulls were ground up for fertilizer or other uses, such as charcoal for sugar manufacture. The Granger Collection, New

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TWILIGHT
CHARLIE
THE ROAD SPORT
OR,
Sulphur Sam's Double.
A Romance of the Wild Lands of the Pampas

Cowboys, Real and Mythic As early as the 1860s, popular dime novels such as this one (right) celebrated the alleged ruggedness, individual freedoms, and gun-slinging capabilities of western cowboys. (Note that this 1888 story, like most dime novels, was published in New York.) Generations of young Americans grew up on stories of frontier valor and "Cowboys versus Indians." In fact, cowboys like the ones depicted in the photograph were really wageworkers on horseback. An ethnically diverse group, including many blacks and Hispanics, they earned perhaps $25 a month, plus meals and a bed in the bunkhouse, in return for long hours of grueling, lonesome work. Left: Post/Getty Images. Right: Denver Public Library, Western History Collection, [call number illegible]

enabled ranchers and farmers to fence large areas cheaply and easily on the plains, where wood was scarce and expensive — made it easier for northern cattlemen to fence small areas and feed animals on hay. Stockyards appeared beside the rapidly extending railroad tracks, and trains took these gathered cattle to giant slaughterhouses in cities like Chicago, which turned them into cheap beef for customers back east.

Homesteaders

Republicans envisioned the Great Plains dotted with small farms, but farmers had to be persuaded that crops would grow there. Powerful interests worked hard to overcome the popular idea that the grassland was the Great American Desert. Railroads, eager to sell land the government had granted them, advertised aggressively. Land speculators, transatlantic steamship lines, and western states and territories joined the campaign.

Newcomers found the soil beneath the native prairie grasses deep and fertile. Steel plows enabled them to break through the tough roots, while barbed wire provided cheap, effective fencing against roaming cattle. European immigrants brought strains of hard-kernel wheat that tolerated the extreme temperatures of the plains. As if to confirm promoters' optimism, a wet cycle occurred between 1878 and 1886, increasing rainfall in the arid regions east of the Rockies. Americans decided that **"rain follows the plow"**: settlement and farming of the plains was increasing rainfall. Some attributed the rain to soil cultivation and tree planting, while others credited God. One Harvard

professor proposed that steel railroad tracks attracted moisture. Such optimists would soon learn their mistake.

The motivation for most settlers, American or immigrant, was to better themselves economically. Union veterans, who received favorable terms in staking homestead claims, played a major role in settling Kansas and other plains states. When severe depression hit northern Europe in the 1870s, Norwegians and Swedes joined German emigrants in large numbers. At the peak of "American fever" in 1882, more than 105,000 Scandinavians left for the United States. Swedish and Norwegian became the primary languages in parts of Minnesota and the Dakotas.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the opportunities and challenges that homesteading presented to various groups in the late nineteenth century.

For some African Americans, the plains represented a promised land of freedom. In 1879, a group of black communities left Mississippi and Louisiana in a quest to escape poverty and white violence. Some 6,000 blacks departed together, most carrying little but the clothes on their backs and faith in God. They called themselves **Exodusters**, participants in a great exodus to Kansas. The 1880 census reported 40,000 blacks there, by far the largest African American concentration in the West aside from Texas, where the expanding cotton frontier attracted hundreds of thousands of black migrants.

For newcomers, taming the plains differed from pioneering in antebellum Iowa or Oregon. Dealers sold big new machines to help with plowing and harvesting. Western wheat traveled by rail to giant grain elevators and traded immediately on world markets. Hoping frontier land values would appreciate rapidly, many farmers planned to profit from selling acres as much as (or more than) from their crops. In boom times, many rushed into debt to acquire more land and better equipment. All these enthusiasms — for cash crops, land speculation, borrowed money, and new technology — bore witness to the conviction that farming was, as one agricultural journal remarked, a business "like all other business."

Women in the West Early miners, lumbermen, and cowboys were overwhelmingly male, but homesteading was a family affair. The success of a farm depended on the work of wives and children who tended the garden and animals, preserved food, and helped out at harvest time. Some women struck out on their own: a study of North Dakota found between 5 and 20 percent of homestead claims filed by single women, often working land adjacent to that of sisters, brothers, and parents. Family members thus supported one another in the difficult work of farming, while easing the loneliness many newcomers felt. Looking back with pride on her homesteading days, one Dakota woman said simply, "It was a place to stay and it was mine."

While promoting farms in the West, Republicans clashed with the distinctive religious group that had already settled Utah: Mormons, or members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). After suffering persecution in Missouri and Illinois, Mormons had moved west to Utah in the 1840s, attracting many working-class converts from England as well. Most Americans at the time were deeply hostile to Mormonism, especially the LDS practice of plural marriage — sanctioned by church founder Joseph Smith — through which some Mormon men married more than one wife.

Mormons had their own complex view of women's role, illustrated by the career of Mormon leader Emmeline Wells. Born Emmeline Woodward in New Hampshire, Wells converted to Mormonism at age thirteen along with her mother and joined the exodus to Utah in 1848. After her first husband abandoned her when he left the church, Wells became the seventh wife of church elder Daniel Wells. In 1870, due in part to organized pressure from Wells and other Mormon women, the Utah legislature granted full voting rights to women, becoming the second U.S. territory to do so (after Wyoming, in 1869). The measure increased LDS control, since most Utah women were Mormons, while non-Mormons in mining camps were predominantly male. It also recognized the central role of women in Mormon life.

Amid the constitutional debates of Reconstruction, polygamy and women's voting rights became intertwined issues (AP® Analyzing Voices). Encouraged by other plural wives, Wells began in 1877 to write for a Salt Lake City newspaper, the *Woman's Exponent*. She served as editor for forty years and led local women's rights groups. At first, Utah's

Women's Rights in the West

In 1870, Utah's territorial legislature granted voting rights to women. The decision was a shock to advocates of women's suffrage in the East: they expected their first big victories would come in New England. Furthermore, Utah was overwhelmingly peopled by Mormons — members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). Critics saw Mormonism as a harshly patriarchal religion. They especially loathed the Mormon practice of "plural marriage," in which some Mormon men took more than one wife. Most easterners thought this practice was barbaric and demeaning to women. Over the next two decades, Republicans pressured Mormons to abolish plural marriage. They also disenfranchised Mormon women and required men to take an antipolygamy oath; Congress refused to admit Utah as a state. Only after 1890, when the LDS church officially abolished plural marriage, was Utah statehood possible. In 1896, when Utah became a state, women's voting rights were finally reinstated.

FANNY STENHOUSE

Exposé of Polygamy: A Lady's Life Among the Mormons (1872)

An Englishwoman who converted to the faith and moved to Utah, Stenhouse became disillusioned and published her book to criticize the practice of Mormon polygamy.

SOURCE: *Exposé of Polygamy: A Lady's Life Among the Mormons*, ed. Linda Wilcox DeSimone (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2008), 72–73, 155.

"How little do the Mormon men of Utah know what it is, in the truest sense, to have a wife, though they have so many 'wives,' after their own fashion. Almost imperceptibly to the husband, and even the wife herself, a barrier rises between them the very day that he marries another woman. It matters not how much she believes in the doctrine of plural marriages, or how willing she may be to submit to it; the fact remains the same. The estrangement begins by her trying to hide from him all secret sorrow; for she feels that what has been can not be undone now, and she says, 'I cannot change it; neither would I if I could, because it is the will of God, and I must bear it; besides, what good will it do to worry my husband with all my feelings?'

. . . A man may have a dozen wives; but from the whole of them combined he will not receive as much real love and devotion as he might from one alone, if he had made her feel that she had his undivided affection and confidence. How terribly these men deceive themselves! When peace, or rather quiet, reigns in their homes, they think that the spirit of God is there. But it is not so! It is a calm, not like the gentle silence of sleep, but as the horrible stillness of death — the death of the heart's best affections, and all that is worth calling love. All true love has fled, and indifference has taken its place. The very children feel it. What do they — what can they care about their fathers? They seldom see them.

Whatever, in the providence of God, may be the action of Congress toward Utah, if the word of a feeble woman can be listened to, let me respectfully ask the Honorable Senators and Representatives of the United States that, in the abolition of Polygamy, if such should be the decree of the nation, let no compromise be made where subtlety can bind the woman now living in Polygamy to remain in that condition."

ELIZA SNOW, HARRIET COOK YOUNG, PHOEBE WOODRUFF

A Defense of Plural Marriage

The vast majority of Mormon women defended their faith and the practice of plural marriage. The statements by Eliza Snow, Harriet Cook Young, and Phoebe Woodruff, below, were made at a public protest meeting in Salt Lake City in 1870. LDS women pointed proudly to their new suffrage rights as proof of their religion's just treatment of women. Why did Mormons, who dominated the Utah legislature, give women full voting rights? In part, they sought to protect their church by increasing Mormon voting power: most of the non-Mormons were single men who worked on ranches or in mining camps. But the LDS Church also celebrated women's central role in the family and community.

legislature blocked Wells's candidacy in a local election, based on her sex. But when Utah won statehood in 1896, Wells had the pleasure of watching several women win seats in the new legislature, including Dr. Martha Hughes Cannon, a physician and Mormon plural wife who became the first American woman to serve in a state senate. Like their counterparts in other western states, Utah's women experienced a combination of severe frontier hardships and striking new opportunities.

Environmental Challenges Homesteaders faced a host of challenges, particularly the natural environment of the Great Plains. Clouds of grasshoppers could descend and destroy a crop in a day; a prairie fire or hailstorm could do the job in an hour. In

Some women achieved prominence as midwives, teachers, and professionals.

SOURCE: Edward W. Tullidge, *Women of Mormondom* (New York: Tullidge & Crandall, 1877), 390–391, 396, 400.

"*Eliza Snow:* Our enemies pretend that, in Utah, woman is held in a state of vassalage — that she does not act from choice, but by coercion — that we would even prefer life elsewhere, were it possible for us to make our escape. What nonsense! We all know that if we wished we could leave at any time — either go singly, or to rise en masse, and there is no power here that could, or would wish to, prevent us. I will now ask this assemblage of intelligent ladies, do you know of anyplace on the face of the earth, where woman has more liberty, and where she enjoys such high and glorious privileges as she does here, as a latter-day saint? No! The very idea of woman here in a state of slavery is a burlesque on good common sense.

Harriet Cook Young: Wherever monogamy reigns, adultery, prostitution and foeticide, directly or indirectly, are its concomitants. . . . The women of Utah comprehend this; and they see, in the principle of plurality of wives, the only safeguard against adultery, prostitution, and the reckless waste of pre-natal life, practiced throughout the land.

Phoebe Woodruff: God has revealed unto us the law of the patriarchal order of marriage, and commanded us to obey it. We are sealed to our husbands for time and eternity, that we may dwell with them and our children in the world to come; which guarantees unto us the greatest blessing for which we are created. If the rulers of the nation will so far depart from the spirit and letter of our glorious constitution as to deprive our prophets, apostles and elders of citizenship, and imprison them for obeying this law, let them grant this, our last request, to make their prisons large enough to hold their wives, for where they go we will go also." ❞

SUSAN B. ANTHONY

Letter to *The Revolution*, July 5, 1871

National women's suffrage leaders responded awkwardly to the Utah suffrage victory. Being associated with Mormons, they understood, damaged their fragile new movement in the eyes of most Americans. But they tried tentatively to forge alliances with Mormon women they viewed as progressive, as well as dissidents in the church. Suffrage leader Susan B. Anthony traveled to Salt Lake City in 1871 to try to forge alliances with Mormon women, especially dissidents such as Fanny Stenhouse. Anthony expressed strong disapproval of polygamy, but she also tried to change the debate to focus on the vulnerability of all married women to exploitation by their husbands. Her report from Utah, published in her journal *The Revolution*, is below.

SOURCE: *The Revolution*, July 20, 1871.

"Woman's work in monogamy and polygamy is essentially one and the same — that of planting her feet on the solid ground of self-support; . . . there is and can be no salvation for womanhood but in the possession of power over her own subsistence.

The saddest feature here is that there really is nothing by which these women can earn an independent livelihood for themselves and children. No manufacturing establishments; no free schools to teach. Women here, as everywhere, must be able to live honestly and honorably without men, before it can be possible to save the masses of them from entering into polygamy or prostitution, legal or illegal. Whichever way I turn, whatever phase of social life presents itself, the same conclusion comes — independent bread alone can redeem woman from her sure subjection to man. . . .

Here is missionary ground. Not for 'thus saith the Lord,' divine rights, canting priests, or echoing priestesses of any sect whatsoever; but for great, god-like, humanitarian men and women, who 'feel for them in bonds as bound with them,' . . . a simple, loving, sisterly clasp of hands with these struggling women, and an earnest work with them. Not to modify nor ameliorate, but to ABOLISH the whole system of woman's subjection to man in both polygamy and monogamy." ❞

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What arguments did the Mormon women make in defense of plural marriage? On what grounds did Stenhouse argue for its abolition?
2. Susan B. Anthony's letter was published in Boston. How might Mormon women have reacted to it? How might non-Mormon women have reacted to the statements by Snow, Young, and Woodruff?
3. Compare the experiences of plural marriage described by Stenhouse, on the one hand, and Snow, Young, and Woodruff, on the other. How do you account for these very different perspectives?

spring, homesteaders faced sudden, terrifying tornados, while their winter experiences in the 1870s added the word *blizzard* to America's vocabulary. On the plains, also, water and lumber were hard to find. Newly arrived families often cut dugouts into hillsides and then, after a season or two, erected houses made of turf cut from the ground.

Over the long term, homesteaders discovered that the western grasslands did not receive enough rain to grow wheat and other grains. As the cycle of rainfall shifted from wet to dry, farmers as well as ranchers suffered. "A wind hot as an oven's fury . . . raged like a pestilence," reported one Nebraskan, leaving "farmers helpless, with no weapon against this terrible and inscrutable wrath of nature." By the late 1880s, some recently

Family on the L. W. Hall Farm, Buffalo County, Nebraska, 1903 This family has moved from its original sod house into a new frame house. Perhaps they asked the photographer to include in his image the windmill, a key to their prosperity. Other photographs on this property, some taken in 1907, show thriving young trees and a woman proudly posed with her new hand-cranked washing machine. How might this family have responded to the argument, made in this textbook chapter and by some critics at the time, that farming was a failure on the arid Great Plains? What different story might they tell about their hardships and successes? Nebraska State Historical Society RG2608-3267. Image cropped slightly from original to remove border.

settled lands emptied as homesteaders fled in defeat — 50,000 from the Dakotas alone. It became obvious that farming in the arid West required methods other than those used east of the Mississippi.

Clearly, 160-acre homesteads were the wrong size for the West: farmers needed either small irrigated plots or immense tracts for dry farming, which involved deep planting to bring subsoil moisture to the roots and quick harrowing after rainfalls to slow evaporation. Dry farming developed most fully on huge corporate farms in the Red River Valley of North Dakota. But even family farms, the norm elsewhere, could not survive on less than 300 acres of grain. Crop prices were too low, and the climate too unpredictable, to allow farmers to get by on less.

In this struggle, settlers regarded themselves as nature's conquerors, striving, as one pioneer remarked, "to get the land subdued and the wilde nature out of it." Much about its "wilde nature" was hidden to the newcomers. They did not know that destroying biodiversity, which was what farming the plains really meant, opened pathways for exotic, destructive pests and weeds, and that removing native grasses left the soil vulnerable to erosion. By the turn of the twentieth century, about half the nation's cattle and sheep, one-third of its cereal crops, and nearly three-fifths of its wheat came from the Great Plains. But in the drier parts of the region, it was not a sustainable achievement. This renowned breadbasket was later revealed to be, in the words of one historian, "the largest, longest-run agricultural and environmental miscalculation in American history."

John Wesley Powell, a one-armed Union veteran, predicted the catastrophe from an early date. Powell, employed by the new U.S. Geological Survey, led a famous expedition in the West in which his team navigated the rapids of the Colorado River through the Grand Canyon in wooden boats. In his *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States* (1879), Powell told Congress bluntly that 160-acre homesteads would not work in dry regions. Impressed with the success of Mormon irrigation projects in Utah,

Powell urged the United States to follow their model. He proposed that the government develop the West's water resources, building dams and canals and organizing landowners into local districts to operate them. Doubting that rugged individualism would succeed in the West, Powell proposed massive cooperation under government control.

After heated debate, Congress rejected Powell's plan. Critics accused him of playing into the hands of large ranching corporations; boosters were not yet willing to give up the dream of small homesteads. But Powell turned out to be right. Though environmental historians do not always agree with Powell's proposed solutions, they point to his *Report on Arid Lands* as a **cogent** critique of what went wrong on the Great Plains. Later, federal funding paid for dams and canals that supported intensive agriculture in many parts of the West.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

Compare the development of mining, ranching, and farming in the West. How did their environmental consequences differ?

The First National Park

Powell was not the only one rethinking land use. The West's incorporation into the national marketplace occurred with such speed that some Americans began to fear rampant overdevelopment. Perhaps the federal government should not sell off all its public land, but instead hold and manage some of it. Amid the heady initiatives of Reconstruction, Congress began to preserve sites of unusual natural splendor. As early as 1864, Congress gave 10 square miles of the Yosemite Valley to California for "public use, resort, and recreation." (In 1890, Yosemite reverted to federal control.) In 1872, Congress set aside 2 million acres of Wyoming's Yellowstone Valley as the world's first national park: preserved as a public holding, it would serve as "a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."

Railroad tourism, which developed side by side with other western industries, was an important motive for the creation of **Yellowstone National Park**. The Northern Pacific Railroad lobbied Congress vigorously to get the park established. Soon, luxury

Thomas Moran, *Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone*, 1872 In 1871, English-born artist Thomas Moran joined Ferdinand Hayden's expedition to the Yellowstone Valley on behalf of the U.S. Geological Survey, an important new federal agency dedicated to mapping and exploring the West, as well as undertaking scientific investigations of flora, fauna, and potential mineral and timber resources. Moran's painting, along with photographs by William Henry Jackson and other eyewitness testimony to Yellowstone's uniqueness and beauty, helped introduce the American public to their first new national park. The painting remains property of the federal government, who commissioned Hayden's expedition, and hangs in the Smithsonian American Art Museum. Smithsonian American Art

Pullman cars ushered visitors to Yellowstone's hotel, operated by the railroad itself. But creation of the park was fraught with complications. Since no one knew exactly what a "national park" was or how to operate it, the U.S. Army was dispatched to take charge; only in the early 1900s, when Congress established many more parks in the West, did consistent management policies emerge. In the meantime, soldiers spent much of their time arresting Native peoples who sought to hunt on Yellowstone lands.

The creation of Yellowstone was an important step toward an ethic of respect for land and wildlife. So was the 1871 creation of a **U.S. Fisheries Commission**, which made recommendations to stem the decline in wild fish; by the 1930s, it merged with other federal wildlife bureaus to become the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service. At the same time, eviction of Indians showed that defining small preserves of "uninhabited wilderness" was part of conquest itself. In 1877, for example, the federal government forcibly removed the Nez Perce tribe from their ancestral land in what is now Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. Under the leadership of young Chief Joseph, the Nez Perce tried to flee to Canada. After a journey of 1,100 miles, they were forced to surrender just short of the border. During their trek, five bands crossed Yellowstone; as a Nez Perce named Yellow Wolf recalled, they "knew that country well." For thirteen days, Nez Perce men raided the valley for supplies, waylaying several groups of tourists. The conflict made national headlines. Easterners, proud of their new "pleasuring ground," were startled to find that it remained a site of Native resistance. Americans were not settling an empty West. They were *un*settling it by taking it from Native peoples who already lived there.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors led to the creation of the first national parks?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What factors led to transformation of the trans-Mississippi west after the Civil War?

A Harvest of Blood: Native Peoples Dispossessed

Before the Civil War, when most Americans believed the prairie could not be farmed, Congress reserved the Great Plains for Indian peoples. But in the era of steel plows and railroads, policymakers suddenly had the power and desire to incorporate the whole region. The U.S. Army fought against the loosely federated Sioux — the major power on the northern grasslands — as well as other peoples who had agreed to live on reservations but found conditions so desperate that they fled (Map 15.4). These "reservation wars," caused largely by local violence and confused federal policies, were messy and bitter. Pointing to failed military campaigns, army atrocities, and **egregious** corruption in the Indian Bureau, reformers called for new policies that would destroy Native peoples' traditional lifeways and "civilize" them — or, as one reformer put it, "kill the Indian and save the man."

AP® EXAM TIP

As you read through this section, trace violent conflicts in the West that resulted from the U.S. government violating treaties with Native groups and responding to Native resistance with force.

The Civil War and Indians on the Plains

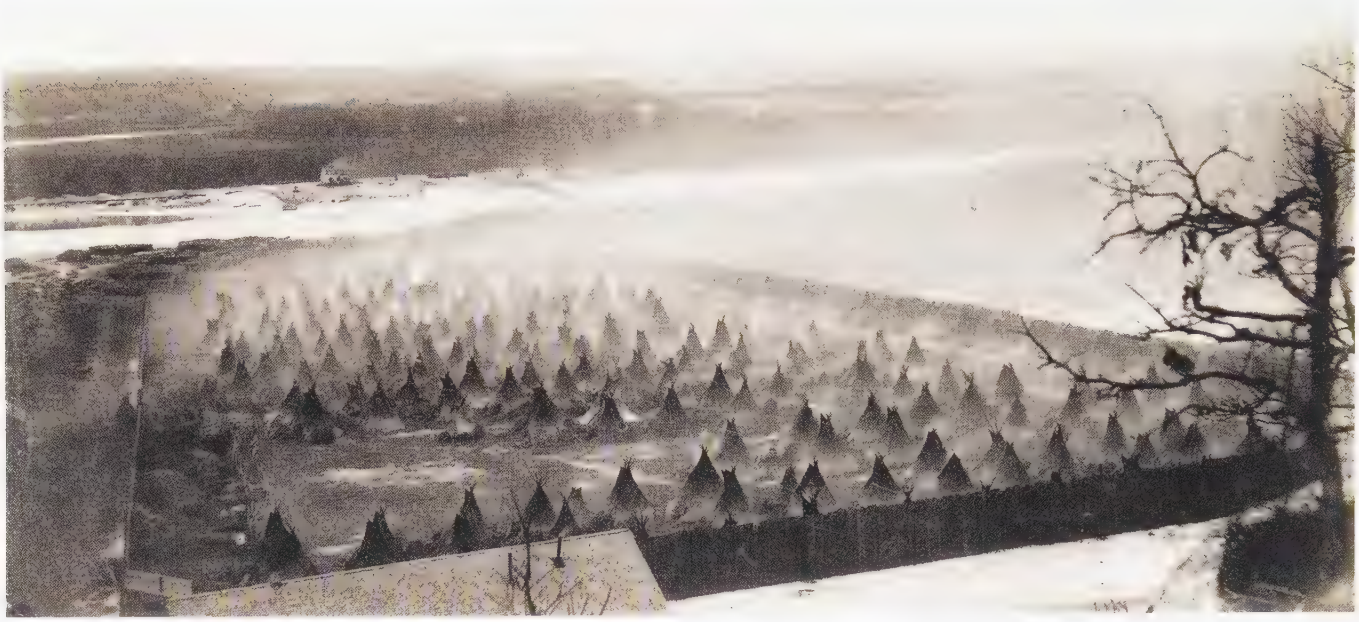
In August 1862, the attention of most Unionists and Confederates was riveted on General George McClellan's failing campaign in Virginia. But in Minnesota, the Dakota Sioux were increasingly frustrated. In 1858, the year Minnesota secured statehood, they had agreed to settle on a strip of land reserved by the government, in exchange for receiving regular payments and supplies. But Indian agents, contractors, and even Minnesota's territorial governor pocketed most of the funds. When the Dakotas protested that their children were starving, state officials dismissed their appeals. Corruption was so egregious that one leading Minnesotan, Episcopal bishop Henry Whipple, wrote an urgent appeal to President James Buchanan. "A nation which sows robbery," he warned, "will reap a harvest of blood."

MAP 15.4 Indian Country in the West, to 1890
As settlement pushed onto the Great Plains after the Civil War, Native peoples put up bitter resistance but ultimately to no avail. Over a period of decades, they ceded most of their lands to the federal government, and by 1890 they were confined to scattered reservations.

Whipple's prediction proved correct. During the summer of 1862, a decade of anger boiled over. In a surprise attack, Dakota fighters fanned out through the Minnesota countryside, killing immigrants and burning farms. They planned to sweep eastward to St. Paul but were stopped at Fort Ridgely. In the end, more than four hundred whites lay dead, including women and children from farms and small towns. Thousands fled; panicked officials telegraphed for aid, spreading hysteria from Wisconsin to Colorado.

Minnesotans' ferocious response to the uprising set the stage for further conflict. A hastily appointed military court, bent on revenge, sentenced 307 Dakotas to death, making it clear that rebellious Indians would be treated as criminals rather than warriors. President Abraham Lincoln reviewed the trial records and commuted most of the sentences but authorized the deaths of 38 Dakota men. They were hanged just after Christmas 1862 in the largest mass execution in U.S. history. Two months later, Congress canceled all treaties with the Dakotas, revoked their **annuities**, and expelled them from Minnesota. The scattered bands fled west to join nonreservation allies.

As the uprising showed, the Civil War created two dangerous conditions in the West, compounding the problems already caused by corruption. With the Union army fighting the Confederacy, western whites felt vulnerable to Indian attacks. They also



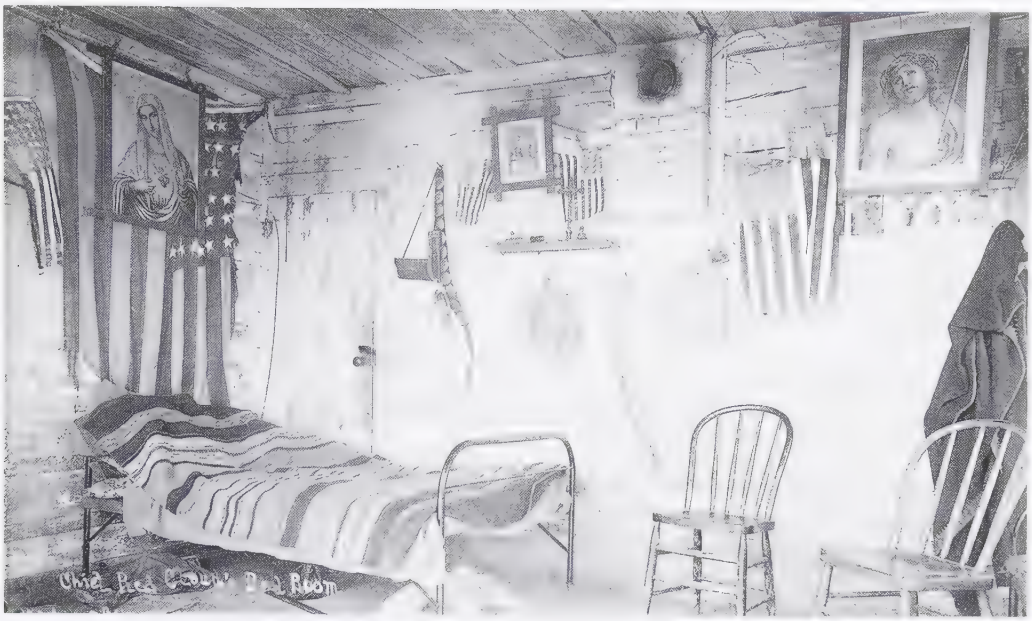
Enclosed Dakota Camp at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, 1862 During the trial of Dakota warriors involved in the 1862 rebellion, and through the harsh Minnesota winter that followed, more than a thousand Dakota people were imprisoned in an enormous enclosure on Pike Island, near St. Paul. A measles epidemic broke out in the crowded camp and dozens died, especially children. Though U.S. soldiers were often unfriendly toward their captives, local sentiment was even more hostile; troops regularly marched through the camp, in part to protect the Dakotas from vigilante violence. In 1863 all members of the tribe were forcibly removed from the state. In November 1862, photographer Benjamin Franklin Upton captured this image of Dakota tents in the Pike Island enclosure. Minnesota Historical Society

discovered they could fight Indians with minimal federal oversight. In the wake of the Dakota uprising, worried Coloradans favored a military campaign against the Cheyennes — allies of the Sioux — even though the Cheyennes had shown little evidence of hostility. Colorado militia leader John M. Chivington, an aspiring politician, determined to quell public anxiety and make his career.

In May 1864, Cheyenne chief Black Kettle, fearing his band would be attacked, consulted with U.S. agents, who instructed him to settle along Sand Creek in eastern Colorado until a treaty could be signed. On November 29, 1864, Chivington's Colorado militia attacked the camp while most of the men were out hunting, slaughtering more than a hundred women and children. "I killed all I could," one officer testified later. "I think and earnestly believe the Indian to be an obstacle to civilization and should be exterminated." Captain Silas Soule, who served under Chivington but refused to give his men the order to fire, dissented. "It was hard to see little children on their knees," he wrote later, "having their brains beat out by men professing to be civilized." Chivington's men rode back for a celebration in Denver, where they hung Cheyenne scalps (and women's genitals) from the rafters of the Apollo Theater.

The northern plains exploded in conflict. Infuriated by the **Sand Creek massacre**, Cheyennes carried war pipes to the Arapahos and Sioux, who attacked and burned white settlements along the South Platte River. Ordered to subdue these peoples, the U.S. Army failed miserably: officers could not even locate the enemy, who traveled rapidly in small bands and knew the country well. A further shock occurred in December 1866 when 1,500 Sioux warriors executed a perfect ambush, luring Captain William Fetterman and 80 soldiers from a Wyoming fort and wiping them out. With the **Fetterman massacre**, the Sioux succeeded in closing the Bozeman Trail, a private road under army protection that had served as the main route into Montana.

General William Tecumseh Sherman, now commanding the army in the West, swore to defeat defiant Indians. But the Union hero met his match on the plains.



Red Cloud's Bedroom, 1891 Taken on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota by photographer C. G. Morledge, this photograph shows the bedroom of Red Cloud, a distinguished Oglala Lakota leader. Red Cloud had won a war against the U.S. Army just after the Civil War. He negotiated so tenaciously and shrewdly, afterward, with what he saw as meddlesome Indian agents, that his people nicknamed Pine Ridge "The Place Where Everything Is Disputed." Some of the contents of Red Cloud's bedroom may surprise you. How do you interpret the presence of five American flags? The visual images on the walls? What strategies and ways of life, blending old and new, does the photograph suggest? Compare it to Edward S. Curtis, "Little Plume and Yellow Kidney" (p. 487). In what ways did Morledge and Curtis craft different representations of Indian life? Denver Public Library, Western History Collection/Bridgeman Images

Another year of fighting proved expensive and inconclusive. In 1868, the Sioux, led by the Oglala band under Chief Red Cloud, told a peace commission they would not sign any treaty unless the United States pledged to abandon all its forts along the Bozeman Trail. The commission agreed. Red Cloud had won.

In the wake of these events, eastern public opinion turned against the Indian wars, which seemed at best ineffective, at worst brutal. Congress held hearings on the slaughter at Sand Creek. Though Chivington, now a civilian, was never prosecuted, the massacre became an infamous example of western vigilantism. By the time Ulysses Grant entered the White House in 1869, the authors of Reconstruction in the South also began to seek solutions to what they called the "Indian problem."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors led to warfare between whites and Native peoples on the plains?

Grant's Peace Policy

Grant inherited an Indian policy in disarray. Federal incompetence was highlighted by yet another mass killing of friendly Indians in January 1870, this time on the Marias River in Montana, by an army detachment that shot and burned to death 173 Piegans (Blackfeet). Having run out of other options, Grant introduced a peace policy, based on recommendations from Christian advisors. He offered selected appointments to the reformers — including many former abolitionists — who had created such groups as the Indian Rights Association and the Women's National Indian Association (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Rejecting the virulent anti-Indian stance of many westerners, reformers argued that Native peoples had the innate capacity to become equal with whites. They believed, however, that Indians could achieve this only if they embraced Christianity and white ways. Reformers thus aimed to destroy indigenous languages, cultures, and religions. Despite humane intentions, their condescension was obvious. They ignored dissenters like Dr. Thomas Bland of the National Indian Defense Association, who suggested that

What Factors Motivated America's Indian Policies?

In the latter nineteenth century, the U.S. government adopted a number of policies designed to eliminate the "Indian problem" by eliminating the Indian: first through military engagement, then through a program of assimilation. The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, for example, distributed tribal lands among individual Native Americans to break apart reservations and tribal identities. Indian children were often placed in boarding schools under white supervision, where they learned English and were introduced to Christianity.

Scholars have not always agreed on how to explain the motivations of late-nineteenth-century reformers. Two historians, Francis Paul Prucha and Margaret D. Jacobs, interpret this period and America's Indian policies in different ways.

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

SOURCE: Francis Paul Prucha, *The Indian in American Society: From the Revolutionary War to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 19.

The treaty system ended in 1871, when Congress decided that no more treaties would be made with Indian tribes . . . but the paternalism of the federal government toward the Indians continued . . . [under the] Board of Indian Commissioners . . . [which included] a remarkable collection of high-minded Christian philanthropists, suffused with a spirit of benevolence, who epitomized the evangelical religious atmosphere of the nineteenth century. For better or for worse, the American Indians fell into the hands of this group and their successors.

MARGARET D. JACOBS

SOURCE: Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 25, 88.

[O]fficials often proclaimed that they were ushering in a new age of dealing fairly and kindly with . . . indigenous inhabitants. Yet these new policies actually entailed one of the most draconian measures possible: the removal of indigenous children from their kin . . . to be raised in distant institutions. . . . [I]nstead of watching from the sidelines as male government officials designed and carried out policies of indigenous child removal, many white women reformers campaigned for a greater role in setting public policy for indigenous peoples and became deeply implicated in this phase of settler colonialism.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify two ways these two historians differ in their description of America's Indian policies.
2. According to these two historians, what role did gender play in shaping policies toward Native Americans?
3. To what extent does this chapter support one or the other of these historians' interpretations of America's Indian policies?

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the impact of Americanization on Native American populations is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

instead of an "Indian problem" there might be a "white problem"—refusal to permit Indians to follow their own lifeways. To most nineteenth-century Americans, such a notion was shocking and uncivilized. Increasingly dismissive of blacks' capacity for citizenship and hostile toward "heathen" Chinese immigrants, white Americans were even less willing to understand and respect Indian cultures. They believed that in the modern world, Native peoples were fated for extinction (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

Indian Boarding Schools Reformers focused their greatest energy on educating the next generation. Realizing that acculturation—adoption of white ways—was difficult when children lived at home, agents and missionaries created off-reservation schools. Native families were exhorted, bullied, and bribed into sending their children to these schools, where, in addition to school lessons, boys learned farming skills and girls practiced housekeeping. "English only" was the rule; students were punished if they spoke their own languages. Mourning Dove, a Salish girl from what is now Washington State, remembered that her school "ran strictly. We never talked during meals without permission, given only on Sunday or special holidays. Otherwise there was silence—a

terrible silent silence. I was used to the freedom of the forest, and it was hard to learn this strict discipline. I was punished many times before I learned." The Lakota boy Plenty Kill, who at boarding school received the new name Luther, remembered his loneliness and fear upon arrival: "The big boys would sing brave songs, and that would start the girls to crying. . . . The girls' quarters were about a hundred and fifty yards from ours, so we could hear them." After having his hair cut short, Plenty Kill felt a profound change in his identity. "None of us slept well that night," he recalled. "I felt that I was no more Indian, but would be an imitation of a white man."

Even in the first flush of reform zeal, Grant's policies faced major hurdles. Most Indians had been pushed off traditional lands and assigned to barren ground that would have defeated the most enterprising farmer. Poverty and dislocation left Indians especially vulnerable to the ravages of infectious diseases like measles and scarlet fever. At the same time, Quaker, Presbyterian, and Methodist reformers fought turf battles among themselves and with Catholic missionaries. Many traders and agents also continued to steal money and supplies from people they were supposed to protect. In the late 1870s, Rutherford B. Hayes's administration undertook more housecleaning at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but corruption lingered.

From the Indians' point of view, reformers often became just another interest group in a crowded field of whites sending hopelessly mixed messages. The attitudes of individual army representatives, agents, and missionaries ranged from courageous and sympathetic to utterly ruthless. Many times, after chiefs thought they had reached a face-to-face agreement, they found it drastically altered by Congress or Washington bureaucrats. Nez Perce leader Joseph observed that "white people have too many chiefs. They do not understand each other. . . . I cannot understand why so many chiefs are allowed to talk so many different ways, and promise so many different things." A Kiowa chief agreed: "We make but few contracts, and them we remember well. The whites make so many they are liable to forget them. The white chief seems not to be able to govern his braves."

Native peoples were nonetheless forced to accommodate, as independent tribal governance and treaty making came to an end. Back in the 1830s, the U.S. Supreme Court had declared Indians no longer sovereign but rather "domestic dependent nations." On a practical basis, however, both the U.S. Senate and agents in the field continued to negotiate treaties as late as 1869. Two years later, the House of Representatives, jealous of Senate privileges, passed a bill to abolish all treaty making with Indians. The Senate agreed, provided that existing treaties remained in force. It was one more step in a long, torturous erosion of Native rights. Eventually, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in ***Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*** (1903) that Congress could make whatever Indian policies it chose, ignoring all existing treaties. That same year, in *Ex Parte Crow Dog*, the Court ruled that no Indian was a citizen unless Congress designated him so. Indians were henceforth wards of the government. These rulings remained in force until the New Deal of the 1930s.

To see a longer excerpt of Mourning Dove's autobiography, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Breaking Up Tribal Lands Reformers' most sweeping effort to assimilate Indians was the **Dawes Severalty Act** (1887), the dream of Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts, a leader in the Indian Rights Association. Dawes saw the reservation system as an ugly relic of the past. Through severalty — division of tribal lands — he hoped to force Indians onto individual landholdings, partitioning reservations into homesteads, just like those of white farmers. Supporters of the plan believed that landownership would encourage Indians to assimilate. It would lead, as Dawes wrote, to "a personal sense of independence." Individual property, echoed another reformer, would make the Indian man "intelligently selfish, . . . with a *pocket that aches to be filled with dollars!*"

The Dawes Act was a disaster. It played into the hands of whites who coveted Indian land and who persuaded the government to sell them land that was not needed for individual allotments. In this and other ways, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)

Representing Indians

The documents below, designed for white audiences, all depict American Indians in the West.

1. **Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West advertisement, 1899.** *Cody never called the Wild West a "show," placing tremendous emphasis on its allegedly authentic reenactments of events.*

2. **Lewis Henry Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 1877.** *Morgan, a leading American anthropologist, studied the Iroquois and other Native peoples. In 1877 he published an influential theory of human development, ranking various peoples in their "progress" from the "lowest stage of savagery" through the pinnacle of "civilization" — northern Europeans.*

Some tribes and families have been left in geographical isolation to work out the problems of progress. . . . [Others] have been adulterated through external influence. Thus, while Africa was and is an ethnical chaos of savagery and barbarism, Australia and Polynesia were in savagery, pure and simple. . . . The Indian family of America, unlike any other existing family, exemplified the condition of mankind in three successive ethnical periods. . . . The far northern Indians and some of the coast tribes of North and South America were in the Upper Status of savagery; the partially Village Indians east of the Mississippi were in the Lower Status of

Status of Civilization (from Morgan, *Ancient Society*, 1877)	
I. Lower Status of Savagery	From the Infancy of the Human Race to the commencement of the next Period.
II. Middle Status of Savagery	From the acquisition of a fish subsistence and a knowledge of the use of fire . . .
III. Upper Status of Savagery	From the Invention of the Bow and Arrow . . .
IV. Lower Status of Barbarism	From the Invention of the Art of Pottery . . .
V. Middle Status of Barbarism	From the Domestication of animals on the Eastern hemisphere, and in the Western from the cultivation of maize and plants by Irrigation . . .
VI. Upper Status of Barbarism	From the Invention of the process of Smelting Iron Ore, with the use of iron tools . . .
VII. Civilization	From the Invention of writing, to the present time.

barbarism, and the Village Indians of North and South America were in the Middle Status. . . .

Commencing, then, with the Australians and Polynesians, following with the American Indian tribes, and concluding with the Roman and Grecian, who afford the highest exemplifications respectively of the six great stages of human progress, the sum of their united experiences may be supposed fairly to represent that of the human family. . . . We are dealing substantially, with the ancient history and condition of our own remote ancestors.

3. **Touring Indian Country, 1888 and 1894.** *Hoping to lure eastern tourists, the Northern Pacific Railroad published an annual journal,* Wonderland, *describing the natural splendors and economic progress of the West, as seen from its rail lines.*

We are now in the far-famed Yellowstone Valley. . . . There are but few Indians now to be seen along the line of the railroad, and those are engaged in agricultural and industrial pursuits. The extinction of the buffalo has rendered the Indian much more amenable to the civilizing influences brought to bear upon him than he formerly was, and very fair crops of grain are being raised at some of the agencies. At the Devil's Lake agency, for example, 60,000 bushels of wheat have been raised by the [Sioux and Chippewa] Indians in a single season. . . .

[The Crows'] great reservation is probably the garden spot of Montana, and the throwing open of a large portion of it to [white] settlement, which cannot long be delayed, will assuredly give an immense impetus to the agricultural interests of the Territory. . . .

The Flatheads have probably 10,000 or more horses and 5,000 or 6,000 cattle. . . . As ranchers and farmers the Flatheads are a success. It would be a matter of surprise to some people who think that the only good Indian is a dead Indian, to see the way some of the women handle sewing machines.

SOURCES: (2) Lewis H. Morgan, *Ancient Society* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1878), 12–13, 16–18; (3) John Hyde, *Wonderland* (St. Paul, 1888), 21, and (1894), 27.

4. **Gertrude Käsebier, photograph of Joe Black Fox, 1898.** *One of the first women to become a professional photographer, Käsebier here depicts Joe Black Fox relaxing with a cigarette. Black Fox, an Oglala Sioux, toured with Buffalo Bill's Wild West in 1900.*

SOURCE: Gertrude Kasebier Photograph Collection, Division of Culture & the Arts, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare the depiction of the Plains Indians and Buffalo Bill Cody in source 1. How does source 4 differ from source 1? From Edward Curtis's depiction of Little Plume and Yellow Kidney (p. 487), in which all traces of modern life were erased? How might these depictions of "actual life" have shaped their audience's understanding of the West?
2. What bases did Morgan use for his rankings in source 2? How did he define the relationship between American Indians and whites (whom he refers to, in this passage, as "we")? Why did he suggest that Indians offered a unique opportunity for study?
3. Imagine that you were a wealthy, well-educated tourist preparing to travel west in 1900. Which of these documents would you most likely have encountered in advance? How might they have shaped your expectations and experiences?
4. These documents had different creators: an artist, a scholar, and two sets of entrepreneurs. What audiences did they have in mind? How do you think this affected their messages?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using these sources and your knowledge of the period, analyze the myths and realities of Native American life in the late nineteenth century.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did post–Civil War reformers believe they were improving U.S. Indian policies, and in what ways did that prove to be true and untrue?

implemented the law carelessly, to the outrage of Dawes. In Indian Territory, a commission seized more than 15 million "surplus" acres from Native tribes by 1894, opening the way for whites to convert the last federal territory set aside for Native peoples into the state of Oklahoma. In addition to catastrophic losses of collectively held property, Native peoples lost 66 percent of their individually allotted lands between the 1880s and the 1930s, through fraud, BIA mismanagement, and pressure to sell to whites.

The End of Armed Resistance

As the nation consolidated control of the West in the 1870s, Americans hoped that Grant's peace policy was solving the "Indian problem." In the Southwest, such formidable peoples as the Kiowas and Comanches had been forced onto reservations. The Diné or Navajo nation, exiled under horrific conditions during the Civil War but permitted to reoccupy their traditional land, gave up further military resistance. An outbreak among California's Modoc people in 1873—again, humiliating to the army—was at last subdued. Only Sitting Bull, a leader of the powerful Lakota Sioux on the northern plains, openly refused to go to a reservation. When pressured by U.S. troops, he repeatedly crossed into Canada, where he told reporters that "the life of white men is slavery. . . . I have seen nothing that a white man has, houses or railways or clothing or food, that is as good as the right to move in open country and live in our own fashion."

In 1874, the Lakotas faced direct provocation. Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, a brash self-promoter who had graduated last in his class at West Point, led an expedition into South Dakota's Black Hills and loudly proclaimed the discovery of gold. Amid the severe depression of the 1870s, prospectors rushed in. The United States, wavering on its 1868 treaty, pressured Sioux leaders to sell the Black Hills. The chiefs said no. Ignoring this answer, the government demanded in 1876 that all Sioux gather at the federal agencies. The policy backfired: not only did Sitting Bull refuse to report, but other Sioux, Cheyennes, and Arapahos slipped away from reservations to join him. Knowing they might face military attack, they agreed to live together for the summer in one great village numbering over seven thousand people. By June, they were camped on the Little Big Horn River in what is now southeastern Montana. Some of the young men wanted to organize raiding parties, but elders counseled against it. "We [are] within our treaty rights as hunters," they argued. "We must keep ourselves so."

The U.S. Army dispatched a thousand cavalry and infantrymen to drive the Indians back to the reservation. Despite warnings from experienced scouts—including Crow Indian allies—most officers thought the job would be easy. Their greatest fear was that the Indians would manage to slip away. But amid the nation's centennial celebration on the Fourth of July 1876, Americans received dreadful news. On June 26 and 27, Lieutenant Colonel Custer, leading the 7th Cavalry as part of a three-pronged effort to surround the Indians, had led 210 men in an ill-considered assault on Sitting Bull's camp. The Sioux and their allies had killed the attackers to the last man. "The Indians," one Oglala woman remembered, "acted just like they were driving buffalo to a good place where they could be easily slaughtered."

As retold by the press in sensational (and often fictionalized) accounts, the story of Custer's "last stand" quickly served to justify American conquest of Indian "savages." Long after Americans forgot the massacres of Cheyenne women and children at Sand Creek and of Piegan people on the Marias River, prints of the **Battle of Little Big Horn** hung in barrooms across the country. William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, in his traveling Wild West performances, enacted a revenge killing of a Cheyenne man named Yellow Hand in a tableau Cody called "first scalp for Custer." Notwithstanding that the tableau featured a white man scalping a Cheyenne, Cody depicted it as a triumph for civilization.

Little Big Horn proved to be the last military victory of Plains Indians against the U.S. Army. Pursued relentlessly after Custer's death and finding fewer and fewer bison to sustain them, Sioux parents watched their children starve through a bitter

Little Plume and Yellow Kidney Photographer Edward S. Curtis took this photograph of the Piegan (Blackfeet) leader Little Plume and his son Yellow Kidney. Curtis's extensive collection of photographs of Native Americans remains a valuable resource for historians. However, Curtis altered his images to make his Native subjects seem more "authentic": though Indians made widespread use of nonnative furniture, clothes, and other consumer goods (such as Singer sewing machines), Curtis removed those from the frame. He also retouched photographs to remove items such as belts and watches. Note the circular "shadow" here, against the lodge wall, near Little Plume's right arm: the original photograph included a clock. Library of Congress

winter. Slowly, families trickled into the agencies and accommodated themselves to reservation life (Map 15.5). The next year, the Nez Perces, fleeing for the Canadian border, also surrendered. The final holdouts fought in the Southwest with Chiricahua Apache leader Geronimo. Like many others, Geronimo had accepted reservation life but found conditions unendurable. Describing the desolate land the tribe had been allotted, one Apache said it had "nothing but cactus, rattlesnakes, heat, rocks, and insects. . . . Many, many of our people died of starvation." When Geronimo took up arms in protest, the army recruited other Apaches to track him and his band into the hills; in September 1886, he surrendered for the last time. The Chiricahua Apaches never returned to their homeland. The United States had completed its military conquest of the West.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

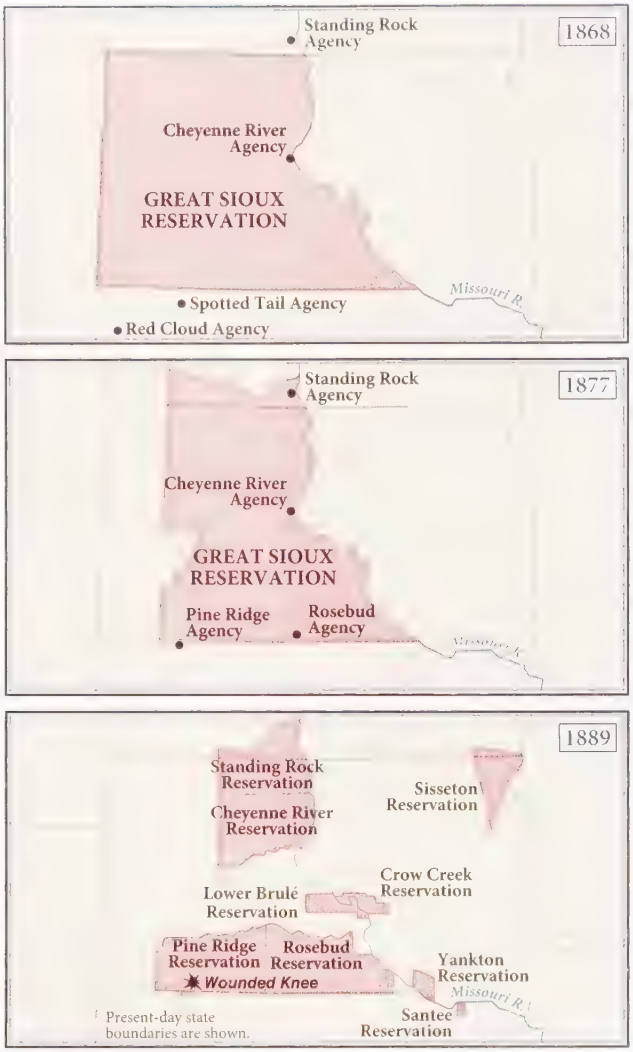
How did Grant's peace policy fail to consider the needs of Native Americans in the West, and what were its results?

Strategies of Survival

Though the warpath closed, many Native peoples continued secretly to practice traditional customs. Away from the disapproving eyes of agents and teachers, they passed on their languages, histories, and traditional arts and medicine to younger generations. Frustrated missionaries often concluded that little could be accomplished because bonds of kinship and custom were so strong. Parents also hated to relinquish their children to off-reservation boarding schools. Thus more and more Indian schools ended up on or near reservations; white teachers had to accept their pupils' continued participation in the rhythms of Indian community life.

AP® EXAM TIP

Be able to explain the strategies employed by Native Americans to preserve their cultural and tribal identities despite federal government policies.



MAP 15.5 The Sioux Reservations in South Dakota, 1868–1889

In 1868, when they bent to the demand that they move onto the reservation, the Sioux thought they had gained secure rights to a substantial part of their ancestral hunting grounds. But harsh conditions on reservations led to continuing military conflicts. Land-hungry whites exerted continuous local pressure, and officials in Washington repeatedly changed the terms of Sioux landholdings — always eroding Native claims.

Selectively, most indigenous peoples adopted some white ways. Many parents urged their sons and daughters to study hard, learn English, and develop skills to help them succeed in the new world they confronted. Even Sitting Bull announced in 1885 that he wanted his children "to be educated like the white children are." Some Indian students grew up to be lawyers, doctors, and advocates for their people, including writers and artists who interpreted Native experiences for national audiences. One of the most famous was a Santee Sioux boy named Ohiyesa, who became Dr. Charles Eastman. Posted to the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, Eastman practiced medicine side by side with traditional healers, whom he respected, and wrote popular books under his Sioux name. He remembered that when he left for boarding school, his father had said, "We have now entered upon this life, and there is no going back. . . . Remember, my boy, it is the same as if I sent you on your first war-path. I shall expect you to conquer."

Nothing exemplified this **syncretism**, or cultural blending, better than the **Ghost Dance movement** of the late 1880s and early 1890s, which fostered American Indian peoples' hope that they could, through sacred dances, resurrect the bison and call a great storm to drive whites back across the Atlantic. The Ghost Dance drew on Christian elements as well as Native ones. As the movement spread from reservation to reservation — Paiutes, Arapahos, Sioux — indigenous peoples developed new forms of pan-Indian identity and cooperation.

White responses to the Ghost Dance showed continued misunderstanding and lethal exertion of authority. In 1890, when a group of Lakota Sioux Ghost Dancers left their South Dakota reservation, they were pursued by the U.S. Army, who feared that further spread of the religion would provoke war. On December 29, at **Wounded Knee**, the 7th Cavalry caught up with fleeing Lakotas and killed at least 150 — perhaps as many as 300. Like other massacres, this one could have been avoided. The deaths at Wounded Knee stand as a final indictment of decades of relentless U.S. expansion, white ignorance and greed, chaotic and conflicting policies, and bloody mistakes.

Western Myths and Realities

The post–Civil War frontier produced mythic figures who have played starring roles in America's national folklore ever since: "savage" Indians, brave pioneers, rugged cowboys, and gun-slinging sheriffs. Far from being invented by Hollywood in the twentieth century, these oversimplified characters emerged in the era when the nation incorporated the West. Pioneers helped develop the mythic ideal. As one Montana woman claimed, they had come west "at peril of their lives" and faced down "scalp dances" and other terrors; in the end, they "conquered the wilderness and transformed it into a land of peace and plenty." Some former cowboys, capitalizing on the popularity of dime novel Westerns, spiced up their memoirs for sale. Eastern readers were eager for stories like *The Life and Adventures of Nat Love* (1907), written by a Texas cowhand who had been born in slavery in Tennessee and who, as a rodeo star in the 1870s, had won the nickname "Deadwood Dick."

No myth-maker proved more influential than Buffalo Bill Cody. Unlike those who saw the West as free or empty, Bill understood that the United States had taken it by conquest. Ironically, his famous Wild West, which he insisted was not a "show" but an

authentic representation of frontier experience, provided one of the few employment options for Plains Indians. To escape harsh reservation conditions, Sioux and Cheyenne men signed on with Bill and demonstrated their riding skills for cheering audiences across the United States and Europe, chasing buffalo and attacking U.S. soldiers and pioneer wagons in the arena. Buffalo Bill proved to be a good employer to Native men, including Lakota Sioux leader Sitting Bull, who toured with Bill's Wild West in 1885. Black Elk, another Lakota Sioux man who joined Cody's operation, recalled that Bill was generous and "had a strong heart." But Black Elk had a mixed reaction to the Wild West. "I liked the part of the show we made," he told an interviewer, "but not the part the Wasichus [white people] made." As he observed, the Wild West of the 1880s was at its heart a celebration of U.S. military conquest.

At this same moment of transition, a young historian named Frederick Jackson Turner reviewed recent census data and proclaimed the end of the frontier. Up to 1890, he wrote, a clear, westward-moving line had existed between "civilization and savagery." The frontier experience, Turner argued, shaped Americans' national character. It left them a heritage of "coarseness and strength, combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness," as well as "restless, nervous energy."

Today, historians reject Turner's depiction of Indian "savagery"—and his contradictory idea that white pioneers in the West claimed empty "free land." Many scholars have noted that frontier conquest was both violent and incomplete. The Dust Bowl of the 1930s, as well as more recent cycles of drought, have repeated late-nineteenth-century patterns of hardship and depopulation on the plains. During the 1950s and 1960s, also, uranium mining rushes in the West mimicked earlier patterns of boom and bust, leaving ghost towns in their wake. Turner himself acknowledged that the frontier had both good and evil elements. He noted that in the West, "frontier liberty was sometimes confused with absence of all effective government." But in 1893, when Turner first published "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," eager listeners heard only the positives. They saw pioneering in the West as evidence of American exceptionalism: of the nation's unique history and destiny. They claimed that "peaceful" American expansion was the opposite of European empires—ignoring the many military and economic similarities. Although politically the American West became a set of states rather than a colony, historians today emphasize the legacy of conquest that is central to its (and America's) history.

Less than two months after the massacre at Wounded Knee, General William T. Sherman died in New York. As the nation marked his passing with pomp and oratory, commentators noted that his career reflected a great era of conquest and consolidation of national power. Known primarily for his role in defeating the Confederacy, Sherman's first military exploits had been against Seminoles in Florida. Later, during the U.S.-Mexico War, he had gone west with the U.S. Army to help claim California. After the Civil War, the general went west again, supervising the forced removal of Sioux and Cheyennes to reservations.

When Sherman graduated from West Point in 1840, the United States had counted twenty-six states, none of them west of Missouri. At his death in 1891, the nation boasted forty-four states, stretching to the Pacific coast. The United States now rivaled Britain and Germany as an industrial giant, and its dynamic economy was drawing immigrants from around the world. Over the span of Sherman's career, the United States had become a major player on the world stage. It had done so through the kind of fierce military conquest that Sherman made famous, as well as through bold expansions of federal authority to foster economic expansion. From the wars and policies of Sherman's lifetime, the children and grandchildren of Civil War heroes inherited a vast empire. In the coming decades, it would be up to them to decide how they would use the nation's new power.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **In the late nineteenth century, what strategies did Native peoples in the West pursue in response to dispossession of their lands and efforts to assimilate them?**

SUMMARY

Between 1861 and 1877, the United States completed its conquest of the continent. After the Civil War, expansion of railroads fostered integration of the national economy. Republican policymakers promoted this integration through protective tariffs, while federal court rulings facilitated economic growth and strengthened corporations. To attract foreign investment, Congress placed the nation on the gold standard. Federal officials also pursued a vigorous foreign policy, acquiring Alaska and asserting U.S. power indirectly through control of international trade in Latin America and Asia.

An important result of economic integration was incorporation of the Great Plains. Cattlemen built an industry linked to the integrated economy, in the process nearly driving the native bison to extinction. Homesteaders confronted harsh environmental conditions as they converted the grasslands for agriculture. Republicans championed homesteader families as representatives of domesticity, an ideal opposed to Mormon plural marriage in Utah. Homesteading accelerated the rapid, often violent, transformation of western environments. Perceiving this transformation, federal officials began setting aside natural preserves such as Yellowstone, often clashing with Native Americans who wished to hunt there.

Conflicts led to the dispossession of Native American lands. During the Civil War, whites clashed with the Sioux and their allies. Grant's peace policy sought to end this conflict by forcing Native Americans to acculturate to European-style practices. Indian armed resistance continued through the 1880s, ending with Geronimo's surrender in 1886. Thereafter, Native Americans survived by secretly continuing their traditions and selectively adopting white ways. Due in part to the determined military conquest of this period, the United States claimed a major role on the world stage. Frontier myths shaped Americans' view of themselves as rugged individualists with a unique national destiny.

CHAPTER 15 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What federal policies contributed to the rise of America's industrial economy, and what were their results?
2. What factors led to transformation of the trans-Mississippi west after the Civil War?
3. In the late nineteenth century, what strategies did Native peoples in the West pursue in response to dispossession of their lands and efforts to assimilate them?
4. Review the events listed under "American and National Identity" and "Migration and Settlement" on the thematic timeline on pages 364–365. Between the 1840s and the 1870s, what distinctive patterns of racial and ethnic conflict occurred in the West? What were the results for different ethnic and racial groups?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

transcontinental railroad (p. 462)
protective tariff (p. 464)
Burlingame Treaty (p. 465)
Munn v. Illinois (p. 467)
gold standard (p. 469)
"Crime of 1873" (p. 469)
Homestead Act (p. 470)
land-grant colleges (p. 470)
Comstock Lode (p. 470)
"rain follows the plow" (p. 472)
Exodusters (p. 473)
Yellowstone National Park (p. 477)
U.S. Fisheries Commission (p. 478)
Sand Creek massacre (p. 480)
Fetterman massacre (p. 480)
Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock (p. 483)
Dawes Severalty Act (p. 483)
Battle of Little Big Horn (p. 486)
Ghost Dance movement (p. 488)
Wounded Knee (p. 488)

Key People

William Seward (p. 465)
Emmeline Wells (p. 473)
John Wesley Powell (p. 476)
Chief Joseph (p. 478)
Sitting Bull (p. 486)
George Armstrong Custer (p. 486)
William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody (p. 486)
Geronimo (p. 487)
Ohiyesa (Dr. Charles Eastman) (p. 488)
Frederick Jackson Turner (p. 489)

Key Academic Terms

deposed (p. 465)
cabal (p. 468)
succumb (p. 469)
consortium (p. 470)
cogent (p. 477)
egregious (p. 478)
annuity (p. 479)
syncretism (p. 488)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. During the Reconstruction years, Republican policymakers made sweeping policy decisions — especially having to do with land rights, voting rights, and education — that shaped the future of African Americans in the South and American Indians in the West. In an essay, compare U.S. policies toward the two groups. What assumptions and goals underlay each effort to incorporate racial minorities into the United States? To what extent did each effort succeed or fail, and why? How did the actions of powerful whites in each region shape the results?
2. Consider the image at the start of this chapter, "The Great West" (p. 463), which depicts how many Americans of the era thought the West *ought* to look when settlement was complete. Identify at least two other images in Chapter 15 that show what the natural and built environments of the West *really* looked like. What do you conclude from this comparison about the impact or the limits of U.S. policies in the West?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 464 for help in answering the question below.*

The military, political, and economic events of the Civil War years (1861–1865) are often treated as largely occurring in the Northeast and South — at places such as Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Washington, D.C. What impact did these developments have on the West, and what were their legacies?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "[T]he President of the United States . . . is authorized . . . to allot the lands . . . in severalty [individually] to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:
>
> To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section;
> To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section;
> To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; and
> To each other single person under eighteen years now living . . . one-sixteenth of a section. . . .
>
> [E]very member [Indian] to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside. . . ."
>
> Dawes Severalty Act, 1887

1. The policy goals endorsed by the Dawes Severalty Act would have been most strongly supported by advocates of
   a. assimilation.
   b. containment.
   c. nativism.
   d. Social Darwinism.
2. The policy toward American Indians expressed in the Dawes Severalty Act resulted from all of the following conditions EXCEPT
   a. the near extinction of free-roaming bison on the Great Plains.
   b. the conflicts over landownership between white settlers and American Indians.
   c. the attempts by miners to extract mineral wealth from traditional American Indian lands.
   d. the forced relocation of American Indian tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River.
3. The growth of which of the following historical developments most strongly undermined American Indians' ownership of land during the period between 1850 and 1890?
   a. Telegraphs
   b. Sharecropping
   c. Railroads
   d. Newspapers

Questions 4–6 refer to the map below.

Expansion of the Railroad System, 1850–1890

4. Which of the following most directly contributed to the overall trend depicted in the map?
   a. Technological innovations
   b. The rise of organized labor
   c. Improved standards of living
   d. Increased trade with Latin America
5. The federal government most directly contributed to the trend depicted in the map by
   a. actively regulating the railroad industry.
   b. subsidizing railroad construction through land grants.
   c. passing federal income taxes to fund new railroads.
   d. taking direct ownership of the major railroad lines.
6. The trend depicted in the map led to all of the following EXCEPT
   a. large numbers of migrants moving to the West.
   b. the rise of cattle ranching in Texas.
   c. an overall increase in consumer prices.
   d. the growth of cooperative organizations for farmers.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"The treaty system ended in 1871, when Congress decided that no more treaties would be made with Indian tribes . . . but the paternalism of the federal government toward the Indians continued . . . [under the] Board of Indian Commissioners . . . [which included] a remarkable collection of high-minded Christian philanthropists, suffused with a spirit of benevolence, who epitomized the evangelical religious atmosphere of the nineteenth century. For better or for worse, the American Indians fell into the hands of this group and their successors."

Francis Paul Prucha, *The Indian in American Society: From the Revolutionary War to the Present*, 1985

"[O]fficials often proclaimed that they were ushering in a new age of dealing fairly and kindly with . . . indigenous inhabitants. Yet these new policies actually entailed one of the most draconian measures possible: the removal of indigenous children from their kin . . . to be raised in distant institutions. . . . [I]nstead of watching from the sidelines as male government officials designed and carried out policies of indigenous child removal, many white women reformers campaigned for a greater role in setting public policy for indigenous peoples and became deeply implicated in this phase of settler colonialism."

Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880–1940*, 2009

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Prucha's and Jacobs's historical interpretations of the federal government's policies toward American Indians.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1865 to 1898 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Prucha's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1865 to 1898 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Jacobs's interpretation.
2. Using the map of railroad expansion on the previous page, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that accounts for the pattern of railroad construction illustrated in the map.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical change in the U.S. economy that resulted from the change illustrated in the period from 1850 to 1900.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical environmental result of the change illustrated in the period from 1850 to 1900.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity in the interactions between the U.S. government and American Indians in the era immediately before the end of the Civil War (1840–1865) and the era immediately after the Civil War (1865–1890).
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference in the interactions between the U.S. government and American Indians in the era immediately before the end of the Civil War (1840–1865) and the era immediately after the Civil War (1865–1890).
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical example of American Indian resistance to U.S. government policies or actions in the era immediately before the end of the Civil War (1840–1865) OR the era immediately after the Civil War (1865–1890).

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent to which the Civil War altered the lives of Americans in the North and the South between 1861 and 1865.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: Letter from Thomas Drayton, a South Carolina plantation owner, to his brother, a Union naval officer, April 17, 1861.

"Dear Percy,

I have received yours of the 9th last, and as Mr. Lincoln has threatened to stop the mails from us to you after they pass the Confederate Boundary, it is probable this may be a long time in getting to you. . . .

You say I don't yet understand the position you have taken. I do fully — but certainly differ from you when you say that to side with us — would be 'battling for slavery against freedom.' . . .

We are fighting for home & liberty. Can the North say as much? — Good night. And don't say again, that in siding for us — you would be defending slavery and fighting for what is abhorrent to your feelings & convictions. On the contrary, in fighting on our side, you will be battling for law & order & against abstract fanatical ideas which will certainly bring about vastly greater evils upon our race, than could possibly result from the perpetuation of slavery among us. . . .

P.S. Don't imagine that I have meant anything personal in what I have written. . . . I could not help, while alone at this midnight hour, but write in sadness & anguish of heart at the perils which may so soon encompass the orphan children I may so shortly leave behind me. I have meant no unkindness to you. I could not wound one whom I love so well. Goodnight, and pray to God for our country!"

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Letter from Major-General Benjamin Butler to Secretary of War Simon Cameron, July 30, 1861.

"But by the evacuation of Hampton, rendered necessary by the withdrawal of [Union] troops . . . I have therefore now within the Peninsula, this side of Hampton Creek, 900 negroes, 300 of whom are able-bodied men, 30 of whom are men substantially past hard labor, 175 women, 225 children under the age of 10 years, and 170 between 10 and 18 years, and many more coming in. The questions which this state of facts present are very embarrassing.

First — What shall be done with them? and, Second, What is their state and condition? . . . Is it forbidden to the troops to aid or harbor within their lines the negro children who are found therein, or is the soldier, when his march has destroyed their means of subsistence, to allow them to starve because he has driven off the rebel master? Now, shall the commander of regiment or battalion sit in judgment upon the question, whether any given black man has fled from his master, or his master fled from him? Indeed, how are the free born to be distinguished? . . .

In a loyal State I would put down a servile insurrection. In a state of rebellion I would confiscate that which was used to oppose my arms, and take all that property, which constituted the wealth of that State, and furnished the means by which the war is prosecuted, beside being the cause of the war; and if, in so doing, it should be objected that human beings were brought to the free enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, such objections might not require much consideration."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: Winslow Homer, "Our Women in the War," *Harper's Weekly*, September 6, 1862.

Davis Museum at Wellesley College, Art Resource, NY

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Enrollment Act, March 3, 1863.

Be it enacted . . . that all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and persons of foreign birth who shall have declared on oath their intention to become citizens under and in pursuance of the laws thereof, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, except as hereinafter excepted, are hereby declared to constitute the national forces, and shall be liable to perform military duty in the service of the United States when called out by the President for that purpose. . . .

And, it be further enacted, That any person drafted and notified to appear as aforesaid, may, on or before the day fixed for his appearance, furnish an acceptable substitute to take his place in the draft; or he may pay to such person as the Secretary of War may authorize to receive it, such sum, not exceeding three hundred dollars, as the Secretary may determine, for the procuration of each substitute . . . and thereupon such person so furnishing the substitute, or paying the money, shall be discharged from further liability under that draft. . . .

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Letter from Hannah Johnson to President Abraham Lincoln, July 31, 1863.

"My son went in the 54th regiment. I am a colored woman and my son was strong and able as any to fight for his country and the colored people have as much to fight for as any. My father was a Slave and escaped from Louisiana before I was born more than forty years ago. . . . I never went to school, but I know just as well as any what is right between man and man. Now I know it is right that a colored man should go and fight for his country, and so ought to a white man. I know that a colored man ought to run no greater risks than a white, his pay is no greater, his obligation to fight is the same. So why should not our enemies be compelled to treat him the same, Made to do it. . . .

You must put the rebels to work in State prisons to making shoes and things, if they sell our colored soldiers, till they let them all go. And give their wounded the same treatment. It would seem cruel, but there [is] no other way, and a just man must do hard things sometimes, that show him[self] to be a great man. . . .

Will you see that the colored men fighting now, are fairly treated. You ought to do this, and do it at once, Not let the thing run along; meet it quickly and manfully, and stop this, mean cowardly cruelty. We poor oppressed ones, appeal to you, and ask fair play.

DOCUMENT 6

Source: Prices and Real Wages During the Civil War.

Year	Union Prices	Union Real Wages	Confederate Prices	Confederate Real Wages
1860	100	100	100	100
1861	101	100	121	86
1862	113	93	388	35
1863	139	84	1,452	19
1864	176	77	3,992	11

DOCUMENT 7

Source: Black Codes of St. Landry's Parish, Louisiana, 1865.

SECTION 2. . . . That every negro who shall be found absent from the residence of his employer after 10 o'clock at night, without a written permit from his employer, shall pay a fine of five dollars, or in default thereof, shall be compelled to work five days on the public road, or suffer corporeal punishments. . . .

SECTION 4. Be it further ordained, That every negro is required to be in the regular service of some white person, or former owner. . . .

SECTION 6. Be it further ordained, That no negro shall be permitted to preach, exhort, or otherwise declaim to congregations of colored people, without a special permission in writing from the president of the police jury. . . .

SECTION 7. Be it further ordained, That no negro who is not in the military service shall be allowed to carry fire-arms, or any kind of weapons, within the parish, without the special written permission of his employers, approved and endorsed by the nearest or most convenient chief of patrol.

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following three questions to answer.

2. **Compare and contrast the effects of western settlement on the United States economy in the years immediately before the end of the Civil War (1840–1865) and the era immediately after the Civil War (1865–1880).**

3. **Evaluate the extent to which Reconstruction fostered changes for African Americans in the South from 1865 to 1877.**

4. **Evaluate the extent to which the Civil War and Reconstruction expanded the power of the federal government in the period from 1860 to 1890.**

PART 6

CHAPTER 16
Industrial America: Corporations and Conflicts, 1877–1911

CHAPTER 17
Making Modern American Culture, 1880–1917

CHAPTER 18
"Civilization's Inferno": The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities, 1880–1917

CHAPTER 19
Whose Government? Politics, Populists, and Progressives, 1880–1917

Industrializing America: Upheavals and Experiments

1877–1917

Touring the United States around 1900, a Hungarian Catholic abbot named Count Péter Vay visited the steel mills of Pittsburgh. "Fourteen-thousand tall chimneys . . . discharge their burning sparks and smoke incessantly," he reported. He was moved by the plight of fellow Hungarians, laboring "wherever the heat is most insupportable, the flames most scorching." One worker had just been killed in a foundry accident. Vay, attending the funeral, worried that immigration was "of no use except to help fill the moneybags of the insatiable millionaires."

Vay witnessed America's emergence as an industrial power, the subject of Part 6 of *America's History*. We begin Part 6 in 1877 because the transformations wrought by capitalism drove the nation's most urgent controversies after the end of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Key working-class reform and protest movements developed new strategies and arguments in the four decades that followed the end of Reconstruction. The Democratic Party, traditionally hostile to strong central government but pressured in new directions by grassroots groups like the People's Party of the 1890s, began to advocate for new measures to address poverty and rein in growing corporate power. By 1910, thousands of middle-class and elite Americans had adopted their own reform visions. As ex-president Theodore Roosevelt declared, American citizens needed to "control the mighty commercial forces which they have called into being."

Part 6 ends in 1917 because we, like many other historians, see U.S. participation in World War I as a key turning point that helped bring about some measures that progressives had sought for decades, such as national women's suffrage, prohibition, and government ownership of railroads. As we shall see in Part 7, the aftermath of World War I also revealed the limits of those reforms. ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

Corporations and Conflicts

Giant corporations developed global networks of production, marketing, and finance by innovating technically and developing ruthless tactics such as predatory pricing. Corporations' complex structures opened new careers for managers and "pink-collar workers," but wageworkers, including African Americans and millions of newly arrived immigrants, endured low pay, health hazards, and frequent unemployment. In addition to creating labor unions to protest such conditions, workers forged political alliances with farmers, who also found themselves economically vulnerable. Along with an eight-hour day and union recognition, workers agitated for, and won, Chinese exclusion.

Library of Congress

A Diverse, Urban Society

The values of thrift, piety, and domesticity faced challenges in the era of industrialization. Women took prominent roles in public life, while Charles Darwin's theory of evolution prompted some thinkers to justify economic inequality as a law of nature. Writers and artists experimented with realism and abstraction. People of religious faith had diverse reactions to these upheavals.

The nation's fast-growing cities offered enticing consumer pleasures, while also housing millions of impoverished immigrants. Cities proved challenging to govern, and reformers denounced the immigrant-supported political machines that controlled them. By 1900, however, some machine leaders helped lead urban progressive experiments.

National Archive

Reform Initiatives

Progressive reformers — a diverse group who were not at all united — sought to enhance democracy, limit corporate power, **ameliorate** poverty, and protect the environment. Though Republican President Theodore Roosevelt championed landmark legislation (1901–1909), much reform energy passed to other parties. During the presidency of Woodrow Wilson (1913–1921), Democrats enacted an impressive slate of laws, including new recognition of labor rights. Meanwhile, the Populist, Socialist, and Progressive parties proposed more radical responses to poverty and concentrated wealth. While none of these parties won national power, their ideas helped influence the shape of the emerging modern state.

Library of Congress

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

Industrializing America: Upheavals and Experiments 1877–1917

Los Angeles Public Library

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes.

What was the relationship of the two severe economic depressions listed under "Work, Exchange, and Technology" to political reform? Did reform tend to come during or after periods of economic crisis? Why do you think this was the case? In what ways did Americans respond politically to the depression of the 1870s? What continuities and changes do you see in their responses to the next severe depression, in the 1890s?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1870	• Association for the Advancement of Women founded (1873) • Woman's Christian Temperance Union founded (1874) • National Farmers' Alliances form (1875–early 1880s) • San Francisco mob attacks Chinatown (1877)	• Greenback-Labor Party elects fifteen congressmen (1878)	• Economic depression (1873–1879) • First department store opens in Philadelphia (1875) • Alexander Graham Bell invents telephone (1876) • Great Railroad Strike (1877) • Deskilling of labor under mass production
1880	• Knights of Labor peaks in membership (1884) • Rock Springs massacre of Chinese miners (1885) • Haymarket Square violence in Chicago (1886) • American Federation of Labor founded (1886)	• Pendleton Act (1883) • Peak of Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1880s) • Hatch Act provides federal support for farmers (1887) • Interstate Commerce Act (1887) • New Jersey law invites trusts to operate in the state (1889) • Hull House settlement founded (1889)	• First vertically integrated corporations • John D. Rockefeller creates Standard Oil trust (1882) • First skyscraper completed in Chicago (1885) • Knights of Labor peaks • American Federation of Labor founded (1886)
1890	• National American Woman Suffrage Association unites suffragists (1890) • Lockout of workers at Carnegie plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania (1892) • Sierra Club founded (1892) • Booker T. Washington delivers Atlanta Compromise address (1895) • National Association of Colored Women founded (1896)	• Disfranchisement in South (1890–1905) • Sherman Antitrust Act (1890) • People's Party founded (1890) • Coxey's Army marches (1894) • *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) • William McKinley elected president (1896) • National Consumers' League founded (1899)	• Severe depression hits; causes mass unemployment and wave of corporate mergers (1893) • J. P. Morgan arranges gold purchases to rescue U.S. Treasury (1895) • Accelerated corporate mergers in key industries • First subway line opens in Boston (1897) • Central Labor Union protests in Cleveland (1899) • Birth of modern advertising
1900	• Women's Trade Union League founded (1903) • Industrial Workers of the World founded (1905) • National Association for the Advancement of Colored People founded (1909)	• McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt assumes presidency (1901) • Food and Drug Administration established (1906) • Hepburn Act (1906)	• J. P. Morgan creates U.S. Steel (1901) • Women's Trade Union League founded (1903) • Industrial Workers of the World founded (1905) • *Muller v. Oregon* (1908)
1910		• Woodrow Wilson wins presidency (1912) • Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments to the Constitution (1913) • Federal Reserve created (1913) • Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)	• Triangle Fire at Triangle Shirtwaist Company, New York (1911) • Supreme Court orders Standard Oil divided to lessen its monopoly power (1911)

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• Comstock Act bans circulation of most information about sex and birth control (1873) • Baseball's National League founded (1876) • Henry George publishes *Progress and Poverty* (1879) • Salvation Army established in United States (1879)		• First national park created at Yellowstone (1872) • Appalachian Mountain Club founded (1876) • Yellow fever epidemic devastates Memphis, Tennessee (1878)	• Social Darwinism gains growing acceptance in Europe and the United States • Hostility toward Chinese immigrants grows	1870
• Increasing numbers of students attend college • William Dean Howells calls for realism in literature • Booker T. Washington founds Tuskegee Institute (1881) • Birth of American football • Popularity of vaudeville	• Congress passes Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) • Violence prompts mass immigration of Russian Jews (1880s) • American Protective Association founded to oppose immigration (1887) • Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr found Hull House (1889)	• Hatch Act (1887) provides federal support for agricultural research and experiment stations • Industrialization and urban growth cause rising pollution	• Rapid industrialization draws immigrants from around the world; American cities grow rapidly • Chinese Exclusion Act (1882–1943)	1880
• Jacob Riis publishes *How the Other Half Lives* (1890) • World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago (1893) • Ragtime music introduced at Exposition, Chicago (1893) • Charles Sheldon publishes *In His Steps* (1896)	• New York's Ellis Island opens (1892)	• John Muir founds Sierra Club (1892) • "Bicycle craze" and rise of hiking and camping get more Americans outdoors	• Gorras Blancas confront wealthy Anglo interests in New Mexico • Unemployed whites attack Chinese farmworkers • Ellis Island opens (1892) • Supreme Court upholds segregation of schools and public facilities in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)	1890
• First World Series (1903) • Robert Hunter publishes *Poverty* (1904) • Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* published (1906) • Walter Dill Scott publishes *The Psychology of Advertising* (1908)	• Migration of African Americans to northern cities increases • New York passes Tenement House Law (1901) • Robert Hunter publishes *Poverty* (1904)	• Lacey Act protects wildlife (1900) • Antiquities Act (1906) • National Audubon Society forms (1901) • Newlands Reclamation Act (1902) • U.S. Forest Service created (1905)	• Rising immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe • Height of eugenics (1900s–1920s) • Increasing numbers of blacks move to cities; responses include "race riots" by whites	1900
• Armory Show of modern art held in New York City (1913)		• National Park Service created (1916)	• Peak of foreign missions activity by American Protestant churches (1915)	1910

CHAPTER 16

Industrial America: Corporations and Conflicts

1877–1911

The Rise of Big Business

Innovators in Enterprise

The Corporate Workplace

On the Shop Floor

Immigrants, East and West

Newcomers from Europe

Asian Americans and Exclusion

Labor Gets Organized

The Emergence of a Labor Movement

The Knights of Labor

Farmers and Workers: The Cooperative Alliance

Another Path: The American Federation of Labor

AP LEARNING FOCUS

What new opportunities and risks did industrialization bring, and how did it reshape American society?

For millions of his contemporaries, Andrew Carnegie exemplified American success. Arriving from Scotland as a poor twelve-year-old in 1848, Carnegie found work as an errand boy for the Pennsylvania Railroad and rapidly scaled the managerial ladder. In 1865, he struck out on his own as an iron manufacturer, selling to friends in the railroad business. Encouraged by Republican tariffs to enter the steel industry, he soon built a massive steel mill outside Pittsburgh where a state-of-the-art Bessemer converter made steel refining dramatically more efficient. With Carnegie leading the way, steel became a major U.S. industry, reaching annual production of 10 million metric tons by 1900—almost as much as the *combined* output of the world's other top producers, Germany (6.6 million tons) and Britain (4.8 million).

At first, skilled workers at Carnegie's mill in Homestead, Pennsylvania, earned good wages. They had a strong union, and Carnegie affirmed workers' right to organize. But Carnegie—confident that new machinery enabled him to replace many skilled laborers—eventually decided that collective bargaining was too expensive. In the summer of 1892, he withdrew to his estate in Scotland, leaving his partner Henry Clay Frick in command. A former coal magnate and veteran foe of labor, Frick was well qualified to do the dirty work. He announced that after July 1, members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers would be locked out of the Homestead mill. If they wanted to return to work, they would have to abandon the union and sign new individual contracts. Frick fortified the mill and prepared to hire replacement workers. The battle was on.

At dawn on July 6, barges chugging up the Monongahela River brought dozens of private armed guards from the Pinkerton Detective Agency, hired by Carnegie to defend the plant. Locked-out workers opened fire, starting a gunfight that left seven workers and three Pinkertons dead. Frick appealed to Pennsylvania's governor, who sent the state militia to arrest labor leaders on charges of riot and murder. Most of the locked-out workers lost their jobs. The union was dead.

As the **Homestead lockout** showed, industrialization was a controversial and often bloody process. During the half century after the Civil War, more and more Americans worked not as independent farmers or artisans but as employees of large corporations. Conditions of work changed for people of all economic classes. Drawn by the dynamic economy, immigrants arrived from around the globe. These transformations provoked working people, including farmers as well as industrial workers, to organize and defend their interests.

Marianna Mine Disaster The bituminous mines of Marianna, Pennsylvania, and many other rich sites provided the coal that fueled American industrial growth. On November 28, 1908, an explosion in the mine killed 158 workers. Many were American-born; some were Irish, Welsh, Italian, and Polish immigrants. Here, a horse-drawn wagon carries bodies recovered from the mine. Such catastrophes laid bare the human cost of industrialization. Marianna was one among many: in the same decade, disasters at Scofield, Utah; Jacobs Creek, Pennsylvania; Monongah, West Virginia; and Cherry, Illinois, each killed over 200 men. Library of Congress

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1863** ▸ Cleveland, Ohio, becomes nation's petroleum refining center
- **1865** ▸ Chicago's Union Stock Yards opens
- **1867** ▸ National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry founded
- **1869** ▸ Knights of Labor founded
- **1873** ▸ Panic followed by severe economic depression
- **1875** ▸ John Wanamaker opens nation's first department store in Philadelphia
- **1876** ▸ Alexander Graham Bell invents the telephone
- **1877** ▸ San Francisco mob attacks Chinatown
  ▸ Great Railroad Strike
  ▸ First Farmers' Alliances form in South and West
- **1878** ▸ Greenback-Labor Party elects fifteen congressmen
- **1879** ▸ Henry George publishes *Progress and Poverty*
- **1880s** ▸ Violence in Russia and Eastern Europe prompts mass immigration of Jews to United States
- **1882** ▸ John D. Rockefeller creates Standard Oil trust
  ▸ Congress passes Chinese Exclusion Act
- **1884** ▸ Knights of Labor at peak of membership
- **1885** ▸ Rock Springs massacre of Chinese miners
- **1886** ▸ Haymarket Square violence
  ▸ American Federation of Labor (AFL) founded
- **1887** ▸ Hatch Act
  ▸ Interstate Commerce Act
- **1889** ▸ New Jersey passes law enabling trusts to operate in the state
- **1892** ▸ Homestead lockout
- **1893** ▸ Severe depression hits, causes mass unemployment and wave of corporate mergers
- **1901** ▸ J. P. Morgan creates U.S. Steel, America's first billion-dollar corporation
- **1908** ▸ Walter Dill Scott publishes *The Psychology of Advertising*
  ▸ Marianna, Pennsylvania, mine disaster

The Rise of Big Business

In the late 1800s, industrialization in Europe and the United States revolutionized the world economy. It brought large-scale commercial agriculture to many parts of the globe and prompted millions of migrants — both skilled workers and displaced peasants — to cross continents and oceans in search of jobs. Industrialization also created a production glut. The immense scale of agriculture and manufacturing caused a long era of deflation, when prices dropped worldwide (Figure 16.1).

Falling prices normally signal low demand for goods and services, and thus stagnation. In England, a mature industrial power, the late nineteenth century did bring economic decline. But in the United States, production expanded. Between 1877 and 1900, Americans' average real per capita income increased from $388 to $573. In this sense, Andrew Carnegie was right when he argued that, even though industrialization increased the gap between rich and poor, everyone's standard of living rose. In his famous 1889 essay "Wealth" — later called the **Gospel of Wealth** — he observed that "the poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessaries of life."

Technological and business efficiencies allowed American firms to grow, invest in new equipment, and earn profits even as prices for their products fell. Growth depended, in turn, on America's large and growing population, expansion into the West, and an integrated national marketplace. In many fields, large corporations became the dominant form of business.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

To see a longer excerpt of "The Gospel of Wealth," along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Innovators in Enterprise

As rail lines stretched westward between the 1850s and 1880s, operators faced a crisis. As one Erie Railroad executive noted, a superintendent on a 50-mile line could personally attend to every detail. But supervising a 500-mile line was impossible; trains ran late, communications failed, and trains crashed. Managers gradually invented systems to solve these problems. They distinguished top executives from those

responsible for day-to-day operations. They departmentalized operations by function — purchasing, machinery, freight traffic, passenger traffic — and established clear lines of communication. They perfected cost accounting, which allowed an industrialist like Carnegie to track expenses and revenues carefully and thus follow his Scottish mother's advice: "Take care of the pennies, and the pounds will take care of themselves." This **management revolution** created the internal structure adopted by many large, complex corporations.

During these same years, the United States became an industrial power by tapping North America's vast natural resources, particularly in the West. Industries that had once depended on water power began to use prodigious amounts of coal. Steam engines replaced human and animal labor, and kerosene replaced whale oil and wood. By 1900, America's factories and urban homes were converting to electric power. With new management structures and dependency on fossil fuels (oil, coal, natural gas), corporations transformed both the economy and the country's natural and built environments.

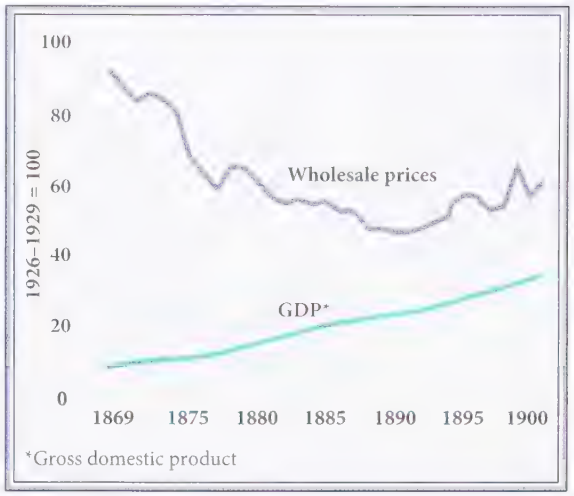


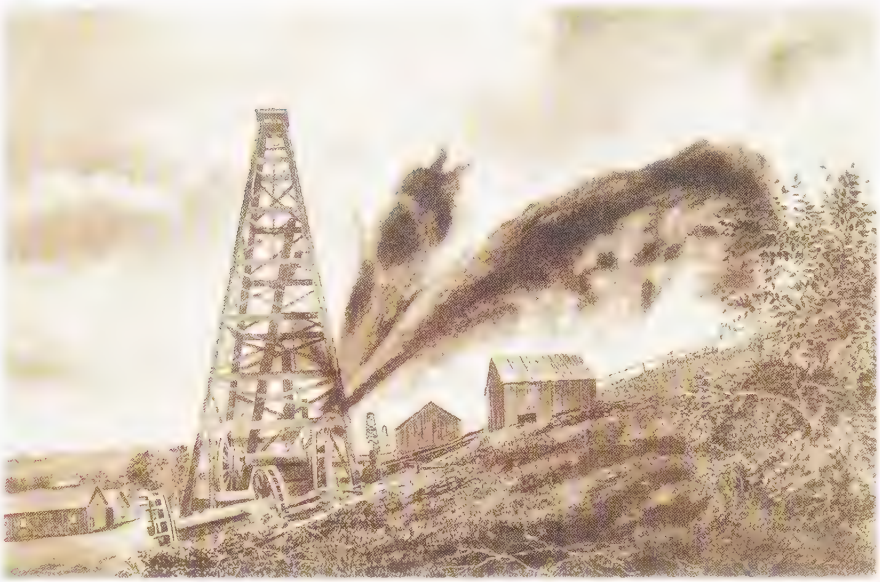
FIGURE 16.1 Business Activity and Wholesale Prices, 1869–1900
This graph shows the key feature of the performance of the late-nineteenth-century economy: while output was booming, wholesale prices were, on the whole, falling. Thus, while workers often struggled with falling wages — especially during decades of severe economic crisis — consumer products also became cheaper to buy.

Production and Sales After Chicago's Union Stock Yards opened in 1865, middlemen shipped cows by rail from the Great Plains to Chicago and from there to eastern cities, where slaughter took place in local butchertowns. Such a system — a national livestock market with local processing — could have lasted, as it did in Europe. But Gustavus Swift, a shrewd Chicago cattle dealer, saw that local slaughterhouses lacked the scale to utilize waste by-products and cut labor costs. To improve productivity, Swift invented the assembly line, where each wageworker repeated the same slaughtering task over and over.

Swift also pioneered **vertical integration**, a model in which a company controlled all aspects of production from raw materials to finished goods. Once his engineers designed a cooling system, Swift invested in a fleet of refrigerator cars to keep beef fresh as he shipped it eastward, priced below what local butchers could afford. In cities that received his chilled meat, Swift built branch houses and fleets of delivery wagons. He also constructed factories to make fertilizer and chemicals from the by-products of slaughter, and he developed marketing strategies for those products as well. Other Chicago packers followed Swift's lead. By 1900, five firms, all vertically integrated, produced nearly 90 percent of the meat shipped in interstate commerce.

Big packers invented new sales tactics. For example, Swift & Company periodically slashed prices in certain markets to below production costs, driving independent distributors to the wall. With profits from its sales elsewhere, a large firm like Swift could survive temporary losses in one locality until competitors went under. Afterward, Swift could raise prices again. This technique, known as predatory pricing, helped give a few firms unprecedented market control.

Standard Oil and the Rise of the Trusts No one used ruthless business tactics more skillfully than the king of petroleum, John D. Rockefeller. After inventors in the 1850s figured out how to extract kerosene — a clean-burning fuel for domestic heating and lighting — from crude oil, enormous oil deposits were discovered at Titusville, Pennsylvania. Just then, the Civil War severely disrupted whaling, forcing whale-oil customers to look for alternative lighting sources. Overnight, a forest of oil wells sprang up around Titusville. Connected to these Pennsylvania oil fields by rail in 1863, Cleveland, Ohio, became a refining center. John D. Rockefeller was then an up-and-coming Cleveland grain dealer. (He, like Carnegie and most other budding tycoons, hired a substitute to fight for him in the Civil War.) Rockefeller had strong nerves, a sharp eye for able partners, and a genius for finance. He went into the kerosene business



A "Gusher" in Pennsylvania Late nineteenth-century Americans tapped large petroleum fields in western Pennsylvania and later in Texas, developing an array of uses for kerosene and other fossil fuels. This 1880 sketch of an oil well shows what happened when drillers struck an underground petroleum pocket that was under pressure. Everett Collection

and borrowed heavily to expand. Within a few years, his firm — Standard Oil of Ohio — was Cleveland's leading refiner.

Like Carnegie and Swift, Rockefeller succeeded through vertical integration: to control production and sales all the way from the oil well to the kerosene lamp, he took a big stake in the oil fields, added pipelines, and developed a vast distribution network. Rockefeller allied with railroad executives, who, like him, hated the oil market's boom-and-bust cycles. What they wanted was predictable, high-volume traffic, and they offered Rockefeller secret **rebates** that gave him a leg up on competitors.

Rockefeller also pioneered a strategy called **horizontal integration**. After driving competitors to the brink of failure through predatory pricing, he invited them to merge their local companies into his conglomerate. Most agreed, often because they had no choice. Through such mergers, Standard Oil wrested control of 95 percent of the nation's oil refining capacity by the 1880s. In 1882, Rockefeller's lawyers created a new legal form, the **trust**. It organized a small group of associates — the board of trustees — to hold stock from a group of combined firms, managing them as a single entity. Rockefeller soon invested in Mexican oil fields and competed in world markets against Russian and Middle Eastern producers.

The Singer Sewing Machine The sewing machine was an American invention that swiftly found markets abroad. The Singer Manufacturing Company, the dominant firm by the time the Civil War began, exported sewing machines to markets as far-flung as Ireland, Russia, China, and India. The company also moved some manufacturing operations abroad, producing 200,000 machines annually at a Scottish plant that employed 6,000 workers. Singer's advertising rightly boasted of the international appeal of a product that the company dubbed "The Universal Sewing Machine." Collection of the New-York Historical Society, USA / Bridgeman Images

Other companies followed Rockefeller's lead, creating trusts to produce such products as linseed oil, sugar, and salt. Many expanded sales and production overseas. As early as 1868, Singer Manufacturing Company established a factory in Scotland to produce sewing machines. By World War I, such brands as Ford and General Electric had become familiar around the world.

Distressed by the development of near monopolies, reformers began to denounce "the trusts," a term that in popular usage referred to any large corporation that seemed to wield excessive power. Some states outlawed trusts as a legal form. But in an effort to attract corporate headquarters to its state, New Jersey broke ranks in 1889, passing a law that permitted the creation of holding companies and other combinations. Delaware soon followed, providing another legal haven for consolidated corporations. A wave of mergers further concentrated corporate power during the depression of the 1890s, as weaker firms succumbed to powerful rivals. By 1900, America's largest one hundred companies controlled a third of the nation's productive capacity. Purchasing several steel companies in 1901, including Carnegie Steel, J. P. Morgan created U.S. Steel, the nation's first billion-dollar corporation. Such familiar firms as DuPont and Eastman Kodak assumed dominant places in their respective industries (AP® Interpreting the Past).

AP® EXAM TIP

The consolidation of corporations into trusts and the resulting concentration of wealth is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Assessing the Industrialists The work of men like Swift, Rockefeller, and Carnegie was controversial in their lifetimes and has been ever since. Carnegie, in his "Wealth" essay, argued that corporate titans attained their wealth through talent, proving they deserved their success. He also declared, however, that wealth was a "public trust" and that every elite man, after providing for his family, had a patriotic obligation to give away his millions to benefit education and other worthy causes. Carnegie advocated a near 100 percent inheritance tax on privately held wealth: inheriting large sums, he believed, discouraged young people's initiative, just as "handouts" of food or shelter to the poor discouraged them from working. Carnegie rejected both, viewing Social Darwinism, or "survival of the fittest," as the key principle of the new order (see Chapter 17).

Historians' opinions of the first industrial titans have tended to be harsh in eras of economic crisis, when the shortcomings of corporate America appear in stark relief. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, a historian coined the term *robber barons*, which is still used today. In periods of prosperity, both scholars and the public have tended to view early industrialists more favorably, calling them *industrial statesmen*.

Some scholars have argued that industrialists benefitted the economy by replacing the chaos of market competition with a "visible hand" of planning and expert management. But one recent study of railroads asserts that the main skills of early tycoons (as well as those of today) were cultivating political "friends," defaulting on loans, and lying to the public. Whether we consider the industrialists heroes, villains, or something in between, it is clear that the corporate economy was not the creation of just a few individuals, however famous or influential. It was a systemic transformation of the economy.

A National Consumer Culture As they integrated vertically and horizontally, corporations innovated in other ways. Companies such as Bell Telephone and Westinghouse set up research laboratories. Steelmakers invested in chemistry and materials science to make their products cheaper, better, and stronger. Mass markets brought an appealing array of goods to consumers who could afford them. Railroads whisked Florida oranges and other fresh produce to the shelves of grocery stores. Retailers such as F. W. Woolworth and the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P) opened chains of stores that soon stretched nationwide.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the changes in consumer culture that led to dramatic increase in production of goods is critical for the AP® exam.

The department store was pioneered in 1875 by John Wanamaker in Philadelphia. These megastores displaced small retail shops, tempting customers with large show windows and Christmas displays. Like industrialists, department store magnates developed economies of scale that enabled them to slash prices. An 1898 newspaper advertisement for Macy's Department Store urged shoppers to "read our books, cook in our

How Modern Were Late-Nineteenth-Century Corporations?

The modern corporation emerged in the late nineteenth century as both a cause and consequence of industrialization and the expansion of the capitalist system. Unlike the smaller manufacturing and mercantile businesses of the early nineteenth century, which were often owned and operated by a single person or family, these sprawling and complex organizations developed elaborate administrative structures and employed a bureaucracy of managers to run daily operations. But were these professionals any good?

Historians Alfred D. Chandler Jr. and Richard White examine the railroad as the key industry pioneering the development of the modern corporation. In both accounts, the managerial class was central to this process because, unlike owners, who were often uninvolved stockholders, the managers oversaw the day-to-day running of these multifaceted organizations. Chandler and White, however, interpret the success of these managers and their corporations in different ways.

ALFRED D. CHANDLER JR.

SOURCE: Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977), 12, 87.

The visible hand of management replaced the invisible hand of market forces. . . . [S]afe, regular, reliable movement of goods and passengers, as well as the continuing maintenance and repair of locomotives, rolling stock, and track, roadbed, stations, roundhouses, and other equipment, required . . . special skills and training which could only be commanded by a full-time salaried manager. . . . This career orientation and the specialized nature of tasks gave the railroad managers an increasingly professional outlook on their work.

RICHARD WHITE

SOURCE: Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011), xxix–xxxii.

[Railroads] were not the harbingers of order, rationality, and effective large-scale organization. . . . Managers blamed their failures on accidents and contingent events, but they also used them to cover their mistakes and claim quite fortuitous results as the fruits of their planning. . . . [The railroad corporations] not only failed to institute the order they desired; they also just plain failed and repeatedly needed rescuing by the state and the courts. . . . The transcontinental railroads are sometimes fetishized as the ultimate manifestation of modern rationality, but, when seen from within, these astonishingly mismanaged railroads are the anteroom to mystery.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Name two ways that each of these two historians evaluates the success of late-nineteenth-century corporations.
2. What are the key differences between Chandler's assessment of corporate planning and White's?
3. Besides railroads, what other examples from this chapter demonstrate the growth of the modern corporation described by either Chandler or White?

saucepans, dine off our china, wear our silks, get under our blankets, smoke our cigars, drink our wines — Shop at Macy's — and Life will Cost You Less and Yield You More Than You Dreamed Possible."

While department stores became urban fixtures, Montgomery Ward and Sears built mail-order empires. Rural families from Vermont to California pored over the companies' annual catalogs, making wish lists of tools, clothes, furniture, and toys. Mail-order companies used money-back guarantees to coax wary customers to buy products they could not see or touch. "Don't be afraid to make a mistake," the Sears catalog counseled. "Tell us what you want, in your own way." By 1900, America counted more than twelve hundred mail-order companies.

The active shaping of consumer demand became, in itself, a new enterprise. Outdoors, advertisements appeared everywhere: in New York's Madison Square, the Heinz Company installed a 45-foot pickle made of green electric lights. Tourists had difficulty admiring Niagara Falls because billboards obscured the view. By 1900, companies were spending more than $90 million a year ($2.3 billion today) on print

advertising, as the press itself became a mass-market industry. Rather than charging subscribers the cost of production, magazines began to cover their costs by selling ads. Cheap subscriptions built a mass readership, which in turn attracted more advertisers. In 1903, the *Ladies' Home Journal* became the first magazine with a million subscribers.

The Corporate Workplace

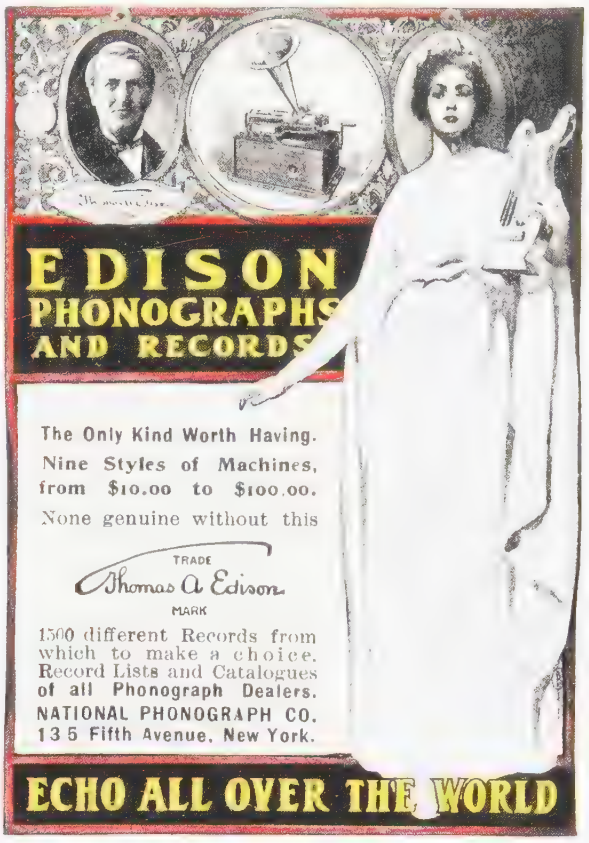
Before the Civil War, most American boys had hoped to become farmers, small-business owners, or independent artisans. Afterward, more and more Americans — both male and female — began working for someone else. Because they wore white shirts with starched collars, those who held professional positions in corporations became known as white-collar workers, a term differentiating them from blue-collar employees, who labored with their hands. For a range of employees — managers and laborers, clerks and salespeople — the rise of corporate work had wide-ranging consequences.

Managers and Salesmen As the managerial revolution unfolded, the headquarters of major corporations began to house departments handling specific activities such as purchasing and accounting. These departments were supervised by middle managers, something not seen before in American industry. Middle managers took on entirely new tasks, directing the flow of goods, labor, and information throughout the enterprise. They were key innovators, counterparts to the engineers in research laboratories who, in the same decades, worked to reduce costs and improve efficiency.

Corporations also needed a new kind of sales force. In post–Civil War America, the drummer, or traveling salesman, became a familiar sight on city streets and in remote country stores. Riding rail networks from town to town, drummers introduced merchants to new products, offered incentives, and suggested sales displays. They built nationwide distribution networks for such popular consumer products as cigarettes and Coca-Cola. By the late 1880s, the leading manufacturer of cash registers produced a sales script for its employees' conversations with local merchants. "Take for granted that he will buy," the script directed. "Say to him, 'Now, Mr. Blank, what color shall I make it?' . . . Handing him your pen say, 'Just sign here where I have made the cross.' "

With such companies in the **vanguard**, sales became systematized. Managers set individual sales quotas and awarded prizes to top salesmen, while those who sold too little were singled out for remedial training or dismissal. Executives embraced the ideas of business psychologist Walter Dill Scott, who published *The Psychology of Advertising* in 1908. Scott's principles — which included selling to customers based on their presumed "instinct of escape" and "instinct of combat" — were soon taught at Harvard Business School. Others also promised that a "scientific attitude" would "attract attention" and "create desire."

Women in the Corporate Office Beneath the ranks of managers emerged a new class of female office workers. Before the Civil War, most clerks at small firms had been young men who expected to rise through the ranks. In a large corporation, secretarial work became a dead-end job, and employers began assigning it to women. By the turn of the twentieth century, 77 percent of all **stenographers** and typists were female; by 1920, women held half of all low-level office jobs.



Thomas Edison Promotes the Phonograph The wondrous inventions that emerged from Edison's laboratory in Menlo Park, New Jersey, ranged from the phonograph to electric light bulbs, moving pictures, and Portland cement. Edison (1847–1931), whose face appears in the upper left, became a national hero — and the holder of over one thousand patents. He was also a shrewd entrepreneur. To demonstrate his electric lights, he illuminated the *New York Times* headquarters and the nearby offices of powerful financier J. P. Morgan. Note the price range for his phonograph, beginning at $10 (the equivalent of approximately $1,000 today). What does this tell you about Edison's target audience? Why do you think the elegant lady on the right appears in the advertisement? North Wind Picture Archives/The Image Work

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

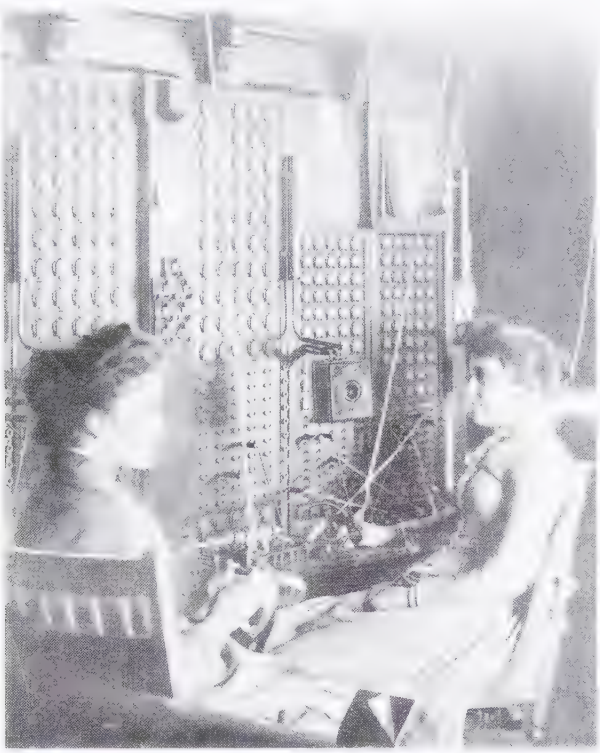
CAUSATION

Why did large corporations arise in the late nineteenth century, and how did leading industrialists consolidate their power?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What opportunities did the rise of corporations offer to different types of "middle workers" — those who were neither top executives nor blue-collar laborers?



Telephone Operators, 1888 Like other women office workers, these switchboard operators enjoyed relatively high pay and comfortable working conditions — especially in the early years of the telephone industry, before operators' work routines speeded up. These young women worked for the Central Union Telephone Company in Canton, Ohio. [illegible]

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the impact of economic change in the late nineteenth century on the roles of women in the U.S.

For white working-class women, clerking and office work represented new opportunities. In an era before most families had access to day care, mothers most often earned money at home, where they could tend children while also taking in laundry, caring for boarders, or doing piecework (sewing or other assembly projects, paid on a per-item basis). Unmarried daughters could enter domestic service or factory work, but clerking and secretarial work were cleaner and better paid.

New technologies provided additional opportunities for women. The rise of the telephone, introduced by inventor Alexander Graham Bell in 1876, was a notable example. Originally intended for business use on local exchanges, telephones were eagerly adopted by residential customers. Thousands of young women found work as telephone operators. By 1900, more than 4 million women worked for wages. About a third worked in domestic service; another third in industry; the rest in office work, teaching, nursing, or sales. As new occupations arose, the percentage of wage-earning women in domestic service dropped dramatically, a trend that continued in the twentieth century.

On the Shop Floor

Despite the managerial revolution at the top, skilled craft workers — almost all of them men — retained considerable autonomy in many industries. A coal miner, for example, was not an hourly wageworker but essentially an independent contractor, paid by the amount of coal he produced. He provided his own tools, worked at his own pace, and knocked off early when he chose. The same was true for puddlers and rollers in ironworks; molders in stove making; and machinists, glass blowers, and skilled workers in many other industries. Such workers abided by the stint, a self-imposed limit on how much they would produce each day. This informal system of restricting output infuriated efficiency-minded engineers, but to the workers it signified personal dignity, manly pride, and brotherhood with fellow employees. One shop in Lowell, Massachusetts, posted regulations requiring all employees to be at their posts by the time of the opening bell and to remain, with the shop door locked, until the closing bell. A machinist promptly packed his tools, declaring that he had not "been brought up under such a system of slavery."

Skilled workers — craftsmen, inside contractors, and foremen — enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. But those who paid helpers from their own pocket could also exploit them. Subcontracting arose, in part, to enable manufacturers to distance themselves from the consequences of shady labor practices. In Pittsburgh steel mills, foremen were known as "pushers," notorious for driving their gangs mercilessly. On the other hand, industrial labor operated on a human scale, through personal relationships that could be close and enduring. Striking craft workers would commonly receive the support of helpers and laborers, and labor gangs would sometimes walk out on behalf of a popular foreman.

As industrialization advanced, however, workers increasingly lost the independence characteristic of craft work. The most important cause of this was the **deskilling** of labor under a new system of mechanized manufacturing that men like meatpacker Gustavus Swift had pioneered and that automobile maker Henry Ford would soon call mass production. Everything from typewriters to automobiles came to be assembled from standardized parts, using machines that increasingly operated with little human oversight. A machinist protested in 1883 that the sewing machine industry was so "subdivided" that "one man may make just a particular part of a machine and may not know anything whatever about another part of the same machine." Such a worker, noted an observer, "cannot be master of a craft, but only master of a fragment." Employers, who originally favored automatic machinery because it increased output, quickly found that

***Ironworkers — Noontime*, 1880** The ideal qualities of the nineteenth-century craft worker — dignity, brotherhood, manliness — shine through in this painting by Thomas P. Anschutz. *Ironworkers — Noontime* became a popular painting after it was reproduced as an engraving in *Harper's Weekly* in 1884. Artepics/Alamy Stock Photo

it also helped them control workers and cut labor costs. They could pay unskilled workers less and replace them easily.

By the early twentieth century, managers sought to further reduce costs through a program of industrial efficiency called **scientific management**. Its inventor, a metal-cutting expert named Frederick W. Taylor, recommended that employers eliminate all brain work from manual labor, hiring experts to develop rules for the shop floor. Workers must be required to "do what they are told promptly and without asking questions or making suggestions." In its most extreme form, scientific management called for engineers to time each task with a stopwatch; companies would pay workers more if they met the stopwatch standard. Taylor assumed that workers would respond automatically to the lure of higher earnings. But scientific management was not, in practice, a great success. Implementing it proved to be expensive, and workers stubbornly resisted. Corporate managers, however, adopted bits and pieces of Taylor's system, and they enthusiastically agreed that decisions should lie with "management alone." Over time, in comparison with businesses in other countries, American corporations created a particularly wide gap between the roles of managers and those of the blue-collar workforce.

AP® EXAM TIP

Consider the impact of scientific management on the workplace environment of the working class.

Blue-collar workers had little freedom to negotiate, and their working conditions deteriorated markedly as deskilling and mass production took hold. At the same time, industrialization brought cheaper products that enabled many Americans to enjoy new consumer products — if they could avoid starvation. From executives down to unskilled workers, the hierarchy of corporate employment contributed to sharper distinctions among three economic classes: the wealthy elite; an emerging, self-defined "middle class"; and a struggling class of workers, who bore the brunt of the economy's new risks and included many Americans living in dire poverty. As it wrought these changes, industrialization prompted intense debate over inequality (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

Health Hazards and Pollution Industrialized labor also damaged workers' health. In 1884, a study of the Illinois Central Railroad showed that, over the previous decade, one in twenty of its workers had been killed or permanently disabled by an accident on

Poverty and Food

Amid rising industrial poverty, food emerged as a reference point. How much was too little, or too much? If some Americans were going hungry, how should others respond? The documents below show some contributions to these debates.

1. **Lewis W. Hine, "Mealtime, New York Tenement," 1910.** *Hine was an influential photographer and reformer. He took a famous series of photographs at Ellis Island, remarking that he hoped Americans would view new immigrants in the same way they thought of the Pilgrims. What does the photographer emphasize in the living conditions of this Italian immigrant family and their relationships with one another? Why do you think Hine photographed them at the table?*

RLE: Pictorial Press Ltd./Alamy Stock Photo.

2. **Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women*, 1869.** *Alcott's novel, popular for decades, exemplified the ideal of Christian charity. At the start of this scene, Mrs. March returns from a Christmas morning expedition.*

Merry Christmas, little daughters! . . . I want to say one word before we sit down [to breakfast]. Not far away from here lies a poor woman with a little newborn baby. Six children are huddled into one bed to keep from freezing, for they have no fire. There is nothing to eat. . . . My girls, will you give them your breakfasts as a Christmas present?

. . . For a minute no one spoke, only a minute, for Jo exclaimed impetuously, I'm so glad you came before we began!

May I go and help . . . ? asked Beth eagerly.

I shall take the cream and the muffins, added Amy. . . . Meg was already covering the buckwheats and piling the bread into one big plate.

I thought you'd do it, said Mrs. March, smiling.

. . . A poor, bare, miserable room it was, with broken windows, no fire, ragged bedclothes, a sick mother, wailing baby, and a group of pale, hungry children. . . . Mrs. March gave the mother tea and gruel [while] the girls meantime spread the table [and] set the children round the fire. . . .

That was a very happy breakfast, though they didn't get any of it. And when they went away, leaving comfort behind, I think there were not in all the city four merrier people than the hungry little girls who gave away their breakfasts and contented themselves with bread and milk on Christmas morning.

3. **Mary Hinman Abel, *Promoting Nutrition*, 1890.** *This excerpt is from a cookbook that won a prize from the American Public Health Association. The author had studied community cooking projects in Europe and worked to meet the needs of Boston's poor. How does she propose to feed people on 13 cents a day — her most basic menu? What assumptions does she make about her audience? In what ways was her cookbook, itself, a product of industrialization?*

For family of six, average price 78 cents per day, or 13 cents per person.

. . . I am going to consider myself as talking to the mother of a family who has six mouths to feed, and no more money than this to do it with. Perhaps this woman has never kept accurate accounts. . . . I have in mind the wife [who has] time to attend to the housework and children. If a woman helps earn, as in a factory, doing most of her housework after she comes home at night, she must certainly have more money than in the first case in order to accomplish the same result.

the job. For brakemen — one of the most dangerous jobs — the rate was one in seven. Due to lack of regulatory laws and inspections, mining was 50 percent more dangerous in the United States than in Germany; between 1876 and 1925, an average of over two thousand U.S. coal miners died each year from cave-ins and explosions. Silver, gold, and copper mines were also not immune from such tragedies, but mining companies resisted demands for safety regulation.

. . . The Proteid column is the one that you must look to most carefully because it is furnished at the most expense, and it is very important that it should not fall below the figures I have given [or] your family would be undernourished.

[Sample spring menu]
Breakfast. Milk Toast. Coffee.
Dinner. Stuffed Beef's Heart. Potatoes stewed with Milk. Dried Apple Pie. Bread and Cheese. Corn Coffee.
Supper. Noodle Soup (from Saturday). Boiled Herring. Bread. Tea.

Proteids. (oz.)	21.20
Fats. (oz.)	14.39
Carbohydrates. (oz.)	77.08
Cost in Cents.	76

4. **Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?*, 1906.** *Sombart, a German sociologist, compared living conditions in Germany and the United States in order to answer the question above. What conclusion did he reach?*

The American worker eats almost three times as much meat, three times as much flour and four times as much sugar as his German counterpart. . . . The American worker is much closer to the better sections of the German middle class than to the German wage-labouring class. He does not merely eat, but dines. . . .

It is no wonder if, in such a situation, any dissatisfaction with the "existing social order" finds difficulty in establishing itself in the mind of the worker. . . . All Socialist utopias came to nothing on roast beef and apple pie.

5. **Helen Campbell, *Prisoners of Poverty*, 1887.** *A journalist, Campbell investigated the conditions of low-paid seamstresses in New York City who did piecework in their apartments. Like Abel (source 3), she tried to teach what she called "survival economics." Here, a woman responds to Campbell's suggestion that she cook beans for better nutrition.*

"Beans!" said one indignant soul. "What time have I to think of beans, or what money to buy coal to cook 'em? What you'd want if you sat over a machine fourteen hours a day would be tea like lye to put a back-bone in you. That's why we have tea always in the pot, and it don't make much odds what's with it. A slice of bread is about all. . . . We'd our tea an' bread an' a good bit of fried beef or pork, maybe, when my husband was alive an' at work. . . . It's the tea that keeps you up."

6. **Julian Street, Show and Extravagance, 1910.** *Street, a journalist, was invited to an elite home in Buffalo, New York, for a dinner that included cocktails, fine wines, caviar, a roast, Turkish coffee, and cigars.*

Before we left New York there was newspaper talk about some rich women who had organized a movement of protest against the ever-increasing American tendency toward show and extravagance. . . . Our hostess [in Buffalo] was the first to mention it, but several other ladies added details. . . .

"We don't intend to go to any foolish extremes," said one. . . . "We are only going to scale things down and eliminate waste. There is a lot of useless show in this country which only makes it hard for people who can't afford things. And even for those who can, it is wrong. . . . Take this little dinner we had tonight. . . . In future we are all going to give plain little dinners like this."

"*Plain*?" I gasped. . . . "But I didn't think it had begun yet! I thought this dinner was a kind of farewell feast — that it was — "

Our hostess looked grieved. The other ladies of the league gazed at me reproachfully. . . . "Didn't you notice?" asked my hostess. . . .

"Notice *what*?"

"That we didn't have champagne!"

SOURCES: (2) Louisa May Alcott, *Little Women*, Part 2, Chapter 2 at xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/ALCOTT/ch2.html; (3) Mary Hinman Abel, *Practical, Sanitary, and Economic Cooking Adapted to Persons of Moderate and Small Means* (American Public Health Association, 1890), 143–154; (4) Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?*, trans. Patricia M. Hocking and C. T. Husbands (White Plains, NY: International Arts and Sciences Press, 1976), 97, 105–106; (5) Helen Campbell, *Prisoners of Poverty* (Cambridge, MA: University Press, 1887), 123–124; (6) Julian Street, *Abroad at Home* (New York: The Century Co., 1915), 37–39.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. These documents were created by journalists and reformers. What audiences did they seek to reach? Why do you think they all focused on food?
2. Imagine a conversation among these authors. How might we account for the differences in Sombart's and Campbell's findings? How might Hine, Abel, and Campbell respond to Alcott's vision of charitable Christian acts?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using the documents above and your knowledge from this chapter, write a short essay explaining some challenges and opportunities faced by different Americans in the industrializing era — including those of the wealthy elite, emerging middle class, skilled blue-collar men, and very poorest unskilled laborers. How did labor leaders and reformers seek to persuade prosperous Americans to concern themselves with workers' problems? To what dominant values did they appeal?

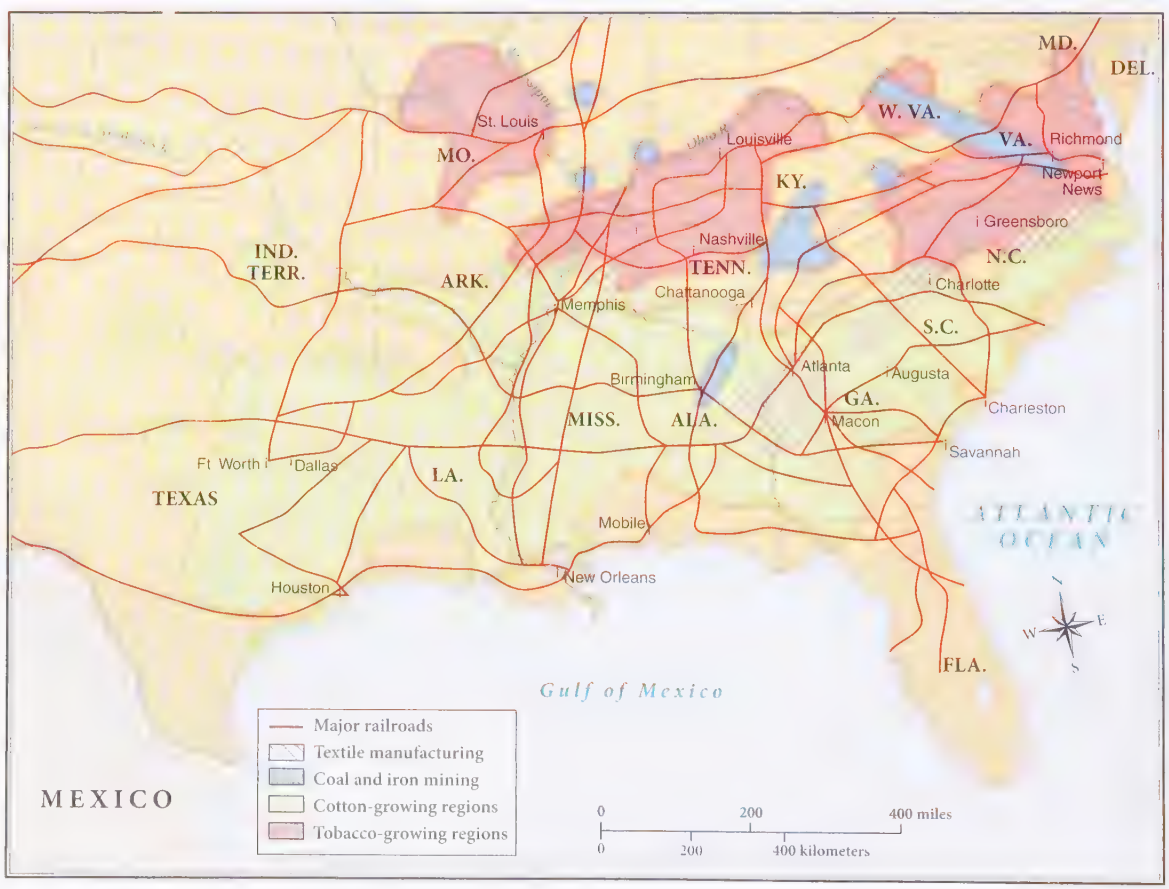
Extractive industries and factories also damaged nearby environments and the people who lived there. In big cities, poor residents suffered from polluted air and the dumping of noxious by-products into the water supply. Mines like those in Leadville, Colorado, contaminated the land and water with mercury and lead. Alabama convicts, forced to work in coal mines, faced brutal working conditions and fatal illnesses caused by the mines' contamination of local water. At the time, people were well aware of many

of these dangers, but workers had an even more urgent priority: work. Pittsburgh's belching smokestacks meant coughing and lung damage, but they also meant running mills and paying jobs.

Unskilled Labor and Discrimination As managers deskilled production, the ranks of factory workers came to include more and more women and children, who were almost always unskilled and low paid. Men often resented women's presence in factories, and male labor unions often worked to exclude women — especially wives, who they argued should remain in the home. Women vigorously defended their right to work. On hearing accusations that married women worked only to buy frivolous luxuries, one female worker in a Massachusetts shoe factory wrote a heated response to the local newspaper: "When the husband and father cannot provide for his wife and children, it is perfectly natural that the wife and mother should desire to work. . . . Don't blame married women if the land of the free has become a land of slavery and oppression."

In 1900, one of every five children under the age of sixteen worked outside the home. Child labor was most widespread in the ex-Confederacy. Here, a low-wage industrial sector emerged after Reconstruction, leading commentators to hail the region as a more economically diversified **New South** (Map 16.1). Textile mills sprouted in the Carolinas and Georgia, recruiting workers from surrounding farms; whole families often worked in the mills. Many children also worked in Pennsylvania coal fields, where death and injury rates were high. State law permitted children as

AP® EXAM TIP
Explain why child labor was more widespread in the "New South."



MAP 16.1 The New South, 1900
The economy of the Old South focused on raising staple crops, especially cotton and tobacco. In the New South, staple agriculture continued to dominate, but industrial regions also evolved, producing textiles, coal, and iron. By 1900, the South's industrial pattern was well defined, though the region still served — like the West — as a major producer of raw materials for the industrial region that stretched from New England to Chicago.

Child Labor For many working-class families, children's wages — even though they were low — made up an essential part of the household income. These boys worked the night shift in a glass factory in Indiana. Lewis Hine, an investigative photographer for the National Child Labor Committee, took their picture at midnight, as part of a campaign to educate more prosperous Americans about the widespread employment of child labor and the harsh conditions in which many children worked. Library of Congre

young as twelve to labor with a family member, but turn-of-the-century investigators estimated that about 10,000 additional boys, at even younger ages, were illegally employed in the mines.

Also at the bottom of the pay scale were most African Americans. Corporations and industrial manufacturers widely discriminated against them on the basis of race, and such prejudice was hardly limited to the South. After the Civil War, African American women who moved to northern cities were largely barred from office work and other new employment options; instead, they remained heavily concentrated in domestic service, with more than half employed as cooks or servants. African American men confronted similar exclusion. America's booming vertically integrated corporations turned black men away from all but the most menial jobs. In 1890, almost a third of black men worked in personal service. Employers in the North and West recruited, instead, a different kind of low-wage labor: newly arrived immigrants.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did conditions change for industrial workers in the late nineteenth century, and why?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What new business practices arose in the late-nineteenth-century United States, and what impact did they have on employees, consumers, and the environment?**

Immigrants, East and West

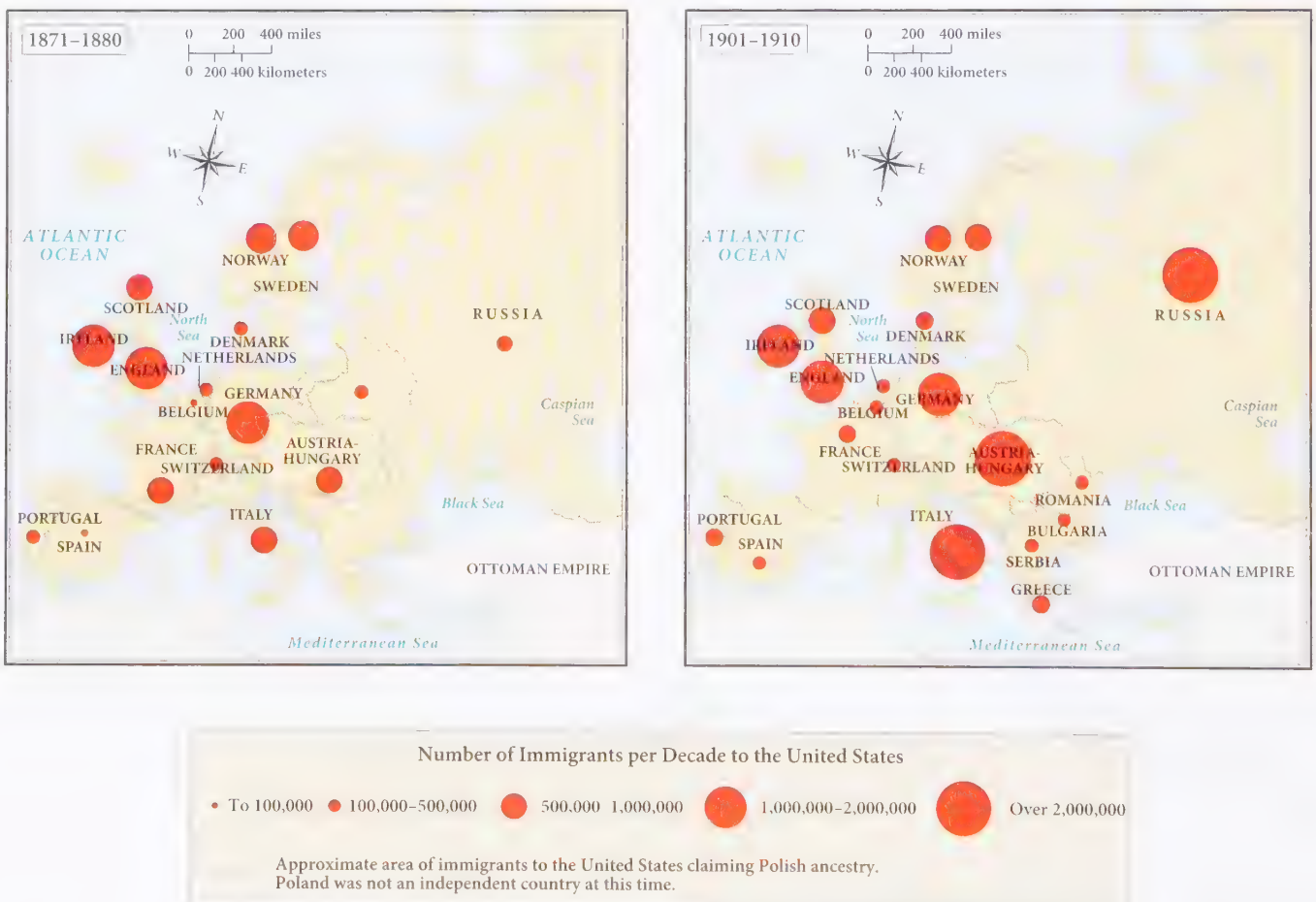
Across the globe, industrialization set people in motion with the lure of jobs. Between the Civil War and World War I, over 25 million immigrants entered the United States. The American working class became truly global, including not only people of

African and Western European descent but also Southern and Eastern Europeans, Mexicans, and Asians. In 1900, census-takers found that more than 75 percent of San Francisco and New York City residents had at least one parent who was foreign-born.

In the new industrial order, immigrants made an ideal labor supply. They took the worst jobs at low pay, and during economic downturns tens of thousands returned to their home countries, reducing the shock of unemployment in the United States. But many native-born Americans viewed immigrants with hostility, through the lens of racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices. They also feared that immigrants would take more coveted jobs and erode white men's wages. For immigrants themselves, America could be disorienting, liberating, and disappointing.

Newcomers from Europe

Mass migration from Western Europe had started in the 1840s, when more than one million Irish fled a terrible famine. In the following decades, as Europe's population grew rapidly and agriculture became commercialized, peasant economies suffered, first in Germany and Scandinavia, then across Austria-Hungary, Russia, Italy, and the Balkans. This upheaval displaced millions of rural people. Some went to Europe's mines and factories; others headed for South America and the United States (Map 16.2; AP® America in the World).



MAP 16.2 Sources of European Immigration to the United States, 1871–1910
Around 1900, Americans began to speak of the "new" immigration. They meant the large numbers of immigrants arriving from Eastern and Southern Europe — Poles, Slovaks and other Slavic peoples, Yiddish-speaking Jews, Greeks, and Italians — who overwhelmed the still substantial number of immigrants from the British Isles and Northern Europe.

Emigrants and Destinations, 1881–1915

The United States received more new residents than any other nation during the era of industrialization, but it was not the only place where emigrants (those departing) became immigrants (those arriving). The graph below shows six major destinations for emigrants from four European countries.

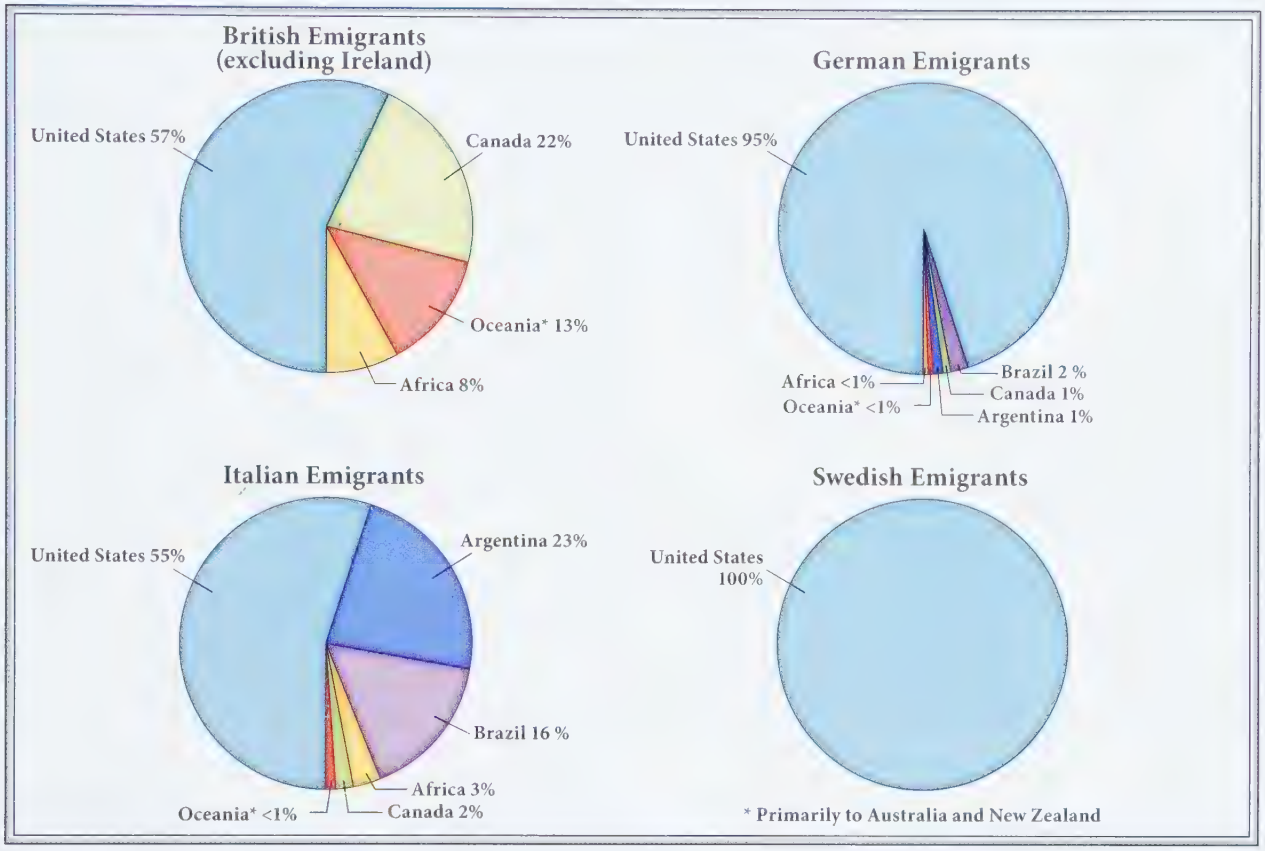


FIGURE 16.2 Major Destinations for Emigrants, 1881–1915

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What might account for the different emigration patterns shown here?
2. What choices and limitations might each group of emigrants have faced in choosing the country to which they emigrated?
3. Do these figures suggest anything about the conditions various groups may have encountered in different countries, upon arrival?

"America was known to foreigners," remembered one Jewish woman from Lithuania, "as the land where you'd get rich." But the reality was much harsher. Even in the age of steam, a transatlantic voyage was grueling. For ten to twenty days, passengers in steerage class crowded below decks, eating terrible food and struggling with seasickness. An investigator who traveled with immigrants from Naples asked, "How can a steerage passenger remember that he is a human being when he must first pick the worms from his food?" After 1892, European immigrants were routed through the enormous receiving station at New York's Ellis Island.

Some immigrants brought skills. Many Welshmen, for example, arrived in the United States as experienced tin-plate makers; Germans came as machinists and carpenters, Scandinavians as sailors. But industrialization required, most of all, increasing

Jewish Immigrants in the Industrial Economy

Following anti-Semitic violence in Russia during the 1880s, thousands of Jews fled to the United States. Almost a quarter million came between 1881 and 1890, the majority settling in New York City. These poverty-stricken newcomers posed problems for New York's assimilated Jews, most of whom were German- or American-born. Community support networks were quickly overwhelmed; New York's United Hebrew Charities almost went bankrupt. Jewish leaders watched with dismay the expansion of tenement wards. They worried that the presence of so many Eastern European "beggars," as one Reform rabbi put it, would heighten American anti-Semitism.

In 1901, New York's Jewish leaders founded an Industrial Removal Office (IRO) to help disperse Jewish newcomers. By 1922 the office sent over 79,000 Eastern European Jews to locations across the country. IRO correspondence provides a window on how newcomers sought to negotiate places in America's industrial economy. Note that most of the letters are translated from Yiddish. As one immigrant noted, inability to speak English could limit employment opportunities and cause "great distress."

ALEX GRUBMAN

Letter from Portland, Oregon, 1905

"I write you how fortunate I am in being placed in one of the largest dry goods houses in Oregon by Hon. Sig Sichel. . . . He went personally with me until he procured the present position for me as inside salesman and to start at $60 a month. . . . [Many people here] wish me to thank the I.R.O. for helping them to success. . . . Mr. Lvov or Lvovsky, a tinsmith sent out direct 2 years ago has a stove and hardware store. M. Kaplan a tailor is earning $20–25.00 a week. Mr. Nathan Siegel who arrived only a few days ago is already employed as a clerk earning $10.00 for a start."

BARNET MARLIN

Letter from Atlanta, Georgia, 1906

"Dr. Wildauer secured a place for me to work, at wooden trunks. . . . I could not earn more than 60 cents a day and was working harder than a horse. . . . Atlanta does not pay to work, especially for a foreigner. . . . Several weeks passed by and at the end I was in debt. . . .

During that time I became acquainted with a Jewish policeman and he was the only one who took pity on me. . . . I told my friend the policeman that I had $15.00 (sent to me by my brother) and he advised me to go out peddling. He took me to a store and told the storekeeper to furnish me for over $30.00 worth of goods. He also acted as my reference and prepared me with everything. I went out peddling and gradually I earned enough money to pay all my debts; and so I kept on peddling. I earned enough money and bought a horse and wagon. I now convey goods from the city to the country and sell them there. I thank you very much for sending me to Atlanta."

RAPHAEL GERSHONI

Letter from Atlanta, Georgia, 1905

"Why do you sent people to Atlanta? You give them eight days worth of food and then you let them starve in the street among Negroes. . . . I was given a job to work in a restaurant kitchen, to wait on Negroes, and to clean the Negroes' closets, for three dollars a week. . . . I was then given ten dollars for goods so that I might go around and peddle in Atlanta. But out of this ten dollars, I have to pay four dollars for lodging and three dollars a month for a place just to lay my head. . . . It is hopeless to work in Atlanta. The highest wage is 75 cents a day. And for what kind of work? . . . The competition is difficult here. Why should anyone hire a white greenhorn when they can get a black Negro, who is strong as iron. . . . Everyone says that the only choice here is to go out into the countryside and peddle. But one needs 40–50 dollars worth of goods. How do I get the money? . . . I would like to ask you to help me out. Help me crawl out of black Atlanta and go to Chicago. There I have friends and can make out better."

quantities of unskilled labor. As poor farmers from Italy, Greece, and Eastern Europe arrived in the United States, heavy, low-paid labor became their domain.

In an era of cheap railroad and steamship travel, many immigrants expected to work and save for a few years and then head home. More than 800,000 French Canadians moved to New England in search of textile jobs, many families with hopes of scraping together enough savings to return to Quebec and buy a farm. Thousands of men came alone, especially from Ireland, Italy, and Greece. Many single Irishwomen also immigrated. But some would-be sojourners ended up staying a lifetime, while immigrants who had expected to settle permanently found themselves forced to leave

CHARLES ZWIRN

Letter from La Crosse, Wisconsin, 1913

"[Mr. Goldfish] took me into his house and gave me a very nice welcome. He then led me to the synagogue and introduced me to all the members. Mr. Goldfish is a Jew with a real Jewish heart. He is religiously inclined and the biggest businessman in the city. If any controversy arises, it is always settled by Mr. Goldfish. . . . [He] took me to a shop and they paid me $6 more than I earned in New York. When I wanted to thank him, he said that the only thing he expects of me is that I conduct myself properly and go on the right path so I can eventually succeed. This, he said, was the best reward I can give him. I did as he told me and saved a few hundred dollars. . . .

Another man sent here had been in the country two months. . . . He was sent to Mr. Goldfish, who found him a job sorting corks for $2 a day. . . . He then left. By the way, . . . would you be so kind as to send to me a boy to drive a milk wagon on Mr. Jacob's farm and an older man to work at junk? They must be honest and respectable people."

MARY RUBIN

Letter from New Orleans, Louisiana, 1905

"You have sent us out here to starve for hunger and live in the streets. . . . We have arrived in New Orleans about 12 o'clock in the night, and there was nobody to await us there, and we had to go around alnight and look for the address which you had given. . . . They put the nine of us all in one room, with out a bed or a pillow to sleep on. . . . Then they took Mr. Rubin and his wife up to the cigar factory and gave them both a job. Mrs. Rubin is getting about four ($4) a week and Mr. Rubin five ($5). Now we will ask you if a family man can make a living with that. And Mr. Rosenthal they told if he wants work he will have to look for it himself. . . . When he found work, they told him to bring his tools and come to work. He went to the office and asked for the tools; they told him that he can't have them.

. . . [The local Committee] sent mama to be a cook for $4 a month, which she had never done before, and if she wanted to be a cook in N.Y. she could have gotten 3 times that much or more, but it did not suit us to let our mother be a cook, and now we should have to do."

NATHAN TOPLITZKY

Letter from Detroit, Michigan, 1908

"I, Nathan Toplitzky, sent to the above city 5 months ago, wish to inform you that a great misfortune has happened to me. Your committee has placed me to work in a machine factory where I have earned $.75 a day, and being unskilled I have had 4 of my fingers torn from my right hand. I now remain a cripple throughout my life. For six weeks my sufferings were indescribable.

When the condition of my health improved a little, I called on the Committee and they advised me to go back to the old employer. I went back to him and he placed me to work at the same machine where the accident occurred. Having lost my fingers I was unable to operate the machine. . . . Kindly write to your Committee to find a position for me."

S. KLEIN

Letter from Cleveland, Ohio, 1905

"In the past week something terrible has happened here. Two men sent here by the Removal Office committed suicide out of despair. One took poison and the other hanged himself. . . . That shows the deplorable condition of those who are sent here by the Removal Office. The Cleveland Removal Office is managed by an inexperienced young man who maintains his position merely through favoritism. . . . It was told to me that the one who hanged himself came to this agent and implored him with tears in his eyes to provide some kind of employment."

SOURCE: Letters from the Records of the Industrial Removal Office; 1-91; AJHS, NY, NY and Boston, MA as follows: Alex Grubman, Box 116, Folder 14; Barnet Marlin, Box 95, Folder 4; Raphael Gershoni, Box 95, Folder 4; Charles Zwirn, Box 120, Folder 9; Mary Rubin, Box 99, Folder 17; Nathan Toplitzky, Box 101, Folder 7; S. Klein, Box 114, Folder 5. Reprinted by permission of the American Jewish Historical Society.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Based on the accounts above, what factors contributed to a Jewish immigrant's economic success or failure in a new location?
2. In at least ten places, the immigrants above report on wages — daily, weekly, or monthly. For comparison, make a rough conversion of all of these to weekly wages and list them. What do you conclude about compensation for professional, skilled, and unskilled work?
3. Using information from this chapter, as well as the documents above, explain why Jewish immigrants sent to the South might have faced more difficulties, on average, than those sent to other parts of the country.

by an accident or sudden economic depression. One historian has estimated that a third of immigrants to the United States in this era returned to their home countries.

Along with Italians and Greeks, Eastern European Jews were among the most numerous arrivals. The first American Jews, who numbered around 50,000 in 1880, had been mostly of German Jewish descent. In the next four decades, more than 3 million poverty-stricken Jews arrived from Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and other parts of Eastern Europe, transforming the Jewish presence in the United States. Like other immigrants, they sought economic opportunity, but they also came to escape religious repression (AP® Analyzing Voices).

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the factors that accounted for the dramatic increase in immigration to the U.S. between the Civil War and World War I.

German Beer, Mexican Workers, c. 1900 Immigrants from Germany owned and managed most of the breweries in the United States. But workers at the Maier and Zoblein Brewery in Los Angeles came from many nations, including Mexico. At that time, about 4,000 Mexicans lived in Los Angeles County (about 4 percent of the population); by 1930, 150,000 Mexican-born immigrants lived in Los Angeles, making up about 7 percent of the city's rapidly growing population. Los Angeles Public Library

Wherever they came from, immigrants took a considerable gamble in traveling to the United States. Some prospered quickly, especially if they came with education, money, or well-placed business contacts. Others, by toiling many years in harsh conditions, succeeded in securing a better life for their children or grandchildren. Still others met with catastrophe or early death. One Polish man who came with his parents in 1908 summed up his life over the next thirty years as "a mere struggle for bread." He added: "Sometimes I think life isn't worth a damn for a man like me. . . . Look at my wife and kids — undernourished, seldom have a square meal." But an Orthodox Russian Jewish woman told an interviewer that she "thanked God for America," where she had married, raised three children, and made a good life. She "liked everything about this country, especially its leniency toward the Jews."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What factors accounted for the different expectations and experiences of immigrants in this era?

Asian Americans and Exclusion

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the experiences of Asian and European immigrants in the U.S. in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Compared with Europeans, newcomers from Asia faced even harsher treatment. The first Chinese immigrants had arrived in the late 1840s during the California gold rush. After the Civil War, the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China opened the way for increasing numbers to emigrate. Fleeing poverty and upheaval in southern China, they, like European immigrants, filled low-wage jobs in the American economy. The Chinese confronted threats and violence. "We kept indoors after dark for fear of being shot in the back," remembered one Chinese immigrant to California. During the depression of the 1870s, a rising tide of racism was especially extreme in the Pacific coast states, where the majority of Chinese immigrants lived. "The Chinese must go!" railed Dennis Kearney, leader of the California Workingmen's Party, who referred to Asians as "almond-eyed lepers." Incited by Kearney in July 1877, a mob burned San Francisco's Chinatown and beat up residents. In the 1885 Rock Springs massacre in Wyoming, white men burned the local Chinatown and murdered at least twenty-eight Chinese miners.

Chinese Workers in a Salmon Cannery, c. 1900 Shut out of many fields of employment by racial discrimination, many Chinese immigrants founded their own restaurants, laundries, and other small businesses. Others, like these cannery workers in Astoria, Oregon, took on some of the most grueling and lowest-paid work in the American economy. Job segregation reinforced, in turn, racial prejudice. Visiting British author Rudyard Kipling, touring canneries along the Columbia River, described Chinese workers in the plants as "blood-besmeared yellow devils." These workers, refuting Kipling's slur, appear clean and respectable. Notice the man in an apron, on the left, who wears his traditional queue, or braided pigtail, tucked into his straw hat. Keystone France/Gamma-Keystone via Getty Image

Despite such atrocities, some Chinese managed to build profitable businesses and farms. Many did so by filling the only **niches** native-born Americans left open to them: running restaurants and laundries. Facing intense political pressure, Congress in 1882 passed the **Chinese Exclusion Act**, specifically barring Chinese laborers from entering the United States. Each decade thereafter, Congress renewed the law and tightened its provisions; it was not repealed until 1943. Exclusion barred almost all Chinese women, forcing husbands and wives to spend many years apart when men took jobs in the United States.

Asian immigrants made vigorous use of the courts to try to protect their rights. In a series of cases brought by Chinese and later Japanese immigrants, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that all persons born in the United States had citizenship rights that could not be revoked, even if their parents had been born abroad. Nonetheless, well into the twentieth century, Chinese immigrants (as opposed to native-born Chinese Americans) could not apply for citizenship. Meanwhile, Japanese and a few Korean immigrants also began to arrive; by 1909, there were 40,000 Japanese immigrants working in

Anti-Chinese Racism This cartoon from the magazine *Puck*, drawn by James A. Wales during the 1880 presidential campaign, offers vivid evidence of the widespread and virulent American prejudice against Chinese immigrants. Republican candidate James Garfield, on the left, and Democratic candidate Winfield Scott Hancock, on the right, both nail up their party's "planks" in favor of restricting Chinese immigration. Asian immigrants were not permitted to apply for naturalization as U.S. citizens; they thus had no vote and no power in politics. Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, with bipartisan support, soon after Garfield's victory. Library of Congress

agriculture, 10,000 on railroads, and 4,000 in canneries. In 1906, the U.S. attorney general ruled that Japanese and Koreans, like Chinese immigrants, were barred from citizenship.

The Chinese Exclusion Act created the legal foundations on which far-reaching exclusionary policies would be built in the 1920s and after (Chapter 21). To enforce the law, Congress and the courts gave sweeping new powers to immigration officials, transforming the Chinese into America's first illegal immigrants. Drawn, like others, by the promise of jobs in America's expanding economy, Chinese men stowed away on ships or walked across the borders. Disguising themselves as Mexicans — who at that time could freely enter the United States — some perished in the desert as they tried to reach California.

Some would-be immigrants, known as paper sons, relied on Chinese residents in the United States, who generated documents falsely claiming the newcomers as American-born children. Paper sons memorized pages of information about their supposed relatives and hometowns. The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 helped their cause by destroying all the port's records. "That was a big chance for a lot of Chinese," remembered one immigrant. "They forged themselves certificates saying they could go back to China and bring back four or five sons, just like that!" Such persistence ensured that, despite the harsh policies of Chinese exclusion, the flow of Asian immigrants never fully ceased.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the long-term consequences of the Chinese Exclusion Act for U.S. immigration policy?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What factors encouraged immigrants to seek entry into the United States, and how did their experiences differ?

Labor Gets Organized

In the American political system, labor has typically been weak. Industrial workers cluster in cities, near factories and jobs; compared with small towns and rural areas, urban areas have been underrepresented in bodies such as the U.S. Senate and the presidential electoral college, in which representation is calculated by state, rather than (or in addition to) individuals. This problem became acute in the era of industrialization, and it has lingered. Even today, the twenty-two U.S. senators elected from Alaska, Idaho, Iowa, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wyoming represent a smaller number of people, *combined*, than the two U.S. senators who represent heavily urban California.

Faced with this obstacle, labor advocates could adopt one of two strategies. First, they could try to make political alliances with sympathetic rural voters who shared their problems. Second, they could reject politics and create narrowly focused trade unions to negotiate directly with employers. In general, labor advocates emphasized the first strategy between the 1870s and the early 1890s, and the latter in the early twentieth century. Across this era, while industrialization made America increasingly rich and powerful, it also brought large-scale conflict between labor and capital.

The Emergence of a Labor Movement

The problem of industrial labor entered Americans' consciousness dramatically with the **Great Railroad Strike of 1877**. Protesting steep wage cuts amid the depression that had begun in 1873, thousands of railroad workers walked off the job. Broader issues were at stake. "The officers of the road," reported strike leader Barney Donahue in upstate New York, "were bound to break the spirit of the men, and any or all organizations they belonged to." He believed railroad companies wanted to block workers from "all fellowship for mutual aid." The strike brought rail travel and commerce to a halt. Thousands of people poured into the streets of Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Chicago to protest the economic injustice wrought by railroads — as well as fires caused by stray sparks from locomotives and injuries and deaths on train tracks in urban neighborhoods. When Pennsylvania's governor sent state militia to break the strike, Pittsburgh crowds reacted by burning railroad property and overturning locomotives. Similar clashes between police and protesters occurred in other cities across the country, from Galveston, Texas, to San Francisco.

The 1877 strike left more than fifty people dead and caused $40 million worth of damage, primarily to railroad property. "It seemed as if the whole social and political structure was on the very brink of ruin," wrote one journalist. For their role in the strike, many railroad workers were fired and blacklisted: railroad companies circulated their names on a "do not hire" list to prevent them from getting any work in the industry. In the aftermath of the strike, the U.S. government created the National Guard, intended not to protect Americans against foreign invasion but to enforce order at home.

Watching the upheavals of industrialization, some radical thinkers pointed out its impact on workers. Among the most influential was Henry George, whose book *Progress and Poverty* (1879) was a best-seller for decades after publication. George warned that Americans had been too optimistic about the impact of railroads and manufacturing, which they hoped would — after an initial period of turmoil — bring prosperity to all. George believed the emerging industrial order meant permanent poverty. Industrialization, he wrote, was driving a wedge through society, lifting the fortunes of professionals and the middle class but pushing the working class down by forcing them into deskilled, dangerous, and low-paid labor. George's proposed solution, a federal "single tax" on landholdings, did not win widespread support, but his insightful diagnosis of the problem helped encourage radical movements for economic reform.

Many rural people believed they faced the same problems as industrial workers. In the new economy, they found themselves at the mercy of large corporations, from equipment dealers who sold them harvesters and plows to railroads and grain elevators that shipped and stored their products. Though farmers appeared to have more independence than corporate employees, many felt trapped in a web of middlemen who chipped away at their profits while international forces robbed them of decision-making power.

Farmers denounced not only corporations but also the previous two decades of government efforts to foster economic development — policies that now seemed wrongheaded. Farmers' advocates argued that high tariffs forced rural families to pay too much for basic necessities while failing to protect America's great export crops, cotton and wheat. At the same time, they charged, Republican financial policies benefitted banks, not borrowers. Farmers blamed railroad companies for taking government grants and subsidies to build but then charging unequal rates that privileged big manufacturers. From the farmers' point of view, public money had been used to build giant railroad companies that turned around and exploited ordinary people.

The most prominent rural protest group of the early postwar decades was the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, founded in 1867. Like industrial

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the experiences of farmers and workers that led them to organize to confront business and government leaders in the late nineteenth century.

Farmers' Political Message This 1875 lithograph illustrates "producerism," the pride of farmers in the value of their labor. The farmer looms large in comparison with other representative men of the new economy. Depicted clockwise from the top left are a lawyer, the U.S. president, a military officer, a minister, two merchants, a doctor, a bond and stock broker, and a railroad owner. Farmers' particular contempt for middlemen and speculators is revealed in the slogan of the "general brokerage" employee: "I fleece you all." Presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan represented a similar agrarian vision in his famous 1896 "Cross of Gold" speech, warning that if the nation's farms failed, its cities would also collapse. Library of Congress

workers, Grange farmers sought to counter the rising power of corporate middlemen through cooperation and mutual aid. Local Grange halls brought farm families together for recreation and conversation. The Grange set up its own banks, insurance companies, and grain elevators, and, in Iowa, even a farm implement factory. Many Grange members also advocated political action, building independent local parties that ran on anticorporate platforms.

During the 1870s depression, Grangers, labor advocates, and local workingmen's parties forged a national political movement, the **Greenback-Labor Party**. In the South, Greenbackers protested the collapse of Reconstruction and urged that every man's vote be protected. Across the country, Greenbackers advocated laws to regulate corporations and enforce an eight-hour workday to reduce long, grueling work hours. They called for the federal government to print more greenback dollars and increase the amount of money in circulation; this, they argued, would stimulate the economy, create jobs, and help borrowers by allowing them to pay off debts in dollars that, over time, slowly decreased in value. Greenbackers, like many industrial labor leaders, subscribed to the

ideal of **producerism**: they dismissed middlemen, bankers, lawyers, and investors as idlers who lived off the sweat of people who worked with their hands. As a Pittsburgh worker put it in an 1878 poem, it was not the money-handlers or executives at the top but the "noble sons of Labor . . . who with bone, and brain, and fiber make the nation's wealth."

The Greenback movement radicalized thousands of farmers, miners, and industrial workers. In Alabama's coal-mining regions, black and white miners cooperated in the party. Texas boasted seventy African American Greenback clubs. In 1878, Greenback-Labor candidates won more than a million votes, and the party elected fifteen congressmen nationwide. In the Midwest, Greenback pressure helped trigger a wave of economic regulatory actions known as **Granger laws**. By the early 1880s, twenty-nine states had created railroad commissions to supervise railroad rates and policies; others appointed commissions to regulate insurance and utility companies. Such early regulatory efforts were not always effective, but they were crucial starting points for reform. While short-lived, the Greenback movement created the foundation for more sustained efforts to regulate big business.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did the methods used by railroad workers to protest their working conditions compare with the tactics employed by the Greenbackers, who also sought reform?

The Knights of Labor

The most important union of the late nineteenth century, the **Knights of Labor**, was founded in 1869 as a secret society of garment workers in Philadelphia. In 1878, as the Greenback movement reached its height, some Knights served as delegates to Greenback-Labor conventions. Like Grangers, Knights believed that ordinary people needed control over the enterprises in which they worked. They proposed to set up shops owned by employees, transforming America into what they called a cooperative commonwealth. In keeping with this broad-based vision, the order practiced open membership, irrespective of race, gender, or field of employment — though, like other labor groups, the Knights excluded Chinese immigrants.

The Knights had a strong political bent. They believed that only electoral action could bring about many of their goals, such as government regulation of corporations and laws that required employers to negotiate during strikes. Their 1878 platform denounced the "aggressiveness of great capitalists and corporations." "If we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life," the Knights warned, "a check [must] be placed upon unjust accumulation, and the power for evil of aggregated wealth." Among their demands were workplace safety laws, prohibition of child labor, a federal tax on the nation's highest incomes, public ownership of telegraphs and railroads, and government recognition of workers' right to organize. The Knights also advocated personal responsibility and self-discipline. Their leader, Terence Powderly, warned that the abuse of liquor robbed as many workers of their wages as did ruthless employers.

Growing rapidly in the 1880s, the Knights' union was sprawling and decentralized. It included not only skilled craftsmen such as carpenters, ironworkers, and beer brewers but also textile workers in Rhode Island, domestic workers in Georgia, and tenant farmers in Arkansas. Knights organized workingmen's parties to advocate a host of reforms, ranging from an eight-hour workday to cheaper streetcar fares and better garbage collection in urban areas. One of their key innovations was hiring a full-time women's organizer, Leonora Barry. An Irish American widow who was

The Knights of Labor The caption on this union card — "By Industry we Thrive" — expresses the core principle of the Knights of Labor that everything of value is the product of honest labor. The two figures are ideal representations of that "producerist" belief — handsome workers, respectably attired, doing productive labor. A picture of the Grand Master Workman, Terence V. Powderly, hangs on the wall, benignly watching them. Picture Research Consultant

forced into factory work after her husband's death, Barry became a labor advocate out of horror at the conditions she experienced on the job. To the discomfort of some male Knights, she investigated and exposed widespread evidence of sexual harassment on the job.

The Knights' growth in the 1880s showed the grassroots basis of labor activism. Powderly tried to avoid strikes, which he saw as costly and risky. But the organization's greatest growth resulted from spontaneous, grassroots striking. In 1885, thousands of workers on the Southwest Railroad walked off the job to protest wage cuts; afterward, they telegraphed the Knights and asked to be admitted as members. The strike enhanced the Knights' reputation among workers and built membership to 750,000. By the following year, local assemblies had sprung up in every state and almost every county in the United States.

Just as the Knights reached this pinnacle of influence, an episode of violence brought them down. In 1886, a protest at the McCormick reaper works in Chicago led to a clash with police that left four strikers dead. (Three unions, including a Knights of Labor assembly, had struck, but the Knights had reached an agreement and returned to work. Only the machinists' union remained on strike when the incident occurred.) Chicago was a hotbed of **anarchism**, the revolutionary advocacy of a stateless society. Local anarchists, many of them German immigrants, called a protest meeting the next day, May 4, 1886, at **Haymarket Square**. When police tried to disperse the crowd, someone threw a bomb that killed several policemen. Officers responded with gunfire. In the trial that followed, eight anarchists were found guilty of murder and criminal conspiracy. All were convicted, not on any definitive evidence that one of them threw the bomb (the bomber's identity remains unknown) but on the basis of their antigovernment speeches. Four of the eight were executed by hanging, one committed suicide in prison, and the others received long sentences.

The Haymarket violence profoundly damaged the American labor movement. Seizing on resulting antiunion hysteria, employers took the offensive. They broke strikes with mass arrests, tied up the Knights in expensive court proceedings, and forced workers to sign contracts pledging not to join labor organizations. The Knights of Labor never recovered. In the view of the press and many prosperous Americans, they were tainted by their alleged links with anarchism. Struggles between industrialists and workers had created bitter divides.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors contributed to the rapid rise of the Knights of Labor? To its decline?

Farmers and Workers: The Cooperative Alliance

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of farmers' organizations on state and federal laws to regulate big business.

In the aftermath of Haymarket, the Knights' cooperative vision did not entirely fade. A new rural movement, the **Farmers' Alliance**, arose to take up many of the issues that Grangers and Greenbackers had earlier sought to address. Founded in Texas during the depression of the 1870s, the Farmers' Alliance spread across the plains states and the South, becoming by the late 1880s the largest farmer-based movement in American history. A separate Colored Farmers' Alliance arose to represent rural African Americans. The harsh conditions farmers were enduring — including drought in the West and plunging global prices for corn, cotton, and wheat — intensified the movement's appeal. Traveling Alliance lecturers exhorted farmers to "stand as a great conservative body against . . . the growing corruption of wealth and power."

Like earlier movements, Alliance leaders pinned their initial hopes on cooperative stores and exchanges that would circumvent middlemen. Cooperatives gathered farmers' orders and bought in bulk at wholesale prices, passing the savings along. Alliance cooperatives achieved notable victories in the late 1880s. The Dakota Alliance, for example, offered members cheap hail insurance and low prices on machinery and farm supplies. The Texas Alliance established a huge cooperative enterprise to market cotton and provide farmers with cheap loans. When cotton prices fell further in 1891,

Industrial Violence: A Dynamited Mine, 1894 Strikes in the western mining regions pitted ruthless owners, bent on control of their property and workforce, against fiercely independent miners who knew how to use dynamite. Some of the bloodiest conflicts occurred in Colorado mining towns, where the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) had strong support and a series of Republican governors sent state militia to back the mine owners. Violence broke out repeatedly between the early 1890s and the 1910s. At Victor, Colorado, in May 1894, as dozens of armed sheriffs' deputies closed in on angry WFM members occupying the Strong Mine in protest, the miners blew up the mine's shaft house and boiler. Showered with debris, the deputies boarded the next train out of town. Because Colorado then had a Populist governor, Davis Waite, who sympathized with the miners and ordered the deputies to disband, this strike was one of the few in which owners and miners reached a peaceful settlement — a temporary victory for the union. Denver Public Library, Western History Collection/Bridgeman Image

however, the Texas exchange failed. Other cooperatives also suffered from chronic underfunding and lack of credit, and they faced hostility from merchants and lenders they tried to circumvent.

The Texas Farmers' Alliance thus proposed a federal price-support system for farm products, modeled on the national banks. Under this plan, the federal government would hold crops in public warehouses and issue loans on their value until they could be profitably sold. When Democrats — still wary of big-government schemes — declared the idea too radical, Alliances in Texas, Kansas, South Dakota, and elsewhere decided to create a new political party, the Populists (see Chapter 19). In this venture, the Alliance cooperated with the weakened Knights of Labor, seeking to use rural voters' substantial clout on behalf of urban workers who shared their vision.

By this time, farmer-labor coalitions had made a considerable impact on state politics. But state laws and commissions were proving ineffective against corporations of national and even global scope. It was difficult for Wisconsin, for instance, to enforce new laws against a railroad company whose lines might stretch from Chicago to Seattle and whose corporate headquarters might be in Minnesota. Militant farmers and labor advocates demanded federal action.

In 1887, responding to this pressure, Congress and President Grover Cleveland passed two landmark laws. The Hatch Act provided federal funding for agricultural research and education, meeting farmers' demands for government aid to agriculture.

The **Interstate Commerce Act** counteracted a Supreme Court decision of the previous year, *Wabash v. Illinois* (1886), that had struck down states' authority to regulate railroads. The act created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), charged with investigating interstate shipping, forcing railroads to make their rates public, and suing in court when necessary to make companies reduce "unjust or unreasonable" rates.

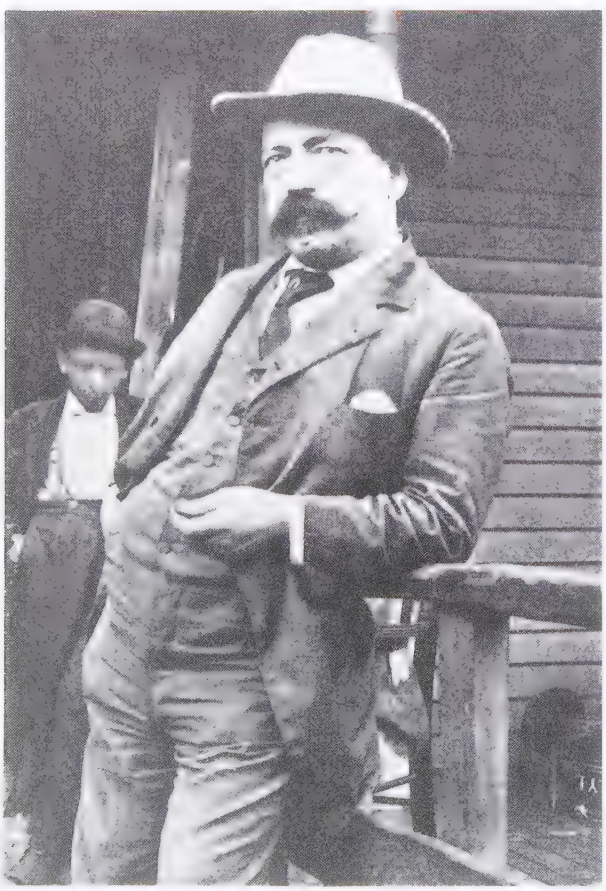
Though creation of the ICC was a direct response to farmer-labor demands, its final form represented a compromise. Radical leaders wanted Congress to establish a direct set of rules under which railroads must operate. If a railroad did not comply, any citizen could take the company to court; if the new rules triggered bankruptcy, the railroad could convert to public ownership. But getting such a plan through Congress proved impossible. Lawmakers more sympathetic to business called instead for an expert commission to oversee the railroad industry. In a pattern that repeated frequently over the next few decades, the commission model proved more acceptable to the majority of congressmen.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why did farmers and industrial workers cooperate, and what political objectives did they achieve?

The ICC faced formidable challenges. Though the new law forbade railroads from reaching secret rate-setting agreements, evidence was difficult to gather and secret "pooling" continued. A hostile Supreme Court also undermined the commission's powers. In a series of sixteen decisions over the two decades after the ICC was created, the Court sided with railroads fifteen times. The justices delivered a particularly hard blow in 1897 when they ruled that the ICC had no power to interfere with shipping rates. Nonetheless, the ICC's existence was a major achievement. In the early twentieth century, Congress would strengthen the commission's powers, and the ICC would become one of the most powerful federal agencies charged with overseeing private business.



Samuel Gompers, c. 1890s Samuel Gompers (1850–1924) was one of the founders of the American Federation of Labor, and its president for nearly forty years. A company detective took this photograph when the labor leader was visiting striking miners in West Virginia, an area where mine operators resisted unions with special fierceness. Labor in America Collection, University of Maryland Libraries

Another Path: The American Federation of Labor

While the Knights of Labor exerted political pressure, other workers pursued a different strategy. In the 1870s, printers, ironworkers, bricklayers, and other skilled workers organized nationwide trade unions. These "brotherhoods" focused on the everyday needs of workers in skilled occupations. Trade unions sought a closed shop — with all jobs reserved for union members — that kept out lower-wage workers. Union rules specified terms of work, sometimes in minute detail. Many unions emphasized mutual aid. Because working on the railroads was a high-risk occupation, for example, brotherhoods of engineers, brakemen, and firemen pooled contributions into funds that provided accident and death benefits. Above all, trade unionism asserted craft workers' rights as active decision-makers in the workplace, not just cogs in a management-run machine.

In the early 1880s, many trade unionists joined the Knights of Labor coalition. But the aftermath of the Haymarket violence persuaded them to leave and create the separate **American Federation of Labor** (AFL). The man who led them was Samuel Gompers, a Dutch-Jewish cigar maker whose family had immigrated to New York in 1863. Gompers headed the AFL for nearly forty years. He believed the Knights relied too much on electoral politics, where victories were likely to be limited, and he did not share their sweeping critique of

capitalism. The AFL, made up of relatively skilled and well-paid workers, was less interested in challenging the corporate order than in winning a larger share of its rewards.

Having gone to work at age ten, Gompers always contended that what he missed at school he more than made up for in the shop, where cigar makers paid one of their members to read to them while they worked. As a young worker-intellectual, Gompers gravitated to New York's radical circles, where he participated in lively debates about which strategies workingmen should pursue. Partly out of these debates, and partly from his own experience in the Cigar Makers Union, Gompers hammered out a doctrine that he called pure-and-simple unionism. *Pure* referred to membership: strictly limited to workers, organized by craft and occupation, with no reliance on outside advisors or allies. *Simple* referred to goals: only those that immediately benefitted workers — better wages, hours, and working conditions. Pure-and-simple unionists distrusted politics. Their aim was collective bargaining with employers.

On one level, pure-and-simple unionism worked. The AFL was small at first, but by 1904 its membership rose to more than two million. In the early twentieth century, it became the nation's leading voice for workers, lasting far longer than movements like the Knights of Labor. The AFL's strategy — personified by Gompers — was well suited to an era when Congress and the courts were hostile to labor. By the 1910s, the political climate would become more responsive; at that later moment, Gompers would soften his antipolitical stance and join the battle for new labor laws (Chapter 19).

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the leadership, goals, membership, and methods of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor.

What Gompers gave up most crucially, in the meantime, was the inclusiveness of the Knights. By comparison, the AFL was far less welcoming to women and blacks; it included mostly skilled craftsmen. There was little room in the AFL for department-store clerks and other service workers, much less the farm tenants and domestic servants whom the Knights had organized. Despite the AFL's success among skilled craftsmen, the narrowness of its base was a problem that would come back to haunt the labor movement later on. Gompers, however, saw that corporate titans and their political allies held tremendous power, and he advocated what he saw as the most practical defensive plan. In the meantime, the upheaval wrought by industrialization spread far beyond the workplace, transforming every aspect of American life.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **How did the key institutions and goals of the labor movement change between 1877 and 1900, and what gains and losses resulted from these shifts?**

SUMMARY

The end of the Civil War ushered in the era of American big business. Exploiting the continent's vast resources, vertically integrated corporations emerged as the dominant business form, and giant companies built near monopolies in some sectors of the economy. Corporations devised new modes of production, distribution, and marketing, extending their reach through the department store, the mail-order catalog, and the new advertising industry. These developments laid the groundwork for mass consumer culture. They also offered emerging jobs in management, sales, and office work.

Rapid industrialization drew immigrants from around the world. Until the 1920s, most European and Latin American immigrants were welcome to enter the United States, though they often endured harsh conditions after they arrived. Asian immigrants, by contrast, faced severe discrimination. The Chinese Exclusion

Act blocked all Chinese laborers from coming to the United States; it was later extended to other Asians, and it built the legal framework for broader forms of exclusion.

Nationwide movements for workers' rights arose in response to industrialization. During the 1870s and 1880s, coalitions of workers and farmers, notably the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' Alliance, sought political solutions to what they saw as large corporations' exploitation of working people. Pressure from such movements led to the first major attempts to regulate corporations, such as the federal Interstate Commerce Act. Radical protest movements were weakened, however, after public condemnation of anarchist violence in 1886 at Chicago's Haymarket Square. Meanwhile, trade unions such as the American Federation of Labor organized skilled workers and negotiated directly with employers, becoming the most popular form of labor organization in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER 16 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What new business practices arose in the late-nineteenth-century United States, and what impact did they have on employees, consumers, and the environment?
2. What factors encouraged immigrants to seek entry into the United States, and how did their experiences differ?
3. How did the key institutions and goals of the labor movement change between 1877 and 1900, and what gains and losses resulted from these shifts?
4. Review the events listed under "Politics and Power," "Migration and Settlement," and "Work, Exchange, and Technology" on the thematic timeline on pages 494–495. How did industrialization as an *economic* process transform American society and politics?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Homestead lockout (p. 496)
Gospel of Wealth (p. 498)
management revolution (p. 499)
vertical integration (p. 499)
horizontal integration (p. 500)
trust (p. 500)
deskilling (p. 504)
scientific management (p. 505)
New South (p. 508)
Chinese Exclusion Act (p. 515)
Great Railroad Strike of 1877 (p. 517)
Greenback-Labor Party (p. 518)
producerism (p. 519)
Granger laws (p. 519)
Knights of Labor (p. 519)
anarchism (p. 520)
Haymarket Square (p. 520)
Farmers' Alliance (p. 520)
Interstate Commerce Act (p. 522)
American Federation of Labor (p. 522)

Key People

Andrew Carnegie (p. 498)
Gustavus Swift (p. 499)
John D. Rockefeller (p. 499)
Henry George (p. 517)
Terence Powderly (p. 519)
Leonora Barry (p. 519)
Samuel Gompers (p. 522)

Key Academic Terms

ameliorate (p. 493)
rebate (p. 500)
vanguard (p. 503)
stenographer (p. 503)
niche (p. 515)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Compare the two phases of industrialization experienced in the nineteenth-century United States: one before the Civil War (Chapter 8) and one afterward (discussed in this chapter). What factors drove each period of economic expansion? What kinds of new industries arose, and in which regions and locations? In what ways were workers' experiences similar in the two periods, and how did they differ? What political challenges arose with each wave of industrialization?
2. Return to the chapter-opening photograph (p. 497), taken in the aftermath of a terrible mining accident in Pennsylvania. Imagine, first, that the young man in the middle of the picture, facing the camera, is the nephew of an Irish immigrant miner who was killed in the explosion. In the voice of this young man, write a letter to the editor of the local paper explaining what lessons Americans should take from the disaster.

   Now imagine instead that the young man has enrolled in business school to become a manager; he is the son of a Scottish-born executive in the mining company, and Andrew Carnegie is his hero. In the voice of this young man, write a letter to the editor explaining what lessons Americans should take from the disaster.

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 498 for help in answering the question below.

In the era of industrialization, what events prompted the rise of labor unions and other reform groups that called for stronger government responses to corporate power? Before 1900, what key events or turning points marked reformers' successes and failures?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The recent alarming development and aggression of aggregated wealth, which, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses, render it imperative, if we desire to enjoy the blessings of the government bequeathed to us by the founders of the republic, that a check should be placed upon its power and unjust accumulation, and a system adopted which will secure to the laborer the fruits of his toil; and as this much desired object can only be accomplished by the thorough unification of labor . . . we have formed the Industrial Brotherhood, with a view of securing the organization and direction, by co-operative effort of power of the industrial classes . . . calling upon all who believe in securing 'the greatest good for the greatest number,' to aid and assist us. . . ."
>
> Terence Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, 1889

1. The ideas of Powderly as expressed in the passage above had the most in common with the ideas of which of the following?
   a. The Populist Party
   b. Advocates for a "New South"
   c. The Whig Party
   d. The Gospel of Wealth
2. Which of the following developments represents a continuation of the ideas described in the passage at left?
   a. Supreme Court decisions regarding reforms from 1900 to 1910
   b. Laissez-faire policies advocated by presidents in the 1920s
   c. New Deal programs of the 1930s
   d. Deregulation established by Ronald Reagan in the 1980s
3. The ideas expressed in the excerpt were most directly a response to the
   a. decreasing prices of many goods as the real wages of workers increased.
   b. increasing ethnic diversity of an expanding workforce.
   c. greater concentration of wealth through consolidation of corporations into trusts.
   d. growing power of political machines in urban areas.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "It is commonly admitted that while a man or woman who does some small thing in the manufacture of an article . . . may become marvelously expert, the operator runs the risk of becoming more or less of a machine . . . the minute division of labor that makes such wonders possible brutalizes the laborer, and . . . if the girl made the whole article instead of doing one operation out of fifty, she would gain in intelligence if not in expertness. From an economic, or rather an industrial[,] point of view, however, manufacturing has to be carried on at present with the greatest subdivision possible. Fierce competition and a small margin of profit demand it."
>
> Philip Hubert, *The Business of a Factory*, 1897

4. The developments in the passage played the greatest role in inspiring a movement to pass the
   a. 13th Amendment.
   b. 14th Amendment.
   c. 18th Amendment.
   d. 19th Amendment.

5. The process described in the passage at left most directly led to controversies in the late nineteenth century over
   a. the wages and working conditions of workers.
   b. government intervention during economic downturns.
   c. the political implementation of the Social Gospel.
   d. urban neighborhoods segregated by ethnicity and class.

6. Which of the following would be most supportive of the ideas expressed in the passage?
   a. Populists
   b. The Gospel of Wealth
   c. Members of the American Protective Association
   d. The Knights of Labor

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "The visible hand of management replaced the invisible hand of market forces. . . . [S]afe, regular, reliable movement of goods and passengers, as well as the continuing maintenance and repair of locomotives, rolling stock, and track, roadbed, stations, roundhouses, and other equipment, required . . . special skills and training which could only be commanded by a full-time salaried manager. . . . This career orientation and the specialized nature of tasks gave the railroad managers an increasingly professional outlook on their work."
>
> Alfred D. Chandler Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business*, 1977

> "[Railroads] were not the harbingers of order, rationality, and effective large-scale organization. . . . Managers blamed their failures on accidents and contingent events, but they also used them to cover their mistakes and claim quite fortuitous results as the fruits of their planning. . . . [The railroad corporations] not only failed to institute the order they desired; they also just plain failed and repeatedly needed rescuing by the state and the courts. . . . The transcontinental railroads are sometimes fetishized as the ultimate manifestation of modern rationality, but, when seen from within, these astonishingly mismanaged railroads are the anteroom to mystery."
>
> Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*, 2011

1. Using the two excerpts on the previous page, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Chandler's and White's historical interpretations of corporate American railroads in the second half of the nineteenth century.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Chandler's argument.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support White's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE specific historical change in the United States production of goods between 1865 and 1900.
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical change in the living patterns of communities in the United States between 1865 and 1900.
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of immigration on the United States economy between 1865 and 1900.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain which ONE of the following developments was the most significant factor contributing to political divisions in the United States between 1865 and 1900.
      - Tariff policy
      - Currency issues
      - Political machines
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that supports your argument in (a).
   c. Briefly explain a specific historical reason that ONE of the other options represents a less significant factor contributing to political divisions in the United States between 1865 and 1900.

CHAPTER 17

Making Modern American Culture

1880–1917

Science and Faith

Darwinism and Its Critics

Religion: Diversity and Innovation

Realism in the Arts

Commerce and Culture

Consumer Spaces

Masculinity and the Rise of Sports

The Great Outdoors

Women, Men, and the Solitude of Self

Changing Families

Education

Toward Women's Emancipation

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How did the changes wrought by industrialization shape Americans' identities, beliefs, and culture?

Between 1888 and 1900, American archaeologists conducted their first explorations in what is now Iraq, at the site of the ancient city of Nippur. Leaders of the expedition included Protestant ministers and the editor of the national *Sunday-School Times*. Their goal was to practice biblical archaeology: to confirm the truth of Old Testament accounts of Babylon. As one participant wrote, they sought to blend a "spirit of Christian enlightenment" with modern "scientific inquiry." The expeditions unearthed thousands of **cuneiform** tablets, which Jewish and Christian **linguists** and anthropologists used to reveal much about ancient Assyrian society. Some investigators found that these discoveries strengthened their faith in biblical truth. Others were not so sure.

As shown by the Babylonian expeditions, a passion for scientific inquiry swept the late-nineteenth-century United States, often inspired by religious teachings but ultimately calling into question many tenets of faith. Between the 1870s and the 1910s, a stunning series of scientific discoveries — from dinosaur fossils to telescopic observations of nebulae — challenged long-held beliefs. Biological theories of evolution prompted fierce debate, but so did the effects of technological innovations such as medical vaccines and electric chairs. While science gained popularity, religion hardly faded. In fact, religious diversity grew, as immigrants brought new faiths to the United States and Protestants responded with innovations of their own.

At the same time, industrialization reshaped class identities and generated an alluring consumer culture. Lavish urban department stores catered to middle-class customers, while working-class men and women enjoyed vaudeville shows. Americans of all backgrounds and classes mingled at baseball games and summer amusement parks. An older ethos of duty, self-restraint, and moral uplift gave way to expectations of leisure and fun. As African Americans and women claimed a right to education and public space — the opportunity to shop, dine, and travel freely — they built powerful reform movements. At the same time, the pressures of the industrial workplace led to aggressive calls for masculine fitness, exemplified by the rise of sports. Here, too, scientific research sparked debates over the body, gender, and race. Americans found themselves living in a modern world — one in which many of their grandparents' beliefs and practices might no longer apply.

Tourist Postcard of the Electric Tower, 1901 The Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, featured displays and exhibits from across the Western Hemisphere. Like other world's fairs it celebrated technology, and the 389-foot tower, crowned with "The Goddess of Light," became what one observer called a "fitting . . . focal point" for "the Age of Electricity." Inside the tower were restaurants and a promenade near the top from which viewers could view the Exposition grounds. The Exposition's director of sculpture, influenced by Social Darwinism, used the fair's layout to illustrate "the intellectual progress of man," with the Tower of Light representing "the culmination of man's intellectual and physical mastery of Nature."

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1870s** ▸ Social Darwinism gains growing acceptance
- **1873** ▸ Comstock Act
- **1874** ▸ Woman's Christian Temperance Union founded
- **1876** ▸ Baseball's National League founded
  ▸ Appalachian Mountain Club founded
- **1879** ▸ Salvation Army established in the United States
- **1881** ▸ Tuskegee Institute founded
- **1885** ▸ Mississippi State College for Women founded
- **1887** ▸ American Protective Association founded to oppose immigration
- **1890** ▸ National American Woman Suffrage Association founded
  ▸ Daughters of the American Revolution founded
- **1892** ▸ Elizabeth Cady Stanton delivers "solitude of self" speech to Congress
  ▸ John Muir founds Sierra Club
- **1893** ▸ Chicago World's Columbian Exposition
- **1894** ▸ United Daughters of the Confederacy founded
- **1895** ▸ Booker T. Washington delivers Atlanta Compromise address
- **1896** ▸ National Association of Colored Women founded
  ▸ Charles Sheldon publishes *In His Steps*
  ▸ *Plessy v. Ferguson* legalizes "separate but equal" doctrine
- **1900** ▸ Lacey Act protects wildlife
- **1903** ▸ First World Series
  ▸ First National Wildlife Refuge established
- **1906** ▸ Antiquities Act
- **1913** ▸ Armory Show of modern art held in New York City
- **1915** ▸ Peak of foreign missions activity by American Protestant churches
- **1916** ▸ National Park Service created

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Science and Faith

In the early nineteenth century, most Americans believed the world was about six thousand years old. No one knew what lay beyond the solar system. By the 1910s, **paleontologists** were classifying Jurassic dinosaurs, astronomers had identified distant galaxies, and physicists were beginning to measure the speed of light. Many scientists and ordinary Americans accepted Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, though exactly how "natural selection" worked — and its implications for religious belief — remained contested.

Scientific discoveries received widespread publicity through a series of great world's fairs, most famously Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, held (a year late) to mark the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's first voyage to America. At the fairgrounds, visitors strolled through enormous buildings that displayed the latest inventions in industry, machinery, and transportation. They marveled over steam engines, weather-forecasting equipment, and moving sidewalks. At dusk they gathered to watch the fair buildings illuminated with strings of electric lights. One observer called the exposition "a vast and wonderful university of the arts and sciences."

It is hardly surprising, amid these achievements, that "fact worship" became a central feature of American intellectual life. Researchers in many fields argued that one could rely only on hard facts to understand the "laws of life." In their enthusiasm, some economists and **sociologists** rejected all social reform as sentimental. Fiction writers and artists kept a more humane emphasis, but they made use of similar methods — close observation and attention to real-life experience — to create works of realism. Meanwhile, other Americans struggled to reconcile scientific discoveries with religious faith.

Darwinism and Its Critics

Evolution — the idea that species are not fixed, but ever changing — was not a simple idea on which all scientists agreed. In his immensely influential 1859 book, *On the Origin of Species*, British naturalist Charles Darwin argued that all creatures struggle to

survive. When individual members of a species are born with random genetic mutations that better suit them for their environment — for example, camouflage coloring for a moth — these characteristics, since they are genetically transmissible, become dominant in future generations. Many scientists rejected this theory of natural selection. They followed a line of thinking laid out by French biologist Jean Baptiste Lamarck, who argued, unlike Darwin, that individual animals or plants could acquire transmittable traits within a single lifetime. A rhinoceros that fought fiercely, in Lamarck's view, could build up a stronger horn; its offspring would then be born with that trait.

Evolution and Capitalism Darwin himself disapproved of the word *evolution* (which does not appear in his book) because it implied upward progress. In his view, natural selection was blind: environments and species changed randomly. Others were less scrupulous about drawing sweeping conclusions from Darwin's work. In the 1870s, British philosopher Herbert Spencer spun out an elaborate theory of how human society advanced through ruthless competitive struggle, resulting in "survival of the fittest." He applied this particularly to capitalism and industry.

The doctrine of **Social Darwinism**, as Spencer's idea became (confusingly) known, found its American champion in William Graham Sumner, a sociology professor at Yale. Competition, said Sumner, was a law of nature, like gravity. Who were the fittest? "Millionaires," Sumner declared. Their success showed they were "naturally selected." Sumner's views bolstered the pride and self-justification of industrial titans such as Andrew Carnegie, who loved Herbert Spencer's works and invited him to tour Pittsburgh. (Spencer was not impressed.) "The concentration of capital is necessary for meeting the demands of our day," was the message Carnegie took from Spencer. Similarly, John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil declared that "the growth of a large business is merely a survival of the fittest. This is not an evil tendency of business. It is merely the working out of a law of nature and a law of God."

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of Darwin's ideas on society and the business world is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Even in the heyday of Social Darwinism, Spencer and Sumner's views were controversial. Many thinkers objected to the application of biological findings to the realm of economics and society. They pointed out that Darwin had observed finches and tortoises, not human institutions. Sociologist Lester Frank Ward argued that humanity "progresses through the *protection* of the weak," not through ruthless competition. "Man," he wrote, "through his intelligence, has labored successfully to resist the law of nature." Ward suggested, tongue in cheek, that if Americans subscribed to a doctrine of "survival of the fittest," they should abolish police and fire departments, irrigation works, and flood control. Social Darwinism, such critics argued, was simply an excuse for the worst excesses of industrialization. By the early twentieth century, intellectuals revolted against Sumner and his allies (AP® Analyzing Voices).

Eugenics Meanwhile, though, some of the most dubious applications of evolutionary ideas were codified into new reproductive laws based on **eugenics**, a so-called science of human breeding. Eugenicists argued that mentally deficient people should be prevented from reproducing. They proposed to sterilize those deemed "unfit," especially residents of state asylums for the insane or mentally disabled. In early-twentieth-century America, almost half of the states enacted eugenics laws. By the time eugenics subsided in the 1930s, tens of thousands of people had been sterilized, with California and Virginia taking the lead. Women in Puerto Rico and other U.S. imperial possessions (see Chapter 20) also suffered from eugenic policies.

Advocates of eugenics had a broad impact. Because they associated mental unfitness with "lower races" — including people of African, Asian, and Native American descent — their arguments lent support to Jim Crow segregation laws and racial discrimination. In a wave of legislation beginning in the 1870s and peaking in the 1910s, most states in the South and West passed laws prohibiting interracial

William Graham Sumner and W. E. B. Du Bois on Heredity and Success

In an age of industrialization and bitter class conflict, the idea that human society advanced through "survival of the fittest," referred to by historians as "Social Darwinism," generated fierce debate. Was growing wealth inequality a sign of progress or a menace to democracy? How much did genetics shape individuals' character and achievement? What role did environmental factors play, and what policies should government pursue (or not) when confronting widespread poverty? Leading thinkers offered contrasting answers.

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER

What Social Classes Owe to Each Other, 1883

William Graham Sumner, a professor of sociology at Yale, was a leading U.S. proponent of individualism and Social Darwinism. His book *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* argued that wealth and poverty resulted from inherent talent, or lack thereof.

SOURCE: William Graham Sumner, *What Social Classes Owe to Each Other* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1883), 43–57.

"There is an old ecclesiastical prejudice in favor of the poor and against the rich. . . . We all agree that he is a good member of society who works his way up from poverty to wealth, but as soon as he has worked his way up we begin to regard him with suspicion. . . . Think of the piles of rubbish that one has read about corners, and watering stocks, and selling futures! Undoubtedly there are, in connection with each of these things, cases of fraud, swindling, and other financial crimes; that is to say, the greed and selfishness of men are perpetual. . . . The criminal law needs to be improved to meet new forms of crime, but to denounce financial devices which are useful and legitimate because use is made of them for fraud, is ridiculous and unworthy of the age in which we live.

. . . Let any one try to get a railroad built, or to start a factory and win reputation for its products, . . . and he will find what obstacles must be overcome, what risks must be taken, what perseverance and courage are required, what foresight and sagacity are necessary. . . . Persons who possess the necessary qualifications obtain great rewards. They ought to do so. It is foolish to rail at them. . . . Men who can do what they are told are not hard to find; but men who can think and plan and tell the routine men what to do are very rare. They are paid in proportion to the supply and demand of them. . . . Labor organizations are formed, not to employ combined effort for a common object, but to indulge in declamation and denunciation, and especially to furnish an easy living to some officers who do not want to work.

The aggregation of large fortunes is not at all a thing to be regretted. On the contrary, it is a necessary condition of many forms of social advance. If we should set a limit to the accumulation of wealth, we should say to our most valuable producers, 'We do not want you to do us the services which you best understand how to perform, beyond a certain point.' It would be like killing off our generals in war. A great deal is said . . . about 'ethical views of wealth,' and we are told that some day men will be found of such public spirit that, after they have accumulated a few millions, they will be willing to go on and labor simply for the pleasure of paying the wages of their fellow-citizens. Possibly this is true. It is a prophecy. . . . There are no such men now. . . ."

W. E. B. DU BOIS

"Heredity and the Public Schools," 1904

W. E. B. Du Bois, an African American sociologist who trained at Harvard and then in Germany, emerged as a leading critic of Social Darwinism. Du Bois also challenged the civic leadership of educator

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did the ideas of scientists and social scientists reflect events they saw happening around them?

marriage, claiming that only separation of the races could foster human advancement. By warning that immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe would dilute white Americans' racial purity, eugenicists helped win passage of immigration restriction in the 1920s.

Religion: Diversity and Innovation

By the turn of the twentieth century, emerging scientific and cultural **paradigms** posed a significant challenge to religious faith. Some Americans argued that science and modernity would sweep away religion altogether. Contrary to such predictions, American religious practice remained vibrant. Protestants developed creative new responses to the challenges of industrialization, while millions of newcomers built institutions for worship and religious education.

Booker T. Washington and helped found the Niagara movement and the NAACP (Chapter 19). In this excerpt, from a speech given to African American school principals in Washington, D.C., in 1904, Du Bois emphasizes the role of environmental factors in shaping children and society.

SOURCE: W. E. B. Du Bois, "Heredity and the Public Schools," in *Du Bois on Education*, ed. Eugene F. Provenzo Jr. (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2002), 114–121.

"The recognition of the wonderful part which heredity and variation play in animal life literally changed the world's language . . . and especially did the phrase: '*the survival of the fittest.*' Undoubtedly this phrase led to a hardening of human hearts. . . . Physical heredity is by no means the only heredity in the world nor is it in all probability the more important heredity. The human child receives its body and the physical bases of life from its parents, but it receives its thoughts, the larger part of its habits, its tricks of doing, of religion; its whole conception of what it is and what the whole world about it is from the society in which it is placed; and this heredity which is not physical at all has been aptly called social heredity. . . . Nine tenths of what a man is, depends on social rather than on physical heredity. . . . It is not until the present decade perhaps that [this] idea has received that scientific formulation that enables us to comprehend it broadly, and when people do comprehend it, it is going to revolutionize modern thought and modern conceptions of education. . . .

How does all this apply to the American Negro? In many ways. . . . As to sheer physical heredity, . . . it is an unproved and to all appearance an unprovable thesis that the physical development of men shows any color line. . . . Nevertheless it is true that if here in the city of Washington we gather haphazard a hundred white children and a hundred black children of the same age, the white would be further advanced, somewhat brighter in intellect and quicker in adaptability. This is not simply true in Washington, in Atlanta, in Chicago, but practically throughout the United States. People who discover this fact usually greet it either with a gasp of astonishment or a word of apology, and many a thoughtless person has without argument or inquiry taken this as self-evident proof of race inferiority. . . .

What does this prove? Let us look at the facts narrowly. Here are two boys being trained for life; six hours a day they are in school; three hours they are in the street; fifteen hours they are at home. The schools they are in are similar — the teachers are of the same sort; but one walks and plays in alleys, with sordid companions, amid poverty and perhaps crime; the other lives on clean streets, with pavements; . . . the home of one is dark, cheerless and empty; the home of the other is large, cheerful, filled with books and pictures, music and instruction; the parents of the one are ignorant, driven by the shadow of poverty, harassed by doubt and dream, worn with querulousness, fretting and scolding; the other has hands to lead him, hearts to soothe him, heads to guide him and correct him. Would you expect these two boys after ten years of this training to be equal in endowment and accomplishment? . . .

We are so fond of explaining differences of men by the enigmatical word 'heredity' that we forget how far those differences depend upon homely, every day life, and we are so eager to seize any excuse for shirking our great responsibility toward the weak and lowly and unfortunate that we hasten on the slightest pretext to attribute to the act of God or to unknown forces of nature obviously and perfectly intelligible results of the deeds of men. . . . We must seek not simply to improve the schools but just as strenuously to improve the social surroundings, the social opportunities, and the social heritage."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How do Sumner and Du Bois each explain inequalities of wealth and accomplishment?
2. What government policies would each man likely recommend on the extent to which large fortunes should be taxed; the extent and types of aid to the poor; and support for public schools?

Immigrant Faiths Arriving in the United States in large numbers, Catholics and Jews wrestled with similar questions. To what degree should they adapt to Protestant-dominated American society? Should the education of clergy be changed? Should children attend religious or public schools? What happened if they married outside the faith? Among Catholic leaders, Bishop John Ireland of Minnesota argued that "the principles of the Church are in harmony with the interests of the Republic." But traditionalists, led by Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York, disagreed. They sought to insulate Catholics from the pluralistic American environment. Indeed, by 1920, almost two million children attended Catholic elementary schools nationwide, and **Catholic dioceses** operated fifteen hundred high schools. Catholics as well as Jews feared some of the same threats that distressed Protestants: industrial poverty and overwork kept working-class people away from worship services, while new consumer pleasures enticed many of them to go elsewhere.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the extent that immigrant groups maintained their faith in the face of assimilation.

Faithful immigrant Catholics were anxious to preserve familiar traditions from Europe, and they generally supported the Church's traditional wing. But they also wanted religious life to express their ethnic identities. Italians, Poles, and other new arrivals wanted separate parishes where they could celebrate their customs, speak their languages, and establish their own **parochial** schools. When they became numerous enough, they also demanded their own bishops. Since the demand for ethnic parishes implied local control of church property, the Catholic hierarchy, dominated by Irish Americans, felt that the integrity of the Church was at stake. With some strain, however, the Catholic Church managed to satisfy the diverse needs of the immigrant faithful. It met the demand for representation, for example, by appointing immigrant priests as auxiliary bishops within existing dioceses.

In the same decades, many prosperous native-born Jews embraced Reform Judaism, abandoning such religious practices as keeping a kosher kitchen and conducting services in Hebrew. This was not the way of Yiddish-speaking Jews from Eastern Europe, who arrived in large numbers after the 1880s. Generally much poorer and eager to preserve their own traditions, they founded Orthodox synagogues, often in vacant stores, and practiced Judaism as they had at home.

But in Eastern Europe, Judaism had been an entire way of life, one not easily replicated in a large American city. "The very clothes I wore and the very food I ate had a fatal effect on my religious habits," confessed the hero of Abraham Cahan's novel *The Rise of David Levinsky* (1917). "If you . . . attempt to bend your religion to the spirit of your surroundings, it breaks. It falls to pieces." Levinsky shaved off his beard and plunged into the Manhattan clothing business. Orthodox Judaism survived the transition to America, but like other immigrant religions, it had to renounce its claims to some of the faithful.

Protestant Innovations One of the era's dramatic religious developments—facilitated by global steamship and telegraph lines—was the rise of Protestant foreign missions. From a modest start before the Civil War, this movement peaked around 1915, a year when American religious organizations sponsored more than nine thousand overseas missionaries, supported at home by armies of volunteers, including

Christian Missions in Japan, 1909 Through this colorful postcard, Protestant missionaries in Japan demonstrate their success in winning converts (at least a few) and their adaptation of missionary strategies to meet local needs and expectations. Here, outside their headquarters, they demonstrate "preaching by means of banners." The large characters on the vertical banner proclaim the "Association of Christian Gospel Evangelists." The horizontal banner is a Japanese translation of Matthew 11:28, "Come unto me, all ye who labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Corbis/Getty Imag

more than three million women. A majority of Protestant missionaries served in Asia, with smaller numbers posted to Africa and the Middle East. Most saw American-style domesticity as a central part of evangelism, and missionary societies sent married couples into the field. Many unmarried women also served overseas as missionary teachers, doctors, and nurses, though almost never as ministers. "American woman," declared one Christian reformer, has "the exalted privilege of extending over the world those blessed influences, that are to renovate degraded man."

Protestant missionaries won converts, in part, by providing such modern services as medical care and women's education. Some missionaries developed deep bonds of respect with the people they served. Others showed considerable condescension toward the "poor heathen," who in turn bristled at their assumptions (AP® America in the World). One Presbyterian, who found Syrians uninterested in his gospel message, angrily denounced all Muslims as "corrupt and immoral." By imposing their views of "heathen races" and attacking those who refused to convert, Christian missionaries sometimes ended up justifying Western imperialism.

Cultural imperialism abroad reflected attitudes at home. Starting in Iowa in 1887, militant Protestants created a powerful political organization, the **American Protective Association** (APA), which for a brief period in the 1890s counted more than two million members. This virulently nativist group expressed outrage at the existence of separate Catholic schools while demanding, at the same time, that all public school teachers be Protestants. The APA called for a ban on Catholic officeholders, arguing that they were beholden to an "ecclesiastic power" that was "not created and controlled by American citizens." In its virulent anti-Catholicism and calls for restrictions on immigrants, the APA prefigured the revived Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s (Chapter 21).

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to explain reactions to immigration by nativists and social reformers is critical to success on the AP® exam.

The APA arose, in part, because Protestants found their dominance challenged. Millions of Americans, especially in the industrial working class, were now Catholics or Jews. Overall, in 1916, Protestants still constituted about 60 percent of Americans affiliated with a religious body. But they faced formidable rivals: the number of practicing Catholics in 1916 — 15.7 million — was greater than the number of Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians combined.

Some Protestants responded to the urban, immigrant challenge by evangelizing among the unchurched. They provided reading rooms, day nurseries, vocational classes, and other services. The goal of renewing religious faith through dedication to justice and social welfare became known as the **Social Gospel**. Its goals were epitomized by Charles Sheldon's novel *In His Steps* (1896), which told the story of a congregation that resolved to live by Christ's **precepts** for one year. "If church members were all doing as Jesus would do," Sheldon asked, "could it remain true that armies of men would walk the streets for jobs, and hundreds of them curse the church, and thousands of them find in the saloon their best friend?"

The Salvation Army, which arrived from Great Britain in 1879, also spread a gospel message among the urban poor, offering assistance that ranged from soup kitchens to shelters for former prostitutes. When all else failed, down-and-outers knew they could count on the Salvation Army, whose bell ringers became a familiar sight on city streets. The group borrowed up-to-date marketing techniques and used the latest business slang in urging its Christian soldiers to "hustle."

The Salvation Army succeeded, in part, because it managed to bridge an emerging divide between Social Gospel reformers and Protestants who were taking a different theological path. Disturbed by what they saw as rising secularism, conservative ministers and their allies held a series of Bible Conferences at Niagara Falls between 1876 and 1897. The resulting "Niagara Creed" reaffirmed the literal truth of the Bible and the certain damnation of those not born again in Christ. By the 1910s, a network of churches and Bible institutes had emerged from these conferences. They called their movement **fundamentalism**, based on their belief in the fundamental truth of the Bible.

Fundamentalists and their allies made particularly effective use of revival meetings. Unlike Social Gospel advocates, revivalists said little about poverty or earthly justice,

Christianity in the United States and Japan

During the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition, a Parliament of Religions brought together representatives of prominent faiths for discussion. English-speaking Protestants dominated the program, but several Asian representatives included Kinzo Hirai, a lay Buddhist from Japan. In his speech, Hirai reviewed Japan's experiences with the United States since Commodore Matthew C. Perry "opened" the country in 1853.

I do not understand why the Christian lands have ignored the rights and advantages of forty million souls of Japan for forty years. . . . One of the excuses offered by foreign nations is that our country is not yet civilized. Is it the principle of civilized law that the rights and profits of the so-called uncivilized, or the weaker, should be sacrificed? As I understand it, the spirit and necessity of law is to protect the rights and profits of the weaker against the aggression of the stronger. . . .

From the religious source, the claim is made that the Japanese are idolaters and heathen. . . . [A]dmitting for the sake of argument that we are idolaters and heathen, is it Christian morality to trample upon the rights and advantages of a non-Christian nation, coloring all their natural happiness with the dark stain of injustice? . . .

You send your missionaries to Japan and they advise us to be moral and believe Christianity. We like to be moral, we know that Christianity is good; and we are very thankful for this kindness. But at the same time our people are rather perplexed. . . . For when we think that the treaty stipulated in the time of feudalism, when we were yet in our youth, is still clung to by the powerful nations of Christendom; when we find that every year a good many western vessels of seal fishery are smuggled into our seas; when legal cases are always decided by the foreign authorities in Japan unfavorably to us; when some years ago a Japanese was not allowed to enter a university on the Pacific coast of America because of his being of a different race; when a few months ago the school board in San Francisco enacted a regulation that no Japanese should be allowed to enter the public school there; when last year the Japanese were driven out in wholesale from one of the territories of the United States; when our business men in San Francisco were compelled by some union not to employ Japanese assistants and laborers, but the Americans; when there are some in the same city who speak on the platform against those of us who are already here; when there are many who go in procession hoisting lanterns marked "Japs must go"; when the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands were deprived of their suffrage; when we see some western people in Japan who erect before the entrance to their houses a special post upon which is the notice, "No Japanese is allowed to enter here" — just like a board upon which is written, "No dogs allowed"; when we are in such a situation, notwithstanding the kindness of the western nations from one point of view, who send their missionaries to us, that we unintelligent heathens are embarrassed and hesitate to swallow the sweet and warm liquid of the heaven of Christianity, will not be unreasonable.

SOURCE: *The World's Parliament of Religions*, ed. John Henry Barrows (Chicago: Parliament Publishing Co., 1893), 444–450.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What is Hirai's attitude toward American Christians?
2. Of what events is Hirai aware that are taking place in the United States? How does this shape his view of Christian missions in Japan?
3. How might American delegates to the Parliament, especially Protestant missionaries, have responded to Hirai?

focusing not on the matters of the world, but on heavenly redemption. The pioneer modern evangelist was Dwight L. Moody, a former Chicago shoe salesman and YMCA official who won fame in the 1870s. Eternal life could be had for the asking, Moody promised. His listeners needed only "to come forward and take, TAKE!" Moody's successor, Billy Sunday, helped bring evangelism into the modern era. More often than his predecessors, Sunday took political stances based on his Protestant beliefs. Condemning the "booze traffic" was his greatest cause. Sunday also denounced unrestricted immigration and labor radicalism. "If I had my way with these ornery wild-eyed Socialists," he once threatened, "I would stand them up before a firing squad." Sunday supported some progressive reform causes; he opposed child labor, for example, and advocated voting rights for women. In other ways, his views anticipated the nativism and antiradicalism that would dominate American politics after World War I.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did America's religious life change in this era, and what prompted those changes?

Realism in the Arts

Inspired by the quest for facts, American authors rejected nineteenth-century romanticism and what they saw as its unfortunate product, sentimentality. Instead, they took up literary **realism**. In the 1880s, editor and novelist William Dean Howells called for writers "to picture the daily life in the most exact terms possible." By the 1890s, a younger generation of writers pursued this goal. Theodore Dreiser dismissed unrealistic novels that always had "a happy ending." In *Main-Travelled Roads* (1891), based on the struggles of his midwestern farm family, Hamlin Garland turned the same unsparing eye on the hardships of rural life. Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893), privately printed because no publisher would touch it, described the seduction, abandonment, and death of a slum girl.

Some authors believed realism did not go far enough to overturn sentimentalism. Jack London spent his teenage years as a factory worker, sailor, and tramp. In stories such as "The Law of Life" (1901), he dramatized what he saw as the harsh reality of an uncaring universe. American society, he said, was "a jungle wherein wild beasts eat and are eaten." Similarly, Stephen Crane tried to capture "a world full of fists." London and Crane suggested that human beings were not so much rational shapers of their own destinies as blind victims of forces beyond their control — including their own subconscious impulses.

America's most famous writer, Samuel Langhorne Clemens, who took the pen name of Mark Twain, came to an equally bleak view. Though he achieved enormous success with such lighthearted books as *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876), Clemens courted controversy with *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), notable for its indictment of slavery and racism. In his novel *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court* (1889), which ends with a bloody, technology-driven slaughter of Arthur's knights, Mark Twain became one of the bitterest critics of America's idea of progress. Afterward, Clemens was devastated by the loss of his wife and two daughters, as well as by failed investments and bankruptcy. An outspoken critic of imperialism and foreign missions, Twain eventually denounced Christianity itself as a hypocritical delusion. Like his friend the industrialist Andrew Carnegie, Clemens "got rid of theology."

By the time Clemens died in 1910, American artists had laid the groundwork for **modernism**, which rejected traditional canons of artistic taste. Questioning the whole idea of progress and order, modernists focused on the subconscious and "primitive" mind. Above all, they sought to overturn convention and tradition. Poet Ezra Pound exhorted, "Make it new!" Modernism became the first great literary and artistic movement of the twentieth century.

In the visual arts, new technologies influenced aesthetics. By 1900, some photographers argued that their "true" representations made painting obsolete. But painters invented their own forms of realism. Nebraska-born artist Robert Henri became fascinated with life in the great cities. "The backs of tenement houses are living documents," he declared, and he set out to put them on canvas. Henri and his followers, notably John Sloan and George Bellows, called themselves the New York Realists. Critics **derided** them as the Ash Can school because they chose subjects that were not conventionally beautiful.

In 1913, realists participated in one of the most controversial events in American art history, the Armory Show. Housed in an enormous National Guard building in New York, the exhibit introduced America to modern art. Some painters whose work appeared at the show were experimenting with cubism, characterized by abstract, geometric forms. Along with works by Henri, Sloan, and Bellows, organizers featured paintings by European rebels such as Pablo Picasso. America's academic art world was shocked. One critic called cubism "the total destruction of the art of painting." But as the exhibition went on to Boston and Chicago, more than 250,000 people crowded to see it.

A striking feature of both realism and modernism, as they developed, was that many leading writers and artists were men. In making their work strong and modern,

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the ways in which different artistic movements reflected the social, economic, and political changes in America from 1880–1915.

Arthur B. Davies, *Dancers*, 1914–1915 Artist Arthur Davies (1862–1928) was one of the primary organizers of New York's 1913 Armory Show, which introduced Americans to modernist art. An associate of John Sloan and other New York realists, Davies experimented with an array of painting styles, as well as printmaking and tapestry making. This painting dates from a three-year period, just after the Armory Show, in which Davies experimented with Cubist techniques. Detroit Institute of Arts, USA/Gift of Ralph Harman Booth/Bridgeman Images

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What effect did technology and scientific ideas have on literature and the arts?

they also strove to assert their masculinity. Paralleling Theodore Roosevelt's call for "manly sports," they denounced nineteenth-century culture as hopelessly feminized. Stephen Crane called for "virility" in literature. Jack London described himself as a "man's man, . . . lustfully roving and conquering." Artist Robert Henri banned small brushes as "too feminine." In their own ways, these writers and artists contributed to a broad movement to masculinize American culture.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **How did Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and other scientific ideas impact American culture and intellectual life in the late nineteenth century? What uses did nonscientists make of such ideas?**

Commerce and Culture

Debates over faith, science, and society affected Americans in widely different ways, partly because divisions between rural and urban life, and between affluent and poor Americans, were growing. As the United States industrialized, the terms *middle class* and *working class* came widely into use. Americans adopted these broad identities not only in the workplace but also in their leisure time. As professionals and corporate managers prospered, they and their families enjoyed rising income and an array of tempting ways to spend their dollars. Celebrating these new technological wonders, Americans hailed inventors as heroes. The most famous, Thomas Edison, operated an

independent laboratory rather than working for a corporation. Edison, like many of the era's businessmen, was a shrewd entrepreneur who focused on commercial success. He and his colleagues helped introduce such lucrative products as the incandescent light bulb and the phonograph.

Even working-class Americans enjoyed cheaper products delivered by global trade and mass production, from bananas and cigarettes to colorful dime novels and magazines. Edison's moving pictures, for example, first found popularity among the urban working class. Consumer culture appeared, at least, to be democratic: anyone could eat at a restaurant or buy a rail ticket for the "ladies' car" — as long as she or he could pay. In practice, though, well-to-do Americans enjoyed new amenities at much higher rates. Consumer culture thus became a site of struggle over class inequality, race privilege, and proper male and female behavior.

Consumer Spaces

America's public spaces — from election polls to saloons and circus shows — had long been boisterous and male-centered. A woman who ventured there without a male chaperone risked damaging her reputation (or worse). But the rise of new businesses encouraged change. To attract an eager public, purveyors of consumer culture invited women and families, especially those of the middle class, to linger in department stores and enjoy new amusements.

No one promoted commercial domesticity more successfully than showman P. T. Barnum, who used the country's expanding rail network to develop his famous

Chicago Department Store Advertisement, 1893 In the same year that the Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition offered an array of dazzling experiences for visitors, the city's Siegel-Cooper Department Store did the same for consumers who could afford to shop in its halls. Its "Sixty-Five Complete Departments" offered many types of goods and services, from meat and groceries to medical and legal advice. © Chicago History Museum, USA/Bridgeman Images

traveling circus. Barnum condemned earlier circus managers who had opened their tents to "the rowdy element." Proclaiming children as his key audience, he created family entertainment for diverse audiences (though in the South, black audiences sat in segregated seats or attended separate shows). He promised middle-class parents that his circus would teach children courage and promote the benefits of exercise. To encourage women's attendance, Barnum emphasized the respectability and refinement of his female performers.

Department stores also lured middle-class women by offering tearooms, children's play areas, umbrellas, and clerks to wrap and carry every purchase. Store credit plans enabled well-to-do women to shop without handling money in public. Such tactics succeeded so well that New York's department store district became known as Ladies' Mile. Boston department store magnate William Filene called the department store an "Adamless Eden."

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the differentiation of the middle class from the working class in American culture.

These Edens were reserved for the elite and middle classes. Though bargain basements and neighborhood stores served working-class families, big department stores used vagrancy laws and police to discourage the "wrong kind" from entering. Working-class women gained access primarily as clerks, cashiers, and cash girls, who at age twelve or younger served as internal store messengers, carrying orders and change for $1.50 a week. The department store was no Eden for these women, who worked long hours on their feet, often dealing with difficult customers. Nevertheless, many clerks claimed their own privileges as shoppers, making enthusiastic use of employee discounts and battling employers for the right to wear their fashionable purchases while they worked in the store.

In similar ways, class status was marked by the ways technology entered American homes. The rise of electricity, in particular, marked the gap between affluent urban consumers and rural and working-class families. In elite houses, domestic servants began to use — or find themselves replaced by — an array of new devices, from washing machines to vacuum cleaners. When Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in 1876, entrepreneurs introduced the device for business use, but it soon found eager residential customers, especially among the affluent (Figure 17.1). Telephones changed etiquette and social relations for middle-class suburban women — while providing their working-class counterparts with new employment as operators or "hello girls."

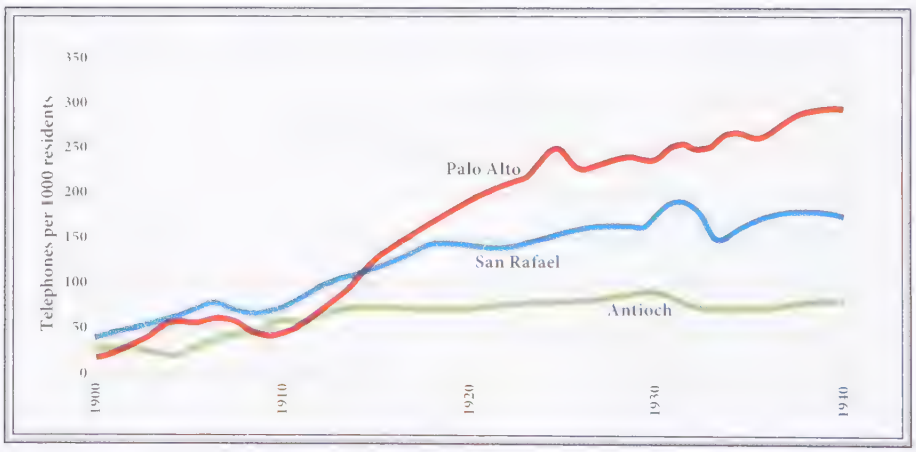


FIGURE 17.1 Estimated Number of Residential Telephones in Three California Locations, 1900–1940

This graph tracks the adoption of telephones in three California locations. Palo Alto was an affluent university town; Antioch was a working-class city; and San Rafael had a mixed economy, including some manufacturing, but served increasingly as a bedroom community for San Francisco professionals. What does the chart suggest about telephone usage? Consider, from the narrative, the changes that were occuring in family size, especially among the middle class, and note that expensive rent often led to overcrowding in working-class homes and apartments. Based on per-capita telephone adoption rates, how likely do you think it was that a person in Palo Alto had access to a private phone? A person in Antioch? Figure based on Claude S. Fischer, *A Social History of the Telephone to 1940*, copyright © 1992 by the Regents of the University of California (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992). Figure 9. Reprinted by permission of the University of California Press.

Railroads also reflected the emerging privileges of professional families. Finding prosperous Americans eager for excursions, railroad companies, like department stores, made things comfortable for middle-class women and children. Boston's South Station boasted of its modern amenities, including "everything that the traveler needs down to cradles in which the baby may be soothed." Rail cars manufactured by the famous Pullman Company of Chicago set a national standard for taste and elegance. Part of their appeal was the chance for people of modest means to emulate the rich. An experienced train conductor observed that the wives of grocers, not millionaires, were the ones most likely to "sweep . . . into a parlor car as if the very carpet ought to feel highly honored by their tread."

First-class "ladies' cars" soon became sites of struggle for racial equality. For three decades after the end of the Civil War, state laws and railroad regulations varied, and African Americans often succeeded in securing seats. One reformer noted, however, "There are few ordeals more nerve-wracking than the one which confronts a colored woman when she tries to secure a Pullman reservation in the South and even in some parts of the North." When they claimed first-class seats, black women often faced confrontations with conductors, resulting in numerous lawsuits in the 1870s and 1880s. Riding the Chesapeake & Ohio line in 1884, young African American journalist Ida B. Wells was told to leave. "I refused," she wrote later, "saying that the [nearest alternative] car was a smoker, and as I was in the ladies' car, I proposed to stay." Wells resisted, but the conductor and a baggage handler threw her bodily off the train. Returning home to Memphis, Wells sued and won in local courts, but Tennessee's supreme court reversed the ruling.

In 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court settled such issues decisively, but not justly. The case, ***Plessy v. Ferguson***, was brought by civil rights advocates on behalf of Homer Plessy, a New Orleans resident who was one-eighth black. Ordered to leave a first-class car and move to the "colored" car of a Louisiana train, Plessy refused and was arrested. The Court ruled that such segregation did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment as long as blacks had access to accommodations that were "separate but equal" to those of whites. "Separate but equal" was a myth: segregated facilities in the South were flagrantly inferior. **Jim Crow** segregation laws, named for a stereotyped black character who appeared in minstrel shows, clearly discriminated, but the Court allowed them to stand.

Jim Crow laws applied to public schools and parks and also to emerging commercial spaces—hotels, restaurants, streetcars, trains, and eventually sports stadiums and movie theaters. Placing a national stamp of approval on segregation, the *Plessy* decision remained in place until 1954, when the Court's *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* ruling finally struck it down (Chapter 26). Until then, blacks' exclusion from first-class "public accommodations" was one of the most painful marks of racism. The *Plessy* decision, like the rock-bottom wages earned by twelve-year-old girls at Macy's, showed that consumer culture could be modern and innovative without being politically progressive. Business and consumer culture were shaped by, and themselves shaped, racial and class injustices.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in American history is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did new consumer practices arising from industrialization reshape Americans' gender, class, and race relationships?

Masculinity and the Rise of Sports

Industrialization changed expectations in the workplace. Traditionally, the mark of a successful American man was economic independence: he was his own boss. Now, tens of thousands worked for other men in big companies and in offices, rather than using their muscles. Would the professional American male, through his concentration on "brain work," become "weak, effeminate, [and] decaying," as one editor warned? How could well-to-do men assert their independence if work no longer required them to prove themselves physically? How could they develop toughness and strength? One answer was athletics.

"Muscular Christianity" The **Young Men's Christian Association** (YMCA) was one of the earliest and most successful promoters of athletic fitness. Introduced in

Horatio Alger Jr. In dozens of popular boys' books published between 1867 and 1917, Horatio Alger Jr. assured young readers that if they were honest, worked hard, and cultivated good character, they could succeed in the new competitive economy. His heroes, such as the famous "Ragged Dick," often grew up in poverty on the streets of big cities. *Brave and Bold* (1874) tells the story of a small-town boy forced to work in a factory; he is unfairly fired, but through persistence and courage he wins a good job and recovers an inheritance for his mother. Alger's books were republished often, as in this boys' magazine from 1911, and many remain in print today. Courtesy of the Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries

Boston in 1851, the group promoted muscular Christianity, combining evangelism with gyms and athletic facilities where men could make themselves "clean and strong." Focusing first on white-collar workers, the YMCA developed a substantial industrial program after 1900. Railroad managers and other corporate titans hoped YMCAs would foster a loyal and contented workforce, discouraging labor unrest. Business leaders also relied on sports to build physical and mental discipline and help men adjust their bodies to the demands of the industrial clock. Sports honed men's competitive spirit, they believed; employer-sponsored teams instilled teamwork and company pride.

Working-class men had their own ideas about sports and leisure, and YMCAs quickly became a site of negotiation. Could workers come to the "Y" to play billiards or cards? Could they smoke? At first, YMCA leaders said no, but to attract working-class men they had to make concessions. As a result, the "Y" became a place where middle-class and working-class customs blended — or existed in uneasy tension. At the same time, YMCA leaders innovated. Searching for winter activities in the 1890s, YMCA instructors invented the new indoor games of basketball and volleyball.

For elite Americans, meanwhile, country clubs flourished; both men and women could enjoy tennis, golf, and swimming facilities as well as social gatherings. By the turn of the century — perhaps because country club women were encroaching on their athletic turf — elite men took up even more aggressive physical sports, including boxing, weightlifting, and martial arts. As early as 1890, future president Theodore Roosevelt argued that such "virile" activities were essential to "maintain and defend this very civilization." "Most masterful nations," he claimed, "have shown a strong taste for manly sports." Roosevelt, son of a wealthy New York family, became one of the first American devotees of jujitsu. During his presidency (1901–1909), he designated a judo room in the White House and hired an expert Japanese instructor. Roosevelt also wrestled and boxed, urging other American men — especially among the elite — to increase their leadership fitness by pursuing the "strenuous life."

To see a longer excerpt of Theodore Roosevelt's views on sports, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

America's Game Before the 1860s, the only distinctively American game was Native American lacrosse, and the most popular team sport among European Americans was cricket. After the Civil War, however, team sports became a fundamental part of American manhood, none more successfully than baseball. A derivative of cricket, the game's formal rules had begun to develop in New York in the 1840s and 1850s; its popularity spread in military camps during the Civil War. Afterward, the idea that baseball "received its baptism in the bloody days of our Nation's direst danger," as one promoter put it, became part of the game's mythology.

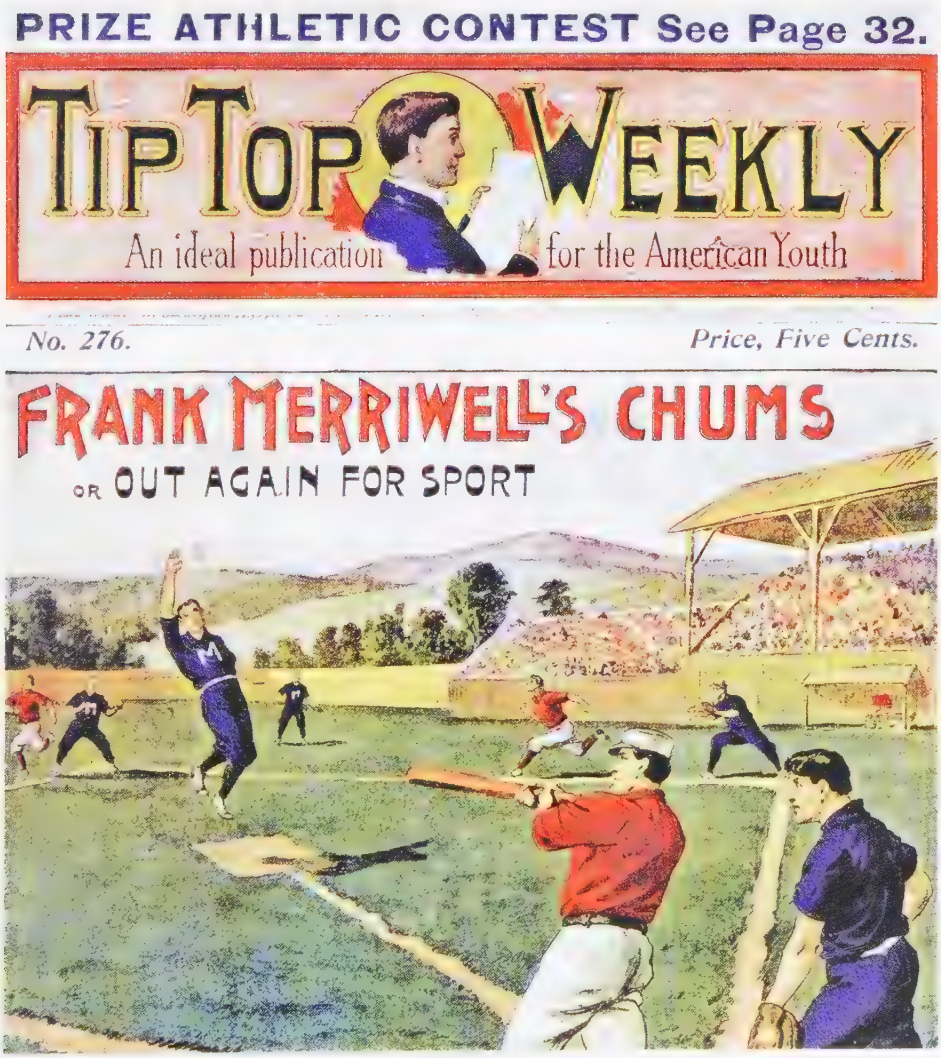
Until the 1870s, most amateur players were clerks and white-collar workers who had the leisure time to play and the income to buy their own uniforms. Business frowned on baseball and other sports as a waste of time, especially for working-class men. But late-nineteenth-century employers came to see baseball, like other athletic pursuits, as a benefit for workers. It provided fresh air and exercise, kept men out of saloons, and promoted discipline and teamwork. Players on company-sponsored teams, wearing uniforms emblazoned with their employers' names, began to compete on paid work time. Baseball thus set a pattern for how other American sports developed. Begun among independent craftsmen, it was taken up by elite men anxious to prove their strength and fitness. Well-to-do Americans then decided the sport could benefit the working class.

Big-time professional baseball arose with the launching of the National League in 1876. The league quickly built more than a dozen teams in large cities, from the Brooklyn Trolley Dodgers to the Cleveland Spiders. Team owners were, in their own right, profit-minded entrepreneurs who shaped the sport to please consumers (AP® Interpreting the Past). Wooden grandstands soon gave way to concrete and steel stadiums. By 1900, boys collected lithographed cards of their favorite players, and the baseball cap came into fashion. In 1903, the Boston Americans defeated the Pittsburgh Pirates in the first World Series. American men could now adopt a new consumer identity — not as athletes, but as fans.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate changes in leisure activities that helped to define American culture.

Rise of the Negro Leagues Baseball stadiums, like first-class rail cars, were sites of racial negotiation and conflict. In the 1880s and 1890s, major league managers hired a few African American players. As late as 1901, the Baltimore Orioles succeeded in signing Charlie Grant, a light-skinned black player from Cincinnati, by renaming him Charlie Tokohoma and claiming he was Cherokee. But as this **subterfuge** suggested, black players were increasingly barred. A Toledo team received a threatening note before one game in Richmond, Virginia: if their "negro catcher" played, he would be


PRIZE ATHLETIC CONTEST See Page 32.
TIP TOP WEEKLY
An ideal publication for the American Youth
No. 276.
Price, Five Cents.
FRANK MERRIWELL'S CHUMS
OR OUT AGAIN FOR SPORT

Frank Merriwell's Chums *Tip Top Weekly*, one of many magazines and dime novels for young readers, celebrated sports and adventure. This 1902 cover story by Burt L. Standish (a pseudonymn for Gilbert Patten) featured the hero Frank Merriwell, a talented player of football, basketball, baseball, and track who eventually became a star student and athlete at Yale. Merriwell also solved crimes and mysteries while embodying clean living and honorable behavior. His exploits eventually became the basis for a comic strip, radio shows, and films. Picture Research Consultants & Archives

Was Professional Baseball a Pastime or a Business Monopoly — or Both?

By the late nineteenth century, baseball was already hailed as America's national pastime. Supported by a willing press promoting baseball's all-American virtues, the game sparked community pride. Fans cheered the home team, followed star players, and enjoyed the fresh air and warm sunlight of an afternoon amusement. Baseball, many said, taught young boys life lessons about teamwork, the virtue of sacrificing for another, and fair play. Historians have begun to challenge this nostalgic and romantic history. Here, scholars Steven A. Riess and Stuart Banner examine the professional game as a reflection of the political, economic, and cultural developments of the age.

STEVEN A. RIESS

SOURCE: Steven A. Riess, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 98.

Major league club owners were primarily men of new affluence, often Irish Catholics or German Jews. . . . These owners had important political connections that helped their sporting businesses succeed. . . . This created a fascinating paradox since WASPs [white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants] and other acculturated Americans regarded baseball as the institution that best epitomized the finest American beliefs, traditions, and values. Yet the baseball magnates were urban politicians, often machine politicians, who symbolized all that progressive small-town Americans believed was wrong with and destructive to American society.

STUART BANNER

SOURCE: Stuart Banner, *The Baseball Trust: A History of Baseball's Antitrust Exemption* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 4–6.

The reserve clause would be a standard term in player contracts for nearly a century. . . . The teams first considered establishing limits on salaries, but they decided that it would be easier if they simply ceased competing with each other to hire the best players. Each club was accordingly allowed to reserve . . . players for the ensuing season. . . . Once a club reserved a player, the other clubs would treat him as if he were already under contract. . . . The result was an unusual system of labor relations, in which players were effectively bound for life to the teams that first signed them. . . . Even in the late nineteenth century, when workers throughout the economy had few rights enforceable against their employers, baseball stood out as a business in which the rules governing labor were conspicuously one-sided.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify one similarity and one difference in the way Riess and Banner describe the turn-of-the-century history of baseball.
2. How does their focus on the economics and politics of baseball change the story typically told about our "national pastime"?
3. From your reading of the excerpts and the textbook chapter, identify two specific ways baseball reflects broader developments in American history during this period.

lynched. Toledo put a substitute on the field, and at the end of the season the club terminated the black player's contract.

Shut out of white leagues, players and fans turned to all-black professional teams, where black men could showcase athletic ability and race pride. Louisiana's top team, the New Orleans Pinchbacks, pointedly named themselves after the state's black Reconstruction governor. By the early 1900s, such teams organized into separate **Negro Leagues**. Though players suffered from erratic pay and rundown ball fields, the leagues thrived until the desegregation of baseball after World War II. In an era of stark discrimination, they celebrated black manhood and talent. "I liked the way their uniform fit, the way they wore their cap," wrote an admiring fan of the Newark Eagles. "They showed a style in almost everything they did."

American Football The most controversial sport of the industrializing era was football, which began at elite colleges during the 1880s. The great powerhouse was the Yale team, whose legendary coach Walter Camp went on to become a

Football Practice, Chilocco Indian School, 1911 Football became widely popular, spreading from Ivy League schools and state universities to schools like this one, built on Cherokee land in Oklahoma. The uniforms of this team, typical of the day, show very limited padding and protection — a factor that contributed to high rates of injury and even death on the field. As they practiced in 1911, these Chilocco students had an inspiring model to look up to: in that year Jim Thorpe, a fellow Oklahoman and a member of the Sac and Fox tribe, was winning national fame by leading the all-Indian team at Pennsylvania's Carlisle School to victory against Harvard. Thorpe, one of the finest athletes of his generation, went on to win gold medals in the pentathlon and decathlon at the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, Sweden. National Archives

watch manufacturer. Between 1883 and 1891, under Camp's direction, Yale scored 4,660 points; its opponents scored 92. Drawing on the workplace model of scientific management, Camp emphasized drill and precision. He and other coaches argued that football offered perfect training for the competitive world of business. The game was violent: six players' deaths in the 1908 college season provoked a public outcry. Eventually, new rules protected quarterbacks and required coaches to remove injured players from the game. But such measures were adopted grudgingly, with supporters arguing that they ruined football's benefits in manly training.

Like baseball and the YMCA, football attracted sponsorship from business leaders hoping to divert workers from labor activism. The first professional teams emerged in western Pennsylvania's steel towns, soon after the defeat of the steelworkers' union. Carnegie Steel executives organized teams in Homestead and Braddock; the first league appeared during the anthracite coal strike of 1902. Other teams arose in the midwestern industrial heartland. The Indian-Acme Packing Company sponsored the Green Bay Packers; the future Chicago Bears, first known as the Decatur Staleys, were funded by a manufacturer of laundry starch. Like its baseball equivalent, professional football encouraged men to buy in as spectators and fans.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How and why did American sports evolve, and how did athletics soften or sharpen social divisions?

The Great Outdoors

As the rise of sports suggests, by the 1890s elite and middle-class Americans began to see Victorian culture as stuffy and claustrophobic. They revolted by heading outdoors. A craze for bicycling swept the country; in 1890, at the height of the mania, U.S. manufacturers sold an astonishing ten million bikes. Women were not far behind men in taking up athletics. By the 1890s, even elite women, long confined to corsets and heavy clothes that restricted their movement, donned lighter dresses and pursued archery and golf. Artist Charles Gibson became famous for his portraits of the Gibson Girl, an elite beauty depicted on the tennis court or swimming at the beach. The Gibson Girl personified the ideal of "New Women," more educated, athletic, and independent than their mothers.

Those with money and leisure time used railroad networks to get to the national parks of the West, which, as one senator put it, became a "breathing-place for the national lungs." People of more modest means began to take up camping. As early as 1904, California's Coronado Beach offered tent rentals for $3 a week. A decade later, campgrounds and cottages in many parts of the country catered to a working-class clientele. In an industrial society, the outdoors became associated with leisure and renewal rather than danger and hard work. One journalist, reflecting on urban life from the vantage point of a western vacation, wrote, "How stupid it all seems: the mad eagerness of money-making men, the sham pleasures of conventional society." In the wilderness, he wrote, "your blood clarifies; your brain becomes active. You get a new view of life."

As Americans searched for such renewal in remnants of unexploited land, the nation's first environmental movement arose. John Muir, who fell in love with the Yosemite Valley in 1869, became the most famous voice for wilderness. Raised in a stern Scots Presbyterian family on a Wisconsin farm, Muir knew much of the Bible by heart. He was a keen observer who developed a deeply spiritual relationship with the natural world. His contemporary Mary Austin, whose book *Land of Little Rain* (1905) celebrated the austere beauty of the California desert, called him "a devout man." In cooperation with his editor at *Century* magazine, Muir founded the **Sierra Club** in 1892. Like the earlier Appalachian Mountain Club, founded in Boston in 1876, the Sierra Club dedicated itself to preserving and enjoying America's great mountains.

Winslow Homer, *In the Mountains* This 1877 painting, depicting hikers in the Adirondacks, suggests the appeal of outdoor exploration for women as well as men. Those who could afford a trip to the mountains could join walking and hiking clubs or in winter even try snowshoeing or skiing. Movements to protect wildlife and preserve wilderness date from this era. Unlike federal parks in the west, New York's Adirondacks evolved as a mixed-use area: homes, businesses, and communities remained, interspersed with 2.5 million acres of public lands where logging, mining, and building were prohibited. By 1895 the Adirondack Park, set aside "for the use of all the people forever," won protection in the New York state constitution. Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York, USA/Bridgeman Images

Encouraged by such groups, national and state governments set aside more public lands for preservation and recreation. The United States substantially expanded its park system and, during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, extended the reach of national forests. Starting in 1872 with the preservation of Yellowstone in Wyoming, Congress had begun to set aside land for national parks. In 1916, President Woodrow Wilson provided comprehensive oversight of these national parks, signing an act creating the **National Park Service** (Map 17.1). A year later, the system numbered thirteen parks—including Maine's Acadia, the first east of the Mississippi River.

Environmentalists also worked to protect wildlife. By the 1890s, several state Audubon Societies, named in honor of antebellum naturalist John James Audubon, banded together to advocate broader protections for wild birds, especially herons and egrets, which were being slaughtered by the thousands for their plumes. They succeeded in winning the Lacey

MAP 17.1 National Parks and Forests, 1872–1980

Yellowstone, the first national park in the United States, dates from 1872. In 1893, the federal government began to intervene to protect national forests. Without Theodore Roosevelt, however, the national forest program might have languished; during his presidency, he added 125 million acres to the forest system, plus six national parks in addition to several that had already been created during the 1890s. America's national forest and park systems remain one of the most visible and beloved legacies of federal policy innovation in the decades between the Civil War and World War I.

Act (1900), which established federal penalties for selling specified birds, animals, and plants. Soon afterward, state organizations joined together to form the National Audubon Society. Women played prominent roles in the movement, promoting boycotts of hats with plumage. In 1903, President Theodore Roosevelt created the first National Wildlife Refuge at Pelican Island, Florida.

Roosevelt also expanded preservation under the **Antiquities Act** (1906), which enabled the U.S. president, without congressional approval, to set aside "objects of historic and scientific interest" as national monuments. Two years later, Roosevelt used these powers to preserve 800,000 acres at Arizona's magnificent Grand Canyon. The act proved a mixed blessing for conservation. Monuments received weaker protection than national parks did; many fell under the authority of the U.S. Forest Service, which permitted logging and grazing. Business interests thus lobbied to have coveted lands designated as monuments rather than national parks so they could more easily exploit resources. Nonetheless, the creation of national monuments offered some protection, and many monuments (such as Alaska's Katmai) later obtained park status. The expanding network of parks and monuments became popular places to hike, camp, and contemplate natural beauty.

The great outdoors provided new opportunities for women with the means to travel. One writer, advising women to enjoy mountain hikes, hinted at liberating possibilities: "For those loving freedom and health," he recommended "short skirts, pantlets, stout shoes, tasty hat." And like other leisure venues, "wilderness" did not remain in the hands of elite men and women. As early as the late 1880s, the lakes and hiking trails of the Catskill Mountains became so thronged with working-class tourists from nearby New York City, including many Jewish immigrants, that elite visitors began to segregate themselves into gated summer communities. They thus preserved the "seclusion and

privacy" that they snobbishly claimed as the privilege of those who could demonstrate "mental and personal worth."

At the state level, meanwhile, new game laws triggered conflicts between elite **conservationists** and the poor. Shifting from year-round subsistence hunting to a limited, recreational hunting season brought hardship to poor rural families who depended on game for food. Regulation brought undeniable benefits: it suppressed such popular practices as songbird hunting and the use of dynamite to kill fish. Looking back on the era before game laws, one Alabama hunter remembered that "the slaughter was terrific." But while game laws prevented further extinctions like that of the passenger pigeon, which vanished around 1900, they made it harder for rural people to support themselves through subsistence hunting and fishing.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What changes in American society precipitated the rise of national parks and monuments?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did industrialization change Americans' ideas about appropriate leisure activities for men and women of various social classes?

Women, Men, and the Solitude of Self

Speaking to Congress in 1892, women's rights advocate Elizabeth Cady Stanton described what she called the "solitude of self." Stanton rejected the claim that women did not need equal rights because they enjoyed men's protection. "The talk of sheltering woman from the fierce storms of life is the sheerest mockery," she declared. "They beat on her from every point of the compass, just as they do on man, and with more fatal results, for he has been trained to protect himself."

Stanton's argument captured one of the dilemmas of industrialization: the marketplace of labor brought both freedom and risk, and working-class women were particularly vulnerable. At the same time, middle-class women — expected to engage in selfless community service — often saw the impact of industrialization more clearly than fathers, brothers, and husbands did. In seeking to address alcoholism, poverty, and other social and economic ills, they gained a new sense of their own collective power. Women's protest and reform work thus helped lay the foundations for progressivism (Chapter 19) and modern women's rights.

Changing Families

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the changes in family life in the late nineteenth century is critical on the AP® exam.

The average American family, especially in the middle class, decreased in size during the industrial era. In 1800, white women who survived to menopause had borne an average of 7.0 children; by 1900, the average was 3.6. On farms and in many working-class families, youngsters counted as assets on the family balance sheet: they worked in fields or factories. But parents who had fewer sons and daughters could concentrate their resources, educating and preparing each child for success in the new economy. Among the professional classes, education became a necessity, while limiting family size became, more broadly, a key to upward mobility.

Several factors limited childbearing. Americans married at older ages, and many mothers tried to space pregnancies more widely — as their mothers and grandmothers had — by nursing children for several years, which suppressed fertility. By the late nineteenth century, as vulcanized rubber became available, couples also had access to a range of other contraceptive methods, such as condoms and diaphragms. With pressure for family limitation rising, these methods were widely used and apparently effective. But couples rarely wrote about them. Historians' evidence comes from the occasional frank diary and from the thriving success of the mail-order contraceptive industry, which advertised prominently and shipped products — wrapped in discreet brown paper packages — to customers nationwide.

Reluctance to talk about contraceptives was understandable, since information about them was **stigmatized** and, after 1873, illegal to distribute. During Reconstruction, Anthony Comstock, crusading secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, secured a federal law banning "obscene materials" from the U.S. mail. The **Comstock Act** (1873) prohibited circulation of almost any information about sex and birth control — even in private letters. Comstock won support for the law, in part, by appealing to parents' fears that young people were receiving sexual information through the mail, promoting the rise of "secret vice." Though critics charged Comstock with high-handed interference in private matters, others supported his work, fearful of the rising tide of pornography, sexual information, and contraceptives made available by industrialization. A committee of the New York legislature declared Comstock's crusade "wholly essential to the safety and decency of the community." It appears, however, that Comstock had little success in stopping the lucrative and popular trade in contraceptives.

Portrait of a Middle-Class American Family This photograph of the Hedlund family was taken on July 4, 1911, on the front porch of their home in St. Paul, Minnesota. Christian, Grace, and Anna Hedlund appear on the top row, Louis and George on the bottom. Families like this one — with three children — were becoming typical among the middle class, in contrast to larger families in earlier generations. This photo was taken by twenty-one-year-old Joseph Pavlicek, a recent immigrant from Eastern Europe who was boarding with the Hedlunds. Pavlicek bought fireworks for the children to celebrate the holiday. He remembered being so proud and grateful to be in America that his heart "was nearly bursting." Minnesota Historical Society

Education

In the industrial economy, the watchword for young people who hoped to secure good jobs was *education*. A high school diploma — now a gateway to a college degree — was valuable for boys who hoped to enter professional or managerial work. Daughters attended in even larger numbers than their brothers. Parents of the Civil War generation, who had witnessed the plight of war widows and orphans, encouraged girls to prepare themselves for teaching or office jobs, work before marriage, and gain skills they could fall back on, "just in case." By 1900, 71 percent of Americans between the ages of five and eighteen attended school. That figure rose further in the early twentieth century, as public officials adopted laws requiring school attendance.

Most high schools were coeducational, and almost every high school featured athletics. Recruited first as cheerleaders for boys' teams, girls soon established field hockey and other sports of their own. Boys and girls engaged in friendly — and sometimes not-so-friendly — rivalry in high school. In 1884, a high school newspaper in Concord, New Hampshire, published this poem from a disgruntled boy who caricatured his female classmates:

> We know many tongues of living and dead,
> In science and fiction we're very well read,
> But we cannot cook meat and cannot make bread
> And we've wished many times that we were all dead.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

In what ways did the Comstock Act reflect and contradict the realities of American life in the industrial era?

A female student shot back a poem of her own, denouncing male students' smoking habit:

> But if boys will smoke cigarettes
> Although the smoke may choke them,
> One consolation still remains —
> *They kill the boys that smoke them.*

The rate of Americans attending college had long hovered around 2 percent; driven by public universities' expansion, the rate rose in the 1880s, reaching 8 percent by 1920. Much larger numbers attended a growing network of business and technical schools. "GET A PLACE IN THE WORLD," advertised one Minneapolis business college in 1907, "where your talents can be used to the best advantage." Typically, such schools offered both day and night classes in subjects such as bookkeeping, typewriting, and shorthand.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the leadership of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois (see AP® Analyzing Voices on p. 530).

The needs of the new economy also shaped the curriculum at more traditional collegiate institutions. State universities emphasized technical training and fed the growing professional workforce with graduates trained in fields such as engineering. Many private colleges distanced themselves from such practical pursuits; their administrators argued that students who aimed to be leaders needed broad-based knowledge. But they modernized course offerings, emphasizing French and German, for example, rather than Latin and Greek. Harvard, led by dynamic president Charles W. Eliot from 1869 to 1909, pioneered the liberal arts. Students at the all-male college chose from a range of electives, as Eliot called for classes that developed each young man's "individual reality and creative power."

Booker T. Washington In an age of severe racial oppression, Booker T. Washington emerged as the leading public voice of African Americans. He was remarkable both for his effectiveness in speaking to white Americans and for his deep understanding of the aspirations of blacks. Born a slave, Washington had plenty of firsthand experience with racism. But having befriended several whites in his youth, he also believed that African Americans could appeal to whites of good will — and maneuver around those who were hostile — in the struggle for equality. He hoped, most of all, that economic achievement would erase white prejudice.

In the South, one of the most famous educational projects was Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute, founded in 1881. Washington both taught and exemplified the goal of self-help; his autobiography, *Up from Slavery* (1901), became a best-seller. Because of the deep poverty in which most southern African Americans lived, Washington concluded that "book education" for most "would be almost a waste of time." He focused instead on industrial education. Students, he argued, would "be sure of knowing how to make a living after they had left us." Tuskegee sent female graduates into teaching and nursing; men more often entered the industrial trades or farmed by the latest scientific methods.

Washington gained national fame in 1895 with his **Atlanta Compromise** address, delivered at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, Georgia. For the exposition's white organizers, the racial "compromise" was inviting Washington to speak at all. It was a move intended to show racial progress in the South. Washington, in turn, delivered an address that many interpreted as approving racial segregation. Stating that African Americans had, in slavery days, "proved our loyalty to you," he assured whites that "in our humble way, we shall stand by you . . . ready to lay down our lives, if need be, in defense of yours." The races could remain socially detached: "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." Washington urged, however, that whites join him in working for "the highest intelligence and development of all."

Whites greeted this address with enthusiasm, and Washington became the most prominent black leader of his generation. His soothing rhetoric and style of leadership, based on avoiding

confrontation and cultivating white patronage and private influence, was well suited to the difficult years after Reconstruction. Washington believed that money was color-blind, that whites would respect economic success. He represented the ideals of millions of African Americans who hoped education and hard work would erase white prejudice. That hope proved tragically overoptimistic. As the tide of disfranchisement and segregation rolled in, Washington would come under fire from a younger generation of race leaders who argued that he accommodated too much to white racism.

In addition to African American education, women's higher education expanded notably. In the Northeast and South, women most often attended single-sex institutions, including teacher-training colleges. For affluent families, private colleges offered an education equivalent to men's—for an equally high price. Vassar College started the trend when it opened in 1861; Smith, Wellesley, and others followed. Anxious doctors warned that these institutions were dangerous: intensive brain work would unsex young women and drain energy from their ovaries, leading them to bear weak children. But as thousands of women earned degrees and suffered no apparent harm, fears faded. Single-sex higher education for women spread from private to public institutions, especially in the South, where the Mississippi State College for Women (1885) led the way.

Class of 1896, Radcliffe College When Harvard University, long a bastion of male privilege, created an "Annex" for women's instruction in 1879, it was a sure sign of growing support for women's higher education. The Annex became Radcliffe College in 1894. Two years later, this graduating class of thirty posed for their portrait. Among them was Alice Sterling of Bridgeport, Connecticut, who went on to marry Harvard graduate Frank Cook and devote herself to Protestant foreign missions. On two trips around the world, Alice Sterling Cook visited all the women's colleges that missionaries had founded in India, China, and Japan. Cook's energetic public activities typified those of many women's college alumnae. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University/Bridgeman Images

Coeducation was more prevalent in the Midwest and West, where many state universities opened their doors to female students after the Civil War. Women were also admitted to most African American colleges founded during Reconstruction. By 1910, 58 percent of America's colleges and universities were coeducational. While students at single-sex institutions forged strong bonds with one another, women also gained benefits from learning with men. When male students were friendly, they built comfortable working relationships; when men were hostile, women learned coping skills that served them well in later employment or reform work. One doctor who studied at the University of Iowa remembered later that he and his friends mercilessly harassed the first women who entered the medical school. But when the women showed they were good students, the men's attitudes changed to "wholesome respect."

Whether or not they got a college education, more and more women recognized, in the words of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, their "solitude of self." In the changing economy, they could not always count on fathers and husbands. Women who needed to support themselves could choose from dozens of guidebooks such as *What Girls Can Do* (1880) and *How to Make Money Although a Woman* (1895). The Association for the Advancement of Women, founded in 1873 by women's college graduates, defended women's higher education and argued that women's paid employment was a positive good.

Today, many economists argue that education and high-quality jobs for women are keys to reducing poverty in the developing world. In the United States, that process also led to broader gains in women's political rights. As women began to earn advanced degrees, work for wages and salaries, and live independently, it became harder to argue that women were "dependents" who did not need to vote.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did educational opportunities change after the Civil War, and for whom?

Toward Women's Emancipation

As the United States confronted industrialization, middle-class women steadily expanded their place beyond the household, building reform movements and taking political action. Starting in the 1880s, women's clubs sprang up and began to study such problems as pollution, unsafe working conditions, and urban poverty. So many formed by 1890 that their leaders created a nationwide umbrella organization, the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Women justified such work through the ideal of **maternalism**, appealing to their special role as mothers. Maternalism was an intermediate step between domesticity and modern arguments for women's equality. "Women's place is Home," declared the journalist Rheta Childe Dorr. But she added, "Home is the community. The city full of people is the Family. . . . Badly do the Home and Family need their mother."

AP® EXAM TIP

As you read through this section, analyze the changes that occurred in women's activism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Women's Temperance Activism

One maternalist goal was to curb alcohol abuse by prohibiting liquor sales. The **Woman's Christian Temperance Union** (WCTU), founded after a series of women's grassroots campaigns in 1874, spread rapidly after 1879, when charismatic Frances Willard became its leader. More than any other group of the late nineteenth century, the WCTU launched women into reform. Willard knew how to frame political demands in the language of feminine self-sacrifice. "Womanliness first," she advised her followers; "afterward, what you will." WCTU members vividly described the plight of abused wives and children when men suffered in the grip of alcoholism. Willard's motto was "Home Protection," and though it placed all the blame on alcohol rather than other factors, the WCTU became the first organization to identify and combat domestic violence.

The prohibitionist movement drew activists from many backgrounds. Middle-class city dwellers worried about the link between alcoholism and crime, especially in the growing immigrant wards. Rural citizens equated liquor with big-city sins such as prostitution and political corruption. Methodists, Baptists, Mormons, and members of other denominations condemned drinking for religious reasons. Immigrants passionately disagreed, however: Germans and Irish Catholics enjoyed their Sunday beer and saw no harm in it. Saloons were a centerpiece of working-class leisure and community life, offering free lunches, public toilets, and a place to share neighborhood news. Thus, while some labor unions advocated voluntary temperance, attitudes toward prohibition divided along ethnic, religious, and class lines.

WCTU activism led some leaders to raise radical questions about the shape of industrial society. As she investigated alcohol abuse, Willard increasingly confronted poverty, hunger, unemployment, and other industrial problems (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). Across the United States, WCTU locals founded soup kitchens and free libraries. They introduced a German educational innovation, the kindergarten. They investigated prison conditions. Though she did not persuade most prohibitionists to follow her lead, Willard declared herself a Christian Socialist and urged more attention to

FAMILY TEMPERANCE PLEDGE
GOD BLESS OUR HOME
WHY SIGN THE PLEDGE BECAUSE
WHY SIGN THE PLEDGE BECAUSE
BELIEVING IT TO BE BETTER FOR ALL
WE,
THE UNDERSIGNED SOLEMNLY PROMISE,
BY THE HELP OF GOD,
TO ABSTAIN FROM THE USE OF ALL
INTOXICATING DRINKS AS A BEVERAGE.
NAMES
HE WILL BLESS ALL WHO WALK BEFORE HIM IN A PERFECT WAY

Family Temperance Pledge This pledge form lists twelve reasons for abstaining from drinking alcoholic beverages and provides space for all family members to sign. It warns that "moderate drinking" can lead to alcoholism, "the Bible pronounces no blessing upon drinking," and "intemperance obstructs civilization, education, religion and every useful reform." Compare this pledge, printed around 1900, to the one from 1841 that appears in Chapter 10 (see p. 306). What continuities and changes do they suggest in ideals of religion, reform, and family life? Hearn Collection/Getty Images

workers' plight. She advocated laws establishing an eight-hour workday and abolishing child labor.

Willard also called for women's voting rights, lending powerful support to the independent suffrage movement that had emerged during Reconstruction. Controversially, the WCTU threw its energies behind the Prohibition Party, which exercised considerable clout during the 1880s. Women worked in the party as speakers, convention delegates, and even local candidates. Liquor was big business, and powerful interests mobilized to block antiliquor legislation. In many areas—particularly the cities—prohibition simply did not gain majority support. Willard retired to England, where she died in 1898, worn and discouraged by many defeats. But her legacy was powerful. Other groups took up the cause, eventually winning national prohibition after World War I.

Through its emphasis on human welfare, the WCTU encouraged women to join the national debate over poverty and inequality of wealth. Some became active in the People's Party of the 1890s, which welcomed women as organizers and **stump** speakers. Others led groups such as the National Congress of Mothers, founded in 1897, which promoted better child-rearing techniques in rural and working-class families. The WCTU had taught women how to lobby, raise money, and even run for office. Willard wrote that "perhaps the most significant outcome" of the movement was women's "knowledge of their own power."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

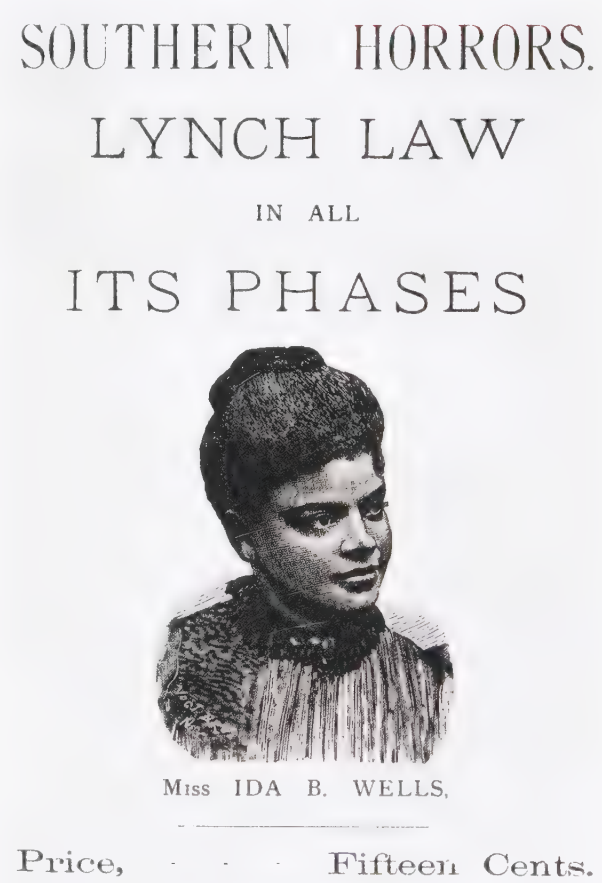
POINT OF VIEW

How did women use widespread beliefs about their "special role" to justify political activism, and for what goals?

Women, Race, and Patriotism As in temperance work, women played central roles in patriotic movements and African American community activism. Members of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), founded in 1890, celebrated the memory of Revolutionary War heroes. Equally influential was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), founded in 1894 to extol the South's "Lost Cause." The UDC's elite southern members shaped Americans' memory of the Civil War by constructing monuments, distributing Confederate flags, and promoting school textbooks that defended the Confederacy and condemned Reconstruction. The UDC's work helped build and maintain support for segregation and disfranchisement (see Chapter 14, Thinking Like a Historian).

African American women did not sit idle in the face of this challenge. In 1896, they created the **National Association of Colored Women**. Through its local clubs, black women arranged for the care of orphans, founded homes for the elderly, advocated temperance, and undertook public health campaigns. Such women shared with white women a determination to carry domesticity into the public sphere. Journalist Victoria Earle Matthews hailed the American home as "the foundation upon which nationality rests, the pride of the citizen, and the glory of the Republic." She and other African American women used the language of domesticity and respectability to justify their work.

One of the most radical voices was Ida B. Wells, who as a young Tennessee schoolteacher sued the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad for denying her a seat in the ladies' car (see p. 539). In 1892, a white mob in Memphis invaded a grocery store owned by three of Wells's friends, angry that it competed with a nearby white-owned store. When the black store owners defended themselves, wounding several of their attackers, all three were lynched. Grieving their deaths, Wells left Memphis and urged other African Americans to join her in boycotting the city's white businesses. As a journalist, she launched a one-woman campaign against lynching. Wells's investigations demolished the myth that


SOUTHERN HORRORS.

LYNCH LAW

IN ALL

ITS PHASES

Miss IDA B. WELLS.

Price, - - - Fifteen Cents.

THE NEW YORK AGE PRINT.

1892.

Ida B. Wells In 1887, Ida Wells (Wells-Barnett after she married in 1895) was thrown bodily from a train in Tennessee for refusing to vacate her seat in a section reserved for whites, launching her into a lifelong crusade for racial justice. Her mission was to expose the evil of lynching in the South. This image is the title page of a pamphlet she published in 1892.

WCTU Women "Do Everything"

Frances Willard, one of late-nineteenth-century America's most dynamic and admired reformers, rose to leadership of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in the 1870s, when she was in her thirties. She built the WCTU, which had emerged from a series of spontaneous protests in Ohio in the 1870s, into a powerful national organization, touring the West, the ex-Confederacy, and Europe and reaching out to African Americans, immigrants, and farmer-labor organizations. Urging women to view alcohol abuse in a broad context, she famously challenged them to "Do Everything": start libraries, soup kitchens, and kindergartens; advocate prison reform; oppose prostitution; work for women's suffrage; and elect male prohibitionists to office — or run as candidates themselves. Though the WCTU had limited electoral success, it trained tens of thousands of women in strategies for civic engagement.

1. **Consequences of Intemperance, 1874.** *In songs, lectures, personal testimony, and illustrations like this one, prohibitionists described — sometimes luridly — the effects of alcoholism.*

Source: Library of Congress

2. **Frances E. Willard, *Hints and Helps in Our Temperance Work*, 1875.** Hints and Helps *was one of Willard's first guidebooks for WCTU members.*

An attempt has here been made to anticipate questions that arise in the minds of Christian women who are willing to labor in the temperance cause, but not informed concerning plans of organization or methods of work. . . .

Write to your state secretary for a list of the best speakers available to you.

Observe the 23rd of December, the anniversary of the [1873 Ohio] crusade, by special exercises, in which men, women, and children all participate.

Get correct statistics of intemperance in *your own town*, and have them kept before the people. These will tell more than imported figures. Interest the press in your work. Wherever practicable, edit a column in the local newspaper. . . .

Whatever you neglect, keep up your *prayer-meeting*, and so far as possible get men and women in the bondage of strong drink to come there and sign the pledge and seek "the Lord behind the pledge." But while you are thus caring for the sick and wounded, do not forget that, after all, your most effective work is *drilling the juvenile troops*, and carrying your peaceful war right into the ranks of the men who vote. . . .

So far as possible, enlist *the pastors and the churches*. Seek to influence each church to become practically *a Temperance Society*. . . .

Write in a blank-book this agreement: "We, the undersigned, believing it to be for the greatest numbers' greatest good, agree to pay our employees on Monday (or the first of the week) instead of on Saturday night, from this time henceforth." Get all the business men to sign it. . . .

Seek to multiply places and sources of rational recreation for the young. If possible, induce each church in the town to fit up one of its apartments as a reading-room and place for social gatherings. . . .

Homes for Inebriates — both men and women — should be established in our cities, and the Women's Unions can do much to aid in this enterprise, by soliciting aid from the state and municipal governments and from the public. . . .

Drinking fountains for "man and beast" ought to be erected by our Unions in every city, town, and village. . . .

During the session of the legislature the Woman's State Union should plan for a convention or a series of mass-meetings at the capital. . . .

3. **Frances Willard on "Home Protection," 1879.** *Early in her career Willard took on the controversial issue of women's suffrage. By the late 1880s, most state WCTUs in the Northeast, Midwest, and West took up suffrage advocacy.*

"Home Protection" is the general name given to a movement already endorsed by the W.C.T. Unions of eight states, the object of which is to secure for all women above the age of twenty-one years the ballot as one means for the protection of their homes from the devastation caused by the legalized traffic in strong drink. . . .

We want [the] ballot because the liquor traffic is entrenched in law, and law grows out of the will of majorities. . . . As steam can be applied to locomotion only through an engine, and as electricity can be utilized only through a battery, so, in a Republic, we can condense the opinion of this majority of women into law only through the magical little paper which falls

As snowflakes fall upon the sod;

But executes a freeman's will

As lightnings do the will of God.

4. **Frances E. W. Harper, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Colored Woman," 1888.** *Writer and activist Frances E. W. Harper became one of the most prominent African American leaders in the WCTU. As Harper notes, black women worked largely in separate unions, sometimes by choice, but more often because white women insisted on maintaining all-white unions.*

Victor Hugo has spoken of the nineteenth century as being woman's era, and among the most noticeable epochs of this era is the uprising of women against the twin evils of slavery and intemperance. . . . In the great anti-slavery conflict women had borne a part, but after the storm cloud of battle had rolled away, it was found that an enemy, old and strong and deceptive, was warring against the best interests of society; not simply an enemy to one race, but an enemy to all races. . . . To dislodge this enemy, to put prohibition not simply on the statute book, but in the heart and conscience of a nation, embracing within itself such heterogeneous classes, is no child's play. . . .

One of the pleasantest remembrances of my connection with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the kind and hospitable reception I met in the Missouri State Convention, [whose] President, Mrs. Hoffman, . . . declared that the color-line was eliminated. A Superintendent was chosen at that meeting for colored work in the State. . . . Our work is divided into about forty departments, [including] departments for parlor meetings, juvenile and evangelistic work. . . . The Union held meetings in Methodist and Baptist churches, and opened in the African Methodist Episcopal Church an industrial school for children. . . . Some of the Unions . . . took the initiative for founding an orphan asylum for colored children. . . .

In the farther South separate State Unions have been formed. Southern white women, it may be, fail to make in their minds the discrimination between social equality and Christian affiliation. . . . Whether or not the members of the farther South will subordinate the spirit of caste to the spirit of Christ, time will show. . . .

5. **Frances Willard on her bicycle in Evanston, Illinois, 1893.** *Willard was in her fifties and in failing health when the United States was swept up in a bicycle craze, but she nonetheless undertook to show worried parents that bike riding was safe and fun for women and girls. As she reported in* A Wheel Within a Wheel, *biking gave girls self-confidence and an independent spirit to meet the challenges of the "wider world." Here, her two stenographers help her with her bicycle, which she nicknamed Gladys.*

Courtesy of the Frances E. Willard Memorial Library and Archives

6. **Rozette Hendrix, Minnesota's WCTU president, reports on the Union's work, 1912.** *Although Frances Willard died in 1898 and newer groups such as the Anti-Saloon League captured public attention, the WCTU continued organizing until the passage of national prohibition in 1920 (Chapter 21). This report suggests the diversity of its interests and alliances.*

Years ago the women began a war against child labor and also to procure compulsory educational laws, and sentiment has been created and much done along these lines. By the revision of our own state laws children under sixteen years of age are prohibited from employment in factories . . . and children under sixteen years of age are required to be in school. . . .

There is an aroused interest along all lines of Purity, not only in work done by our own organization but by others. A National Society of Moral Hygiene to promote sex teaching has been started, and an American Vigilance Association has been formed . . . [whose] purpose is the suppression of commercialized vice. . . . We have secured in our state such laws as are necessary for the suppression of [sex] traffic except the Injunction and Abatement measure which we failed of getting last session because of lack of time, and which we hope to get at our coming legislature. . . .

During the past year another state has been added to those already giving full suffrage. . . . [As one doctor puts it], "How absurd that women who suffer most because of intemperance should not be permitted to have anything to do with settling the question of the saloon." Women who are the home makers are the ones who are most concerned in these matters and when they have had a chance to vote, they have shown their interest. . . .

We are out to win. We are in the midst of a battle for state-wide prohibition and we shall never know defeat, victory may be delayed but it will come. God lives and right will prevail. . . . Have you not caught the vision of the homes protected, children free from the evils of drink, the tears wiped from the faces of mothers, sisters, and wives. Let us . . . work and pray as we never have before, for the homes, for the boys and the girls of Minnesota.

Sources: (2) Frances Willard, *Hints and Helps in Our Temperance Work*, in Carolyn De Swarte Gifford and Amy R. Slagell, eds., *Let Something Good Be Said: Speeches and Writings of Frances E. Willard* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 12–14; (3) Frances E. Willard, *Home Protection Manual* (New York: Independent, 1879), 4–5; (4) *A.M.E. Church Review* 12 (1888): 313–316; (6) Rozette Hendrix, "President's Annual Address," *Minutes of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the WCTU of the State of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Thurston & Gould, 1912), in Kathryn Kish Sklar and Thomas Dublin, eds., *Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000*, accessed through Vassar College Library at library.vassar.edu, Jan. 3, 2017.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How did Willard and other prohibitionists craft their public appeals? Use evidence from the sources to explain what values and identities WCTU leaders hoped would motivate others to join.
2. In addition to outlawing the manufacture and sale of liquor, the WCTU worked for a range of other measures. What policy recommendations appear in these documents? How might antiliquor work have led women to advocate these other policies?
3. Which Americans were likely most receptive to the WCTU's message, and why? Who may have been indifferent or hostile, and why?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using evidence from these sources and your knowledge of the period, write an essay responding to Frances Harper's comment, drawn from Victor Hugo, that the late nineteenth century was "women's era." What roles did the WCTU play in women's activism and women's rights?

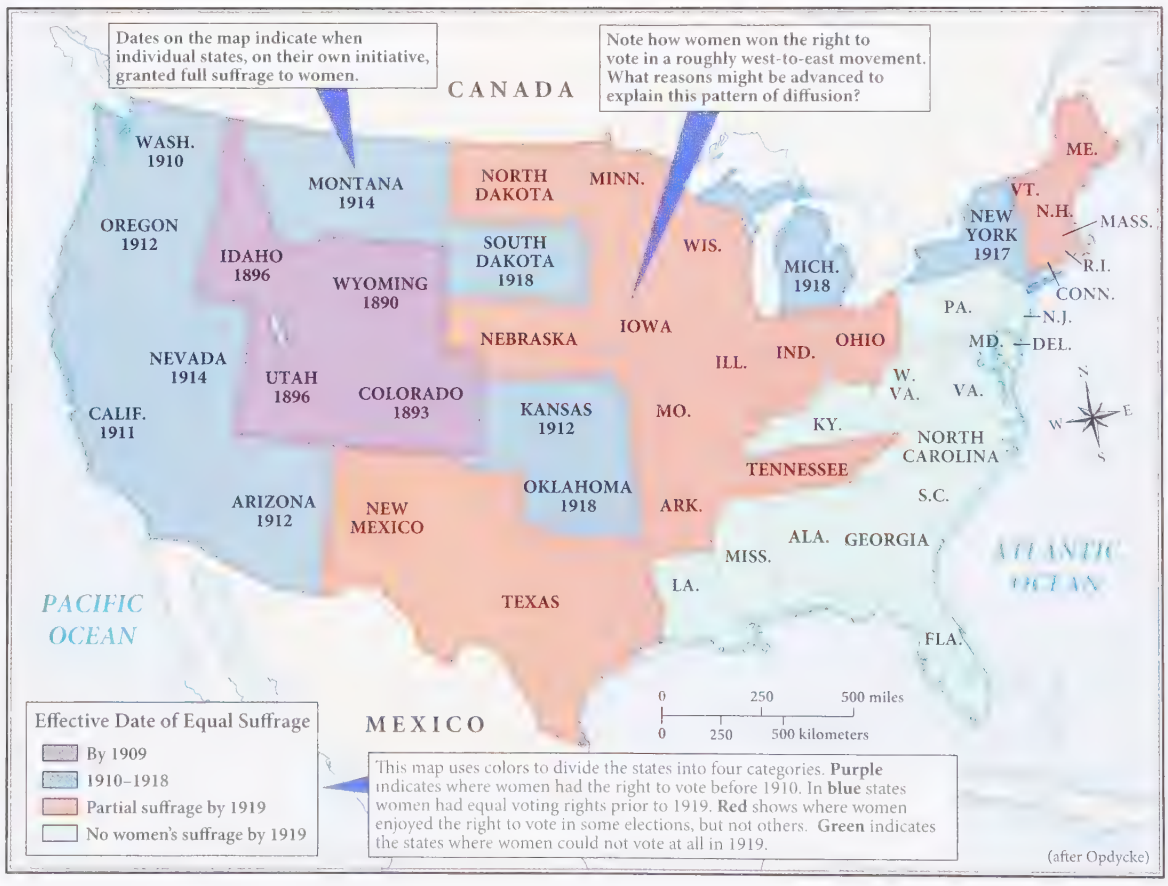
AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the context in which Ida B. Wells became a spokeswoman for racial equality.

lynchers were reacting to the crime of rape; she showed that the real cause was more often economic competition, a labor dispute, or a consensual relationship between a white woman and a black man. Settling in Chicago, Wells became a noted and accomplished reformer, but in an era of increasing racial injustice, few whites supported her cause.

The largest African American women's organization arose within the National Baptist Church (NBC), which by 1906 represented 2.4 million black churchgoers. Founded in 1900, the Women's Convention of the NBC funded night schools, health clinics, kindergartens, day care centers, and prison outreach programs. Adella Hunt Logan, born in Alabama, exemplified how such work could lead women to demand political rights. Educated at Atlanta University, Logan became a women's club leader, teacher, and suffrage advocate. "If white American women, with all their mutual and acquired advantage, need the ballot," she declared, "how much more do Black Americans, male and female, need the strong defense of a vote to help secure them their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?"

Women's Rights Though it had split into two rival organizations during Reconstruction (Chapter 14), the movement for women's suffrage reunited in 1890 in the **National American Woman Suffrage Association** (NAWSA). Soon afterward,



MAP 17.2 Women's Suffrage, 1890–1919

By 1909, after more than sixty years of agitation, only four lightly populated western states had granted women full voting rights. A number of other states offered partial suffrage, limited to voting for school boards and such issues as taxes and local referenda on whether or not to permit the sale of liquor licenses (the so-called local option). Between 1910 and 1918, as the effort shifted to the struggle for a constitutional amendment, eleven states joined the list granting full suffrage. The West remained the most progressive region in granting women's voting rights; the most stubborn resistance lay in the ex-Confederacy.

suffragists built on earlier victories in the West, winning full ballots for women in Colorado (1893), Idaho (1896), and Utah (1896, reestablished as Utah gained statehood). Afterward, movement leaders were discouraged by a decade of state-level defeats and Congress's refusal to consider a constitutional amendment. But suffrage again picked up momentum after 1911 (Map 17.2). By 1913, most women living west of the Mississippi River had the ballot. In other localities, women could vote in municipal elections, school elections, or liquor referenda.

The rising prominence of the women's suffrage movement had an ironic result: it prompted some women — and men — to organize against it, in groups such as the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (1911). Antisuffragists argued that it was expensive to add so many voters to the rolls; wives' ballots would just "double their husbands' votes" or worse, cancel them out, subjecting men to "petticoat rule." Some antisuffragists also argued that voting would undermine women's special roles as disinterested reformers: no longer above the fray, they would be plunged into the "cesspool of politics." In short, women were "better citizens without the ballot." Such arguments helped delay passage of national women's suffrage until after World War I.

By the 1910s, some women moved beyond suffrage to take a public stance for what they called **feminism** — women's full political, economic, and social equality. A famous site of sexual rebellion was New York's Greenwich Village, where radical intellectuals, including many gays and lesbians, created a vibrant community. Among other political activities, women there founded the Heterodoxy Club (1912), open to any woman who pledged not to be "orthodox in her opinions." The club brought together intellectuals, journalists, and labor organizers. Almost all supported suffrage, but they had a more ambitious view of what was needed for women's liberation. "I wanted to belong to the human race, not to a ladies' aid society," wrote one divorced journalist who joined Heterodoxy. Feminists argued that women should not simply fulfill expectations of feminine self-sacrifice; they should work on their own behalf. As the United States entered the modern era, then, greater advocacy for women's rights proved to be — like new consumer spaces, literary realism, and appreciation for wilderness — another unexpected transformation wrought by industrialization.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the causes for the rise of feminism is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did women's public activism impact American politics and society?

SUMMARY

In the era of industrialization, new intellectual currents, including Darwinism, challenged nineteenth-century certainties. Debates over evolution, especially its implications for the human species, proved particularly intense and long-lasting. "Survival of the fittest" — a term invented not by Charles Darwin, but by Herbert Spencer — was cited to justify ruthless business practices and inequalities of wealth. Eugenic "science" underlay such discriminatory practices as forced sterilization and laws against interracial marriage.

Science and modernism did not, however, displace religion. Newly arrived Catholics and Jews, as well as old-line Protestants, adapted their faiths to the conditions of modern life. Foreign missions spread the Christian gospel around the world, with mixed results for those receiving the message.

In the arts, realist and naturalist writers rejected both romanticism and the tenets of domesticity. Many Americans were shocked by the results, including Theodore Dreiser's scandalous novel *Sister Carrie*, Mark Twain's rejection of Christian faith, and the boldly modernist paintings displayed at New York's Armory Show.

Industrialization and new consumer practices created foundations for modern American culture. While middle-class families sought to preserve the Victorian domestic ideal, a variety of factors transformed family life. Families had fewer children, and a substantial majority of young people achieved more education than their parents had obtained. Across class and gender lines, Americans enjoyed athletics and the outdoors, fostering the rise of environmentalism.

Among an array of women's reform movements, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union sought prohibition of liquor, but it also addressed issues such as domestic violence, poverty, and education. Members of women's clubs pursued a variety of social and economic reforms, while other women organized for race uplift and patriotic work. Gradually, the Victorian ideal of female moral superiority gave way to modern claims for women's equal rights.

CHAPTER 17 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. How did Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and other scientific ideas impact American culture and intellectual life in the late nineteenth century? What uses did nonscientists make of such ideas?
2. How did industrialization change Americans' ideas about appropriate leisure activities for men and women of various social classes?
3. How did women's public activism impact American politics and society?
4. On the Part 6 thematic timeline (p. 495), review developments in "Culture and Society" and "Geography and the Environment." How did industrialization change Americans' relationship to the outdoors — to natural environments? What connections do you see between those changes and other, broader shifts in American society and culture?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Social Darwinism (p. 529)
eugenics (p. 529)
American Protective Association (p. 533)
Social Gospel (p. 533)
fundamentalism (p. 533)
realism (p. 535)
modernism (p. 535)
Plessy v. Ferguson (p. 539)
Jim Crow (p. 539)
Young Men's Christian Association (p. 539)
Negro Leagues (p. 542)
Sierra Club (p. 544)
National Park Service (p. 544)
Antiquities Act (p. 545)
Comstock Act (p. 547)
Atlanta Compromise (p. 548)
maternalism (p. 550)
Woman's Christian Temperance Union (p. 550)
National Association of Colored Women (p. 551)
National American Woman Suffrage Association (p. 554)
feminism (p. 555)

Key People

Billy Sunday (p. 534)
Mark Twain (Samuel Langhorne Clemens) (p. 535)
Thomas Edison (p. 536)
John Muir (p. 544)
Booker T. Washington (p. 548)
Frances Willard (p. 550)
Ida B. Wells (p. 551)

Key Academic Terms

cuneiform (p. 526)
linguist (p. 526)
paleontology (p. 528)
sociology (p. 528)
paradigm (p. 530)
Catholic diocese (p. 531)
parochial (p. 532)
precepts (p. 533)
deride (p. 535)
subterfuge (p. 541)
conservationist (p. 546)
stigma (p. 547)
stump speech (p. 551)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. This chapter explains cultural transformation as largely the result of industrialization. That's true, but it's not the whole story: the Civil War also helped bring about change. Review the material in Chapters 13 and 14, on the Civil War and its aftermath, and then write an essay in which you explain how changes in American society during the Civil War and Reconstruction laid the groundwork for cultural change in the areas of race relations, reform, science, and religious faith.
2. Consider the images in "Portrait of a Middle-Class American Family" (p. 547), the Radcliffe class of 1896 (p. 549), and the cover of Ida B. Wells's investigative report on lynchings (p. 551). What do women's dress, hair, and deportment suggest about expectations for women at the time? In what ways do these images suggest how standards might have been changing for younger women and girls?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 528 for help in answering the question below.

Some historians have argued that the 1890s was a crucial turning point in American culture — a decade when "modernity arrived." Based on events in this chapter, do you agree?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

> "Private property . . . in the natural conditions of the struggle for existence produces inequalities between men. The struggle for existence is aimed against nature. It is from her . . . hand that we have to wrest the satisfactions for our needs, but our fellow-men are our competitors for the meager supply. Competition, therefore, is a law of nature. Nature is entirely neutral; she submits to him who most energetically and resolutely assails her. She grants her awards to the fittest, therefore, without regard to other considerations of any kind. . . . If we do not like it, and if we try to amend it, there is only one way in which we can do it. We can take from the better and give to the worse. . . . We shall thus lessen the inequalities. We shall favor the survival of the unfittest, and we shall accomplish this by destroying liberty."
>
> Essay by Yale Professor William Graham Sumner, 1880

1. The ideas in the passage above most directly led to controversies in the 1880s and 1890s over
   a. increasing numbers of international migrants.
   b. business efforts to secure international markets.
   c. wages and working conditions.
   d. the moral obligations of business leaders to improve society.
2. Which of the following late twentieth century events represent a continuation of the ideas described in the passage at left?
   a. Increased military spending of the Reagan administration
   b. Deregulation of industry implemented by conservatives
   c. International free-trade agreements
   d. Great Society reforms enacted by liberals
3. Which of the following ideologies express the greatest difference from the ideas expressed in the excerpt?
   a. Populism
   b. Social Darwinism
   c. Nativism
   d. Laissez-faire capitalism

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "It is hardly necessary at the present day to enter a plea for athletic exercise and manly out-door sports. . . . [T]his growth can best be promoted by stimulating, within proper bounds, the spirit of rivalry on which all our games are based. . . . As a nation we have many tremendous problems to work out, and we need to bring every ounce of vital power possible to the solution. No people has ever yet done great and lasting work if its physical type was infirm and weak. . . .
>
> In college — and in most of the schools which are preparatory for college — rowing, foot-ball, base-ball, running, jumping, sparring, and the like have assumed a constantly increasing prominence. Nor is this a matter for regret . . . . [A]thletic sports, if followed properly, and not elevated into a fetish, are admirable for developing character, besides bestowing on the participants an invaluable fund of health and strength. . . ."
>
> Theodore Roosevelt, "Professionalism in Sports," 1890

4. Roosevelt's remarks in the excerpt most directly reflected which of the following developments during the late nineteenth century?
   a. New cultural opportunities in urban areas
   b. Increasing amounts of leisure time for the middle and upper classes
   c. More numerous critics championing alternative visions for U.S. society
   d. The growing income gap between rich and poor

5. Which of the following developments best represents a logical extension of the ideas expressed in the excerpt?
   a. Cultural and political controversy as Americans debated modernism in the 1920s
   b. The increasing homogeneity of mass culture in the post–World War II years
   c. The expansion of higher education opportunities in the 1950s
   d. An increased anxiety about radicalism immediately after World War I

6. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries the professionalization of athletics in the United States shared causes that also led most directly to a trend toward
   a. economic instability and political discontent among farmers.
   b. increasing urbanization of the United States.
   c. movements of women to seek greater equality with men.
   d. greater ethnic diversity in the industrial workforce.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Major league club owners were primarily men of new affluence, often Irish Catholics or German Jews. . . . These owners had important political connections that helped their sporting business succeed. . . . This created a fascinating paradox since WASPs [white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants] and other acculturated Americans regarded baseball as the institution that best epitomized the finest American beliefs, values, and traditions. Yet the baseball magnates were urban politicians, often machine politicians, who symbolized all that progressive small town Americans believed was destructive and wrong with American society."

Steven A. Reiss, *Touching Base: Professional Baseball and American Culture in the Progressive Era*, 1999

"The reserve clause would be a standard term in player contracts for nearly a century . . . the teams first considered establishing limits on salaries, but they decided that it would be easier if they simply ceased competing with each other to hire the best players. Each club was accordingly allowed to reserve . . . players for the ensuing season. . . . Once a club reserved a player, the other clubs would treat him as if he were already under contract . . . the result was an unusual system of labor relations, in which players were effectively bound for life to the teams that first signed them. . . . Even in the late nineteenth century, when workers throughout the economy had few rights enforceable against their employers, baseball stood out as a business in which the rules governing labor were conspicuously one-sided."

Stuart Banner, *The Baseball Trust: A History of Baseball's Antitrust Exemption*, 2013

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Reiss's and Banner's historical interpretations of baseball's role in American society in the second half of the nineteenth century.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Reiss's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly mention how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Banner's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly describe ONE specific historical change in American consumer culture during the late nineteenth century.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause that led to the change you identified in (a).
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect that followed from the change in American consumer culture you described in (a).
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE important difference in the development of Protestant and Catholic religious faiths during the Gilded Age.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE important similarity in the development of Protestant and Catholic religious faiths during the Gilded Age.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for the similarity or difference between the development of Protestant and Catholic religious faiths during the Gilded Age.

CHAPTER 18

"Civilization's Inferno": The Rise and Reform of Industrial Cities

1880–1917

The New Metropolis

The Shape of the Industrial City

Newcomers and Neighborhoods

City Cultures

Governing the Great City

Urban Machines

The Limits of Machine Government

Crucibles of Progressive Reform

Fighting Dirt and Vice

The Movement for Social Settlements

Cities and National Politics

AP LEARNING FOCUS

How did the rise of big cities shape American society and politics?

Clarence Darrow, a successful lawyer from Ashtabula, Ohio, felt isolated and overwhelmed when he moved to Chicago in the 1880s. "There is no place so lonely to a young man as a great city," Darrow later wrote. "When I walked along the street I scanned every face I met to see if I could not perchance discover someone from Ohio." Instead, he saw a "sea of human units, each intent upon hurrying by." At one point, Darrow felt near despair. "If it had been possible I would have gone back to Ohio," he wrote, "but I didn't want to borrow the money, and I dreaded to confess defeat." Yet Darrow stayed in Chicago and eventually prospered, becoming one of the nation's most famous defense attorneys.

In the era of industrialization, more and more Americans had experiences like Darrow's. In 1860, the United States was rural: less than 20 percent of Americans lived in an urban area, defined by census-takers as a place with more than 2,500 inhabitants. By 1910, more Americans lived in cities (42.1 million) than had lived in the entire nation on the eve of the Civil War (31.4 million). The country now had three of the world's ten largest cities (AP® America in the World). Though the Northeast remained by far the most urbanized region, the industrial Midwest was catching up. Seattle, San Francisco, and soon Los Angeles became hubs on the Pacific coast. Even the South boasted of thriving Atlanta and Birmingham. As journalist Frederic C. Howe declared in 1905, "Man has entered on an urban age." (See AP® America in the World.)

The scale of industrial cities encouraged experiments that ranged from the amusement park to the art museum, the skyscraper to the subway. Yet the city's complexity also posed problems, some of them far worse than Clarence Darrow's loneliness. Brothels flourished, as did slums, pollution, disease, and corrupt political machines. Fast-talking **hucksters** enjoyed prime opportunities to fleece newcomers; homeless men slept in the shadows of the mansions of the superrich. One African American observer called the city "Civilization's Inferno." The locus of urgent problems, industrial cities became important sites of political innovation and reform.

George Bellows, *New York* George Bellows, a member of the so-called Ash Can school of painters, was fascinated by urban life. In this 1911 painting, he depicts Madison Square during a winter rush-hour, crowded with streetcars, horse-drawn wagons, and pedestrians. If you could enter the world of this painting, what might you hear, feel, and smell as well as see? What does Bellows suggest about the excitement and challenges of life in the big city? Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Nat[illegible] of Art, Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1871** First elevated railroad begins operation in New York
- **1878** Yellow fever epidemic in Memphis, Tennessee
- **1883** Metropolitan Opera opens in New York
- **1885** First skyscraper completed in Chicago
- **1887** First electric trolley system built in Richmond, Virginia
- **1889** Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr found Hull House in Chicago
- **1890** Jacob Riis publishes *How the Other Half Lives*
- **1892** New York's Ellis Island opens
- **1893** Ragtime introduced to national audiences at Chicago World's Columbian Exposition
- **1897** First subway line opened in Boston
- **1899** Central Labor Union protests in Cleveland
  National Consumers' League founded
- **1901** New York passes Tenement House Law
- **1903** Women's Trade Union League founded
- **1906** Upton Sinclair publishes *The Jungle*
  Food and Drug Administration established
  Atlanta race riot
- **1910** Mann Act prohibits transportation of prostitutes across state lines
- **1911** Triangle Fire at Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York

The New Metropolis

Mark Twain, arriving in New York in 1867, remarked, "You cannot accomplish anything in the way of business, you cannot even pay a friendly call without devoting a whole day to it. . . . [The] distances are too great." But new technologies allowed engineers and planners to reorganize urban geographies. Specialized districts began to include not only areas for finance, manufacturing, wholesaling, and warehousing but also immigrant wards, shopping districts, and business-oriented downtowns. It was an exciting and bewildering world.

The Shape of the Industrial City

Before the Civil War, cities served the needs of commerce and finance, not industry. Early manufacturing sprang up mostly in the countryside, where mill owners could draw water power from streams, find plentiful fuel and raw materials, and recruit workers from farms and villages. The nation's largest cities were seaports; urban merchants bought and sold goods for distribution into the interior or to global markets.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of technological innovation in the rise of urban centers in the late nineteenth century as you read this section.

As industrialization developed, though, cities became sites for manufacturing as well as finance and trade. Steam engines played a central role in this change. With them, mill operators no longer had to depend on less reliable water power. Steam power also vastly increased the scale of industry. A factory employing thousands of workers could instantly create a small city such as Aliquippa, Pennsylvania, which belonged body and soul to the Jones and Laughlin Steel Company. Older commercial cities also industrialized. Warehouse districts converted to small-scale manufacturing. Port cities that served as immigrant gateways offered abundant cheap labor, an essential element in the industrial economy.

Mass Transit New technologies helped residents and visitors negotiate the industrial city. Steam-driven cable cars appeared in the 1870s. By 1887, engineer Frank Sprague designed an electric trolley system for Richmond, Virginia. Electricity from a central generating plant was fed to trolleys through overhead power lines, which each trolley touched with a pole mounted on its roof. Trolleys soon became the primary mode of transportation in most American cities. Congestion and frequent

accidents, however, led to demands that trolley lines be moved off streets. The "el" or elevated railroad, which began operation as early as 1871 in New York City, became a safer alternative. Other urban planners built down, not up. Boston opened a short underground line in 1897; by 1904, a subway running the length of Manhattan demonstrated the full potential of high-speed underground trains.

Even before the Civil War, the spread of railroads led to growth of outlying residential districts for the well-to-do. The high cost of transportation effectively segregated these wealthy districts. In the late nineteenth century, the trend accelerated. Businessmen and professionals built homes on large, beautifully landscaped lots in outlying towns such as Riverside, Illinois, and Tuxedo Park, New York. In such places, affluent wives and children enjoyed refuge from the pollution and perceived dangers of the city.

Los Angeles entrepreneur Henry Huntington, nephew of a wealthy Southern Pacific Railroad magnate, helped foster an emerging suburban ideal as he pitched the benefits of southern California sunshine. Huntington invested his family fortune in Los Angeles real estate and transportation. Along his trolley lines, he subdivided property into lots and built rows of bungalows, planting the tidy yards with lush trees and tropical fruits. Middle-class buyers flocked to purchase Huntington's houses. One exclaimed, "I have apparently found a Paradise on Earth." Anticipating twentieth-century Americans' love for affordable single-family homes near large cities, Huntington had begun to invent southern California sprawl.

Downtown St. Louis, c. 1890 This photograph suggests how new technologies transformed urban spaces. Architects built up; streetcars carried pedestrians from home to work and play; and telegraph and telephone wires began to crisscross streets, causing some to complain that they were dangerous eyesores. The unusual cleanliness of this street also suggests the impact of streetcars, subways, and other modern forms of transport: horses and their manure gradually disappeared from cities, replaced by fossil fuels. Library of

Skyscrapers By the 1880s, the invention of steel girders, durable plate glass, and passenger elevators began to revolutionize urban building methods. Architects invented the skyscraper, a building supported by its steel skeleton. Its walls bore little weight, serving instead as curtains to enclose the structure. Although expensive to build, skyscrapers allowed downtown landowners to profit from small plots of land. By investing in a skyscraper, a landlord could collect rent for ten or even twenty floors of space. Large corporations commissioned these striking designs as symbols of business prowess.

The first skyscraper was William Le Baron Jenney's ten-story Home Insurance Building (1885) in Chicago. Though unremarkable in appearance — it looked just like other downtown buildings — Jenney's steel-girder construction inspired the creativity of American architects. A **Chicago school** sprang up, dedicated to the design of buildings whose form expressed, rather than masked, their structure and function. The presiding genius of this school was architect Louis Sullivan, whose "vertical aesthetic" of set-back windows and strong columns gave skyscrapers a "proud and soaring" presence and offered plentiful natural light for workers inside. Chicago pioneered skyscraper construction, but New York, with its unrelenting demand for prime downtown space, took the lead by the late 1890s. The fifty-five-story Woolworth Building, completed in 1913, marked the beginning of Manhattan's modern skyline.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

The World's Biggest Cities, 1800–2000

This table lists the ten largest cities in the world, by population in millions, at the start of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries.

TABLE 18.1

1800

City	Population
Beijing, China	1.10 million
London, United Kingdom	0.86
Guangzhou, China	0.80
Istanbul, Turkey	0.57
Paris, France	0.55
Hangzhou, China	0.50
Edo (later Tokyo), Japan	0.49
Naples (later part of Italy)	0.43
Suzhou, China	0.39
Osaka, Japan	0.38

1900

City	Population
London, United Kingdom	6.48 million
New York, United States	4.24
Paris, France	3.33
Berlin, Germany	2.42
Chicago, United States	1.72
Vienna, Austria	1.66
Tokyo, Japan	1.50
St. Petersburg, Russia	1.44
Philadelphia, United States	1.42
Manchester, United Kingdom	1.26

2000

City	Population
Tokyo, Japan	34.45 million
Mexico City, Mexico	18.02
New York City/Newark, United States	17.85
São Paulo, Brazil	17.10
Mumbai (Bombay), India	16.09
Delhi, India	15.73
Shanghai, China	13.22
Calcutta, India	13.06
Buenos Aires, Argentina	11.85
Los Angeles, United States	11.81

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In each year, how many of the world's ten largest cities were located in the United States? In what regions of the world were the other cities located? What does this tell us about the United States's role in the world at each of these historical moments?
2. The figures from 1900 and 2000 show, to a large degree, the effects of industrialization. What does the table suggest about its impact?

The Electric City One of the most dramatic urban amenities was electric light. Gaslight, produced from coal gas, had been used for residential light since the early nineteenth century, but gas lamps were too dim to brighten streets and public spaces. In the 1870s, as generating technology became commercially viable, electricity proved far better. Electric arc lamps, installed in Wanamaker's department store in Philadelphia in 1878, astonished viewers with their brilliant illumination. Electric streetlights soon replaced gaslights on city streets.

Before it had a significant effect on industry, electricity gave the city its modern tempo. It lifted elevators, illuminated department store windows, and above all, turned night into day. Electric streetlights made residents feel safer; as one magazine put it in 1912, "A light is as good as a policeman." Nightlife became less risky and more

The San Francisco Earthquake California's San Andreas Fault had caused earthquakes for centuries — but when a major metropolis arose nearby, it created new potential for catastrophe. The devastating earthquake of April 18, 1906, occurred at 5:12 A.M., when many residents were sleeping. This photograph of Sacramento Street shows the resulting devastation and fires. The quake probably killed over 2,000 people, though the exact number will never be known. A massive 296-mile rupture along the fault, felt as far away as Los Angeles, Oregon, and central Nevada, the earthquake refuted contemporary geological theories. It prompted researchers to open new lines of inquiry aimed at predicting tremors — and constructing urban buildings that could withstand them. Universal History Archive/UIG/Bridgeman Images

appealing. One journalist described Broadway in 1894: "All the shop fronts are lighted, and the entrances to the theaters blaze out on the sidewalk." At the end of a long working day, city dwellers flocked to this free entertainment. Nothing, declared an observer, matched the "festive panorama" of Broadway "when the lights are on."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How were America's industrial cities different from the typical city before 1860?

Newcomers and Neighborhoods

Explosive population growth made cities a world of new arrivals, including many young women and men arriving from the countryside. Traditionally, rural daughters had provided essential labor for spinning and weaving cloth, but industrialization relocated those tasks from the household to the factory. Finding themselves without a useful household role, many farm daughters sought paid employment. In an age of declining rural prosperity, many sons also left the farm and — like immigrants arriving from other countries — set aside part of their pay to help the folks at home. Explaining why she moved to Chicago, an African American woman from Louisiana declared, "A child with any respect about herself or hisself wouldn't like to see their mother and father work so hard and earn nothing. I feel it my duty to help."

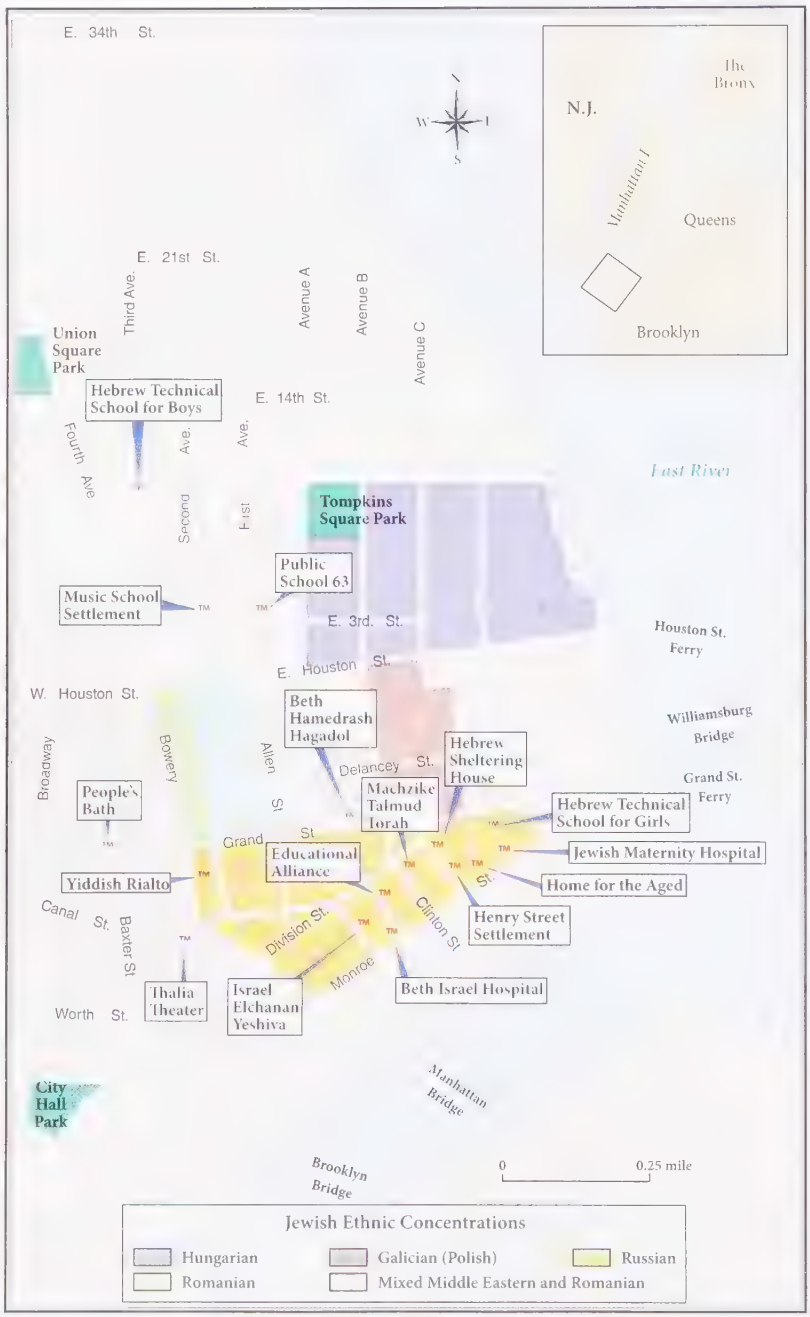
America's cities also became homes for millions of overseas immigrants. Most numerous in Boston were the Irish; in Minneapolis, Swedes; in other northern cities, Germans. Arriving in a great metropolis, immigrants confronted many difficulties. One Polish man, who had lost the address of his American cousins, felt utterly alone after disembarking at New York's main immigration facility, Ellis Island, which opened in 1892. Then he heard a kindly voice in Polish, offering to help. "From sheer joy," he recalled, "tears welled up in my eyes to hear my native tongue." Such experiences suggest why immigrants stuck together, relying on relatives and friends to get oriented and

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the ways immigrants maintained cultural identity in American cities is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

find jobs. A high degree of ethnic clustering resulted, even within a single factory. At the Jones and Laughlin steelworks in Pittsburgh, for example, the carpentry shop was German, the hammer shop Polish, and the blooming mill Serbian. "My people . . . stick together," observed a son of Ukrainian immigrants. But he added, "We who are born in this country . . . feel this country is our home."

Patterns of settlement varied by ethnic group. Many Italians, recruited by *padroni*, or labor bosses, found work in northeastern and Mid-Atlantic cities. Their urban concentration was especially marked after the 1880s, as more and more laborers arrived from southern Italy. The attraction of America was obvious to one young man, who had grown up in a poor southern Italian farm family. "I had never gotten any wages of any kind before," he reported after settling with his uncle in New Jersey. "The work here was just as hard as that on the farm; but I didn't mind it much because I would receive what seemed to me like a lot." Amadeo Peter Giannini, who started off as a produce merchant in San Francisco, soon turned to banking. After the San Francisco earthquake in 1906, his Banca d'Italia was the first financial institution to reopen in the Bay area. Expanding steadily across the West, it eventually became Bank of America.



MAP 18.1 The Lower East Side, New York City, 1900
As this map shows, the Jewish immigrants dominating Manhattan's Lower East Side preferred to live in neighborhoods populated by those from their home regions of Eastern Europe. Their sense of a common identity made for a remarkable flowering of educational, cultural, and social institutions on the Jewish East Side. Ethnic neighborhoods became a feature of almost every American city.

Like Giannini's bank, institutions of many kinds sprang up to serve ethnic urban communities. Throughout America, Italian speakers avidly read the newspaper *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*; Jews read the Yiddish-language *Jewish Daily Forward*, also published in New York. Bohemians gathered in singing societies, while New York Jews patronized a lively Yiddish theater. By 1903, Italians in Chicago had sixty-six **mutual aid societies**, most composed of people from a particular province or town. These societies collected dues from members and paid support in case of death or disability on the job. Mutual benefit societies also functioned as fraternal clubs. "We are strangers in a strange country," explained one member of a Chinese *tong*, or mutual aid society, in Chicago. "We must have an organization (*tong*) to control our country fellows and develop our friendship."

Sharply defined ethnic neighborhoods such as San Francisco's Chinatown, Italian North Beach, and Jewish Hayes Valley grew up in every major city, driven by both discrimination and immigrants' desire to stick together (Map 18.1). In addition to patterns of ethnic and racial segregation, residential districts in almost all industrial cities divided along lines of economic class. Around Los Angeles's central plaza, Mexican neighborhoods diversified, incorporating Italians and Jews. Later, as the plaza

became a site for business and tourism, immigrants were pushed into working-class neighborhoods like Belvedere and Boyle Heights, which sprang up to the east. Though ethnically diverse, East Los Angeles was resolutely working class; middle-class white neighborhoods grew up predominantly in West Los Angeles.

African Americans also sought urban opportunities. In 1900, almost 90 percent of American blacks still lived in the South, but increasing numbers had moved to cities such as Baton Rouge, Jacksonville, Montgomery, and Charleston, all of whose populations were more than 50 percent African American. Blacks also settled in northern cities, albeit not in the numbers that would arrive during the Great Migration of World War I. Though blacks constituted only 2 percent of New York City's population in 1910, they already numbered more than 90,000. These newcomers confronted conditions even worse than those for foreign-born immigrants. Relentlessly turned away from manufacturing jobs, most black men and women took up work in the service sector, becoming porters, laundrywomen, and domestic servants.

Blacks faced another urban danger: the so-called **race riot**, an attack by white mobs triggered by street altercations or rumors of crime. One of the most virulent episodes occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1906. The violence was fueled by a nasty political campaign that generated sensational false charges of "negro crime." Roaming bands of white men attacked black Atlantans, invading middle-class black neighborhoods and in one case lynching two barbers after seizing them in their shop. The rioters killed at least twenty-four blacks and wounded more than a hundred. The disease of hatred was not limited to the South. Race riots broke out in New York City's Tenderloin district (1900); Evansville, Indiana (1903); and Springfield, Illinois (1908). By then, one journalist observed, "In every important Northern city, a distinct race-problem already exists which must, in a few years, assume serious proportions."

The Cherry Family, 1906 Wiley and Fannie Cherry migrated in 1893 from North Carolina to Chicago, settling in the small African American community that had established itself on the city's West Side. The Cherrys apparently prospered. By 1906, when this family portrait was taken, they had entered the black middle class. When migration intensified after 1900, longer-settled urban blacks like the Cherrys often became uncomfortable, and relations with needy rural newcomers were sometimes tense. Collection of Lorraine Heffner/Picture Research Consultants & Archive

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the specific challenges facing African Americans in American cities.

Whether they arrived from the South or from Europe, Latin America, or Asia, working-class city residents needed cheap housing near their jobs. They faced grim choices. As urban land values climbed, speculators tore down houses that were vacated by middle-class families moving away from the industrial core. In their place, they erected five- or six-story **tenements**, buildings that housed twenty or more families in cramped, airless apartments (Figure 18.1). Tenements fostered rampant disease and horrific infant mortality. In New York's Eleventh Ward, an average of 986 persons occupied each acre. One investigator in Philadelphia described twenty-six people living in nine rooms of a tenement. "The bathroom at the rear of the house

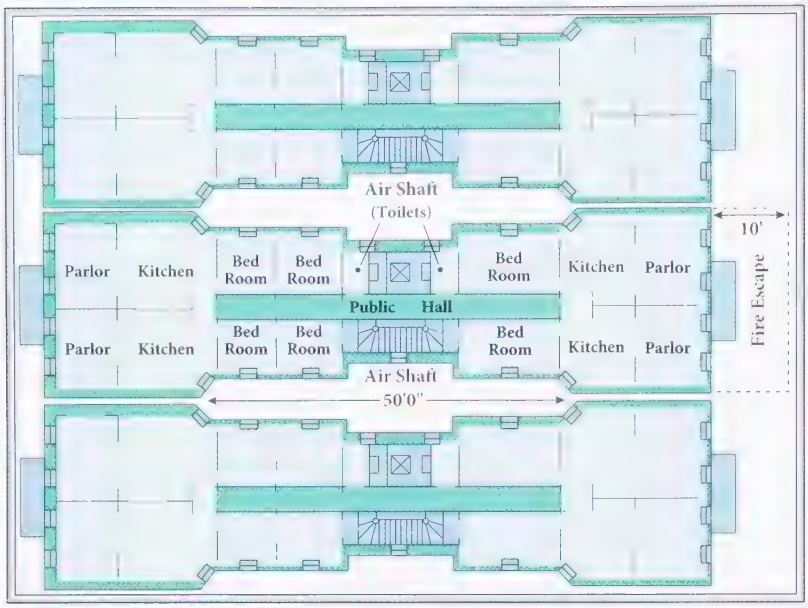


FIGURE 18.1 Floor Plan of a Dumbbell Tenement

In a contest for a design that met an 1879 requirement for every room to have a window, the dumbbell tenement won. The interior indentation, which created an airshaft between adjoining buildings, gave the tenement its "dumbbell" shape. But what was touted as a model tenement demonstrated instead the futility of trying to reconcile maximum land usage with decent housing. Each floor contained four apartments of three or four rooms, the largest only 10 by 11 feet. The two toilets in the hall became filthy or broke down under daily use by forty or more people. The narrow airshaft provided almost no light for the interior rooms and served mainly as a dumping ground for garbage. So deplorable were these tenements that they became the stimulus for the next wave of New York housing reform.

was used as a kitchen," she reported. "One privy compartment in the yard was the sole toilet accommodation for the five families living in the house." African Americans often suffered most. A study of Albany, Syracuse, and Troy, New York, noted, "The colored people are relegated to the least healthful buildings."

Denouncing these conditions, reformers called for model tenements financed by public-spirited citizens willing to accept a limited return on their investment. When private philanthropy failed to make a dent, cities turned to housing codes. The most advanced was New York's Tenement House Law of 1901, which required interior courts, indoor toilets, and fire safeguards for new structures. The law, however, had no effect on the 44,000 tenements that already existed in Manhattan and the Bronx. Reformers were thwarted by the economic facts of urban development. Industrial workers could not afford transportation and had to live near their jobs; commercial development pushed up land values. Only high-density, cheaply built housing earned landlords a significant profit.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What opportunities did urban neighborhoods provide to immigrants and African Americans, and what problems did these newcomers face?

City Cultures

Despite their dangers and problems, industrial cities could be exciting places to live. In the nineteenth century, white middle-class Protestants had set the cultural standard; immigrants and the poor were expected to follow cues from their betters, seeking "uplift" and respectability. But in the cities, new mass-based entertainments emerged among the working classes, especially youth. These entertainments spread from the working class to the middle class — much to the distress of many middle-class parents. At the same time, cities became stimulating centers for intellectual life.

Urban Amusements One enticing attraction was **vaudeville theater**, which arose in the 1880s and 1890s. Vaudeville customers could walk in anytime and watch a continuous sequence of musical acts, skits, magic shows, and other entertainment. First popular among the working class, vaudeville quickly broadened its appeal to include middle-class audiences. By the early 1900s, vaudeville faced competition from early movie theaters, or nickelodeons, which offered short films for a nickel entry fee. With distaste, one reporter described a typical movie audience as "mothers of bawling infants" and "newsboys, bootblacks, and smudgy urchins." By the 1910s, even working girls who refrained from less respectable amusements might indulge in a movie once or twice a week.

More spectacular were the great amusement parks that appeared around 1900, most famously at New York's Coney Island. These parks had their origins in world's fairs, whose paid entertainment areas had offered giant Ferris wheels and camel rides through "a street in Cairo." Entrepreneurs found that such attractions were big business. Between 1895 and 1904, they installed them at several rival amusement parks near Coney Island's popular beaches. The parks offered New Yorkers a chance to come by ferry, escape the hot city, and enjoy roller coasters, lagoon plunges, and "hootchy-kootchy" dance shows.

Among the amazed observers was Cuban revolutionary José Martí, working as a journalist in the United States. "What facilities for every pleasure!" Martí wrote. "What absolute absence of any outward sadness or poverty! . . . The theater, the photographers' booth, the bathhouses!" He concluded that Coney Island epitomized America's commercial society, driven not by "love or glory" but by "a desire for gain." Similar parks grew up around the United States. By the summer of 1903, Philadelphia's Willow Grove counted three million visitors annually; so did two amusement parks outside Los Angeles.

Amusement Park, Long Beach, California The origins of the roller coaster go back to a Switchback Railway installed at New York's Coney Island in 1884, featuring gentle dips and curves. By 1900, when the Jack Rabbit Race was constructed at Long Beach, California, the goal was to create the biggest possible thrill. Angelenos journeyed by trolley to Long Beach to take a dip in the ocean as well as to ride the new roller coaster — and the whip ride in the foreground. Private Collection/Ph GraphicaArts/Bridgeman Image

Ragtime and City Blues Music also became a booming urban entertainment. By the 1890s, Tin Pan Alley, the nickname for New York City's song-publishing district, produced such national hit tunes as "A Bicycle Built for Two" and "My Wild Irish Rose." The most famous sold more than a million copies of sheet music, as well as audio recordings for the newly invented phonograph. To find out what would sell, publishers had musicians play at New York's working-class beer gardens and dance halls. One publishing agent, who visited "sixty joints a week" to test new songs, declared that "the best songs came from the gutter."

African American musicians brought a syncopated beat that began, by the 1890s, to work its way into mainstream hits like "A Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight." Black performers became stars in their own right with the rise of ragtime. This music, apparently named for its ragged rhythm, combined a steady beat in the bass (played with the left hand on the piano) with syncopated, off-beat rhythms in the treble (played with the right). Ragtime became wildly popular among audiences of all classes and races who heard in its infectious rhythms something exciting — a decisive break with Victorian hymns and parlor songs.

For the master of the genre, composer Scott Joplin, ragtime was serious music. Joplin, the son of former slaves, grew up along the Texas-Arkansas border and took piano lessons as a boy from a German teacher. He and other traveling performers introduced ragtime to national audiences at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Seeking to elevate African American music and secure a broad national audience, Joplin warned pianists, "It is never right to play 'Ragtime' fast." But his instructions were widely ignored. Young Americans embraced ragtime.

They also embraced each other, as ragtime ushered in an urban dance craze. By 1910, New York alone had more than five hundred dance halls. In Kansas City, shocked guardians of morality counted 16,500 dancers on the floor on a Saturday night; Chicago had 86,000. Some young Polish and Slovak women chose restaurant jobs rather than domestic service so they would have free time to visit dance halls "several nights a week." New dances like the Bunny Hug and Grizzly Bear were overtly sexual: they called for close body contact and plenty of hip movement. In fact, many of these dances originated in brothels.

Inside a San Francisco Dance Hall, 1911 San Francisco's "Barbary Coast" had a wild reputation as a district of brothels, saloons, and other houses of ill repute. As this photo of Spider Kelly's bar suggests, however, nightclubs could provide a safe place for young couples to meet and dance. Urban singles made such bars wildly popular by the 1910s, prompting reformers and older Americans to express anxiety or condemnation of "dance madness" and its potential moral dangers. San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library

Despite widespread denunciation, dance mania quickly spread from the urban working classes to rural and middle-class youth.

By the 1910s, black music was achieving a central place in American popular culture. African American trumpet player and bandleader W. C. Handy, born in Alabama, electrified national audiences by performing music drawn from the cotton fields of the Mississippi Delta. Made famous when it reached the big city, this music became known as the **blues**. Blues music spoke of hard work and heartbreak, as in Handy's popular hit "St. Louis Blues" (1914):

> Got de St. Louis Blues jes blue as I can be,
> Dat man got a heart lak a rock cast in the sea,
> Or else he wouldn't gone so far from me.

Blues spoke to the emotional lives of young urbanites who were far from home, experiencing dislocation, loneliness, and bitter disappointment along with the thrills of city life. Like Coney Island and other leisure activities, ragtime and blues helped forge new collective experiences in a world of strangers.

Ragtime and blues spread quickly and had a profound influence on twentieth-century American culture. By the time Handy published "St. Louis Blues," composer Irving Berlin, a Russian Jewish immigrant, was introducing altered ragtime pieces into musical theater — which eventually transferred to radio and film. Lyrics often featured sexual innuendo, as in the title of Berlin's hit song "If You Don't Want My Peaches (You'd Better Stop Shaking My Tree)." The popularity of such music marked the arrival of modern youth culture. Its enduring features included "crossover" music that originated in the black working class and a commercial music industry that brazenly appropriated African American musical styles.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the degree to which mass culture in urban areas challenged tradition in American society.

New Sexual Freedoms In the city, many young people found parental oversight weaker than it had been before. Amusement parks and dance halls helped foster the new custom of dating, which like other cultural innovations emerged first among the working class. Gradually, it became acceptable for a young man to escort a young woman out on the town for commercial entertainments rather than spending time at home under a chaperone's watchful eye. Dating opened a new world of pleasure, sexual adventure, and danger. Young women headed to dance halls alone to meet men; the term *gold digger* came into use to describe a woman who wanted a man's money more than the man himself.

But young women, not men, proved most vulnerable in the system of dating. Having less money to spend because they earned half or less of men's wages, working-class girls relied on the **"treat."** Some tried to maintain strict standards of respectability, keenly aware that their prospects for marriage depended on a virtuous reputation. Others became so-called charity girls, eager for a good time. Such young women, one investigator reported, "offer themselves to strangers, not for money, but for presents, attention and pleasure." For some women, sexual favors were a matter of practical necessity. "If I did not have a man," declared one waitress, "I could not get along on my wages." In the anonymous city, there was not always a clear line between working-class treats and casual prostitution.

Dating and casual sex were hallmarks of an urban world in which large numbers of residents were young and single. The 1900 census found that more than 20 percent of women in Detroit, Philadelphia, and Boston lived as boarders and lodgers, not in family units; the percentage topped 30 percent in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Single men also found social opportunities in the city. One historian has called the late nineteenth century the Age of the Bachelor, a time when being an unattached male lost its social stigma. With boardinghouses, restaurants, and abundant personal services, the city afforded bachelors all the comforts of home and, on top of that, an array of men's clubs, saloons, and sporting events.

Many industrial cities developed robust gay subcultures. New York's gay underground, for example, included an array of drinking and meeting places, as well as clubs and drag balls. Middle-class men, both straight and gay, frequented such venues for entertainment or to find companionship. One medical student remembered being taken to a ball at which he was startled to find five hundred gay and lesbian couples waltzing to "a good band." By the 1910s, the word *queer* had come into use as slang for *homosexual*. Though harassment was frequent and moral reformers like Anthony Comstock issued regular denunciations of sexual "degeneracy," arrests were few. Gay sex shows and saloons were lucrative for those who ran them (and for police, who took bribes to look the other way, just as they did for brothels). The exuberant gay urban subculture offered a dramatic challenge to Victorian ideals.

High Culture For elites, the rise of great cities offered an opportunity to build museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions that could flourish only in major metropolitan centers. Millionaires patronized the arts partly to advance themselves socially but also out of a sense of civic duty and national pride. As early as the 1870s, symphony orchestras emerged in Boston and New York. Composers and conductors soon joined Europe in new experiments. The Metropolitan Opera, founded in 1883 by wealthy businessmen, drew enthusiastic crowds to hear the innovative work of Richard Wagner. In 1907, the Met shocked audiences by presenting Richard Strauss's sexually scandalous opera *Salome*.

Art museums and natural history museums also became prominent new institutions in this era. The nation's first major art museum, the Corcoran Gallery of Art, opened in Washington, D.C., in 1869, while New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art settled into its permanent home in 1880. In the same decades, public libraries grew from modest collections into major urban institutions. The greatest library benefactor was steel magnate Andrew Carnegie, who announced in 1881 that he would build a library in any town or city that was prepared to maintain it. By 1907, Carnegie had spent more than $32.7 million to establish over a thousand libraries throughout the United States.

Urban Journalism Patrons of Carnegie's libraries could read, in addition to books, an increasing array of mass-market newspapers. Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and *New York World*, led the way in building his sales base with sensational investigations, human-interest stories, and targeted sections covering sports and high society. By the 1890s, Pulitzer faced a challenge from William Randolph Hearst (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). The arrival of Sunday color comics featuring the "Yellow Kid" gave such publications the name **yellow journalism**, a derogatory term for mass-market newspapers. Hearst's and Pulitzer's sensational coverage was often irresponsible. In the late 1890s, for example, their papers helped whip up frenzied pressure for the United States to declare war against Spain (Chapter 20). But Hearst and Pulitzer also exposed scandals and injustices. They believed their papers should challenge the powerful by speaking to and for ordinary Americans.

Along with Hearst's and Pulitzer's stunt reporters, other urban journalists also worked to promote reform. New magazines such as *McClure's* introduced national audiences to reporters such as Ida Tarbell, who exposed the machinations of John D. Rockefeller, and David Graham Phillips, whose "Treason of the Senate," published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1906, documented the deference of U.S. senators—especially Republicans—to wealthy corporate interests. Theodore Roosevelt dismissed such writers as **muckrakers** who focused too much on the negative side of American life. The term stuck, but muckrakers' influence was profound. They inspired thousands of readers to get involved in reform movements and tackle the problems caused by industrialization.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

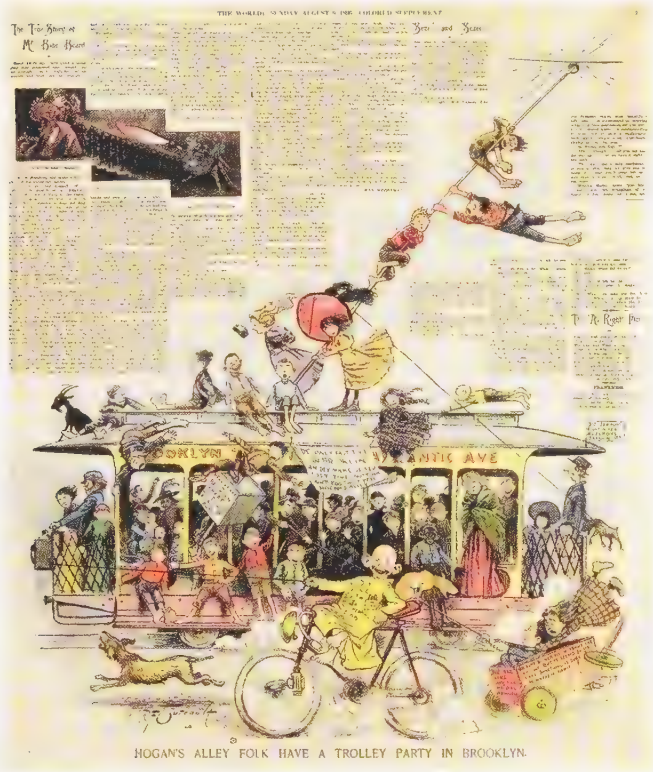
How did working-class and elite city residents differ in how they spent their money and leisure time?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did American cities change in the late nineteenth century?

Making Mass Media: Newspaper Empires

Among the businesses that served urban consumers were mass-market newspapers. Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* led the way in the 1880s; a decade later Pulitzer had a powerful rival in the *New York Journal*, owned by William Randolph Hearst.

1. **R. F. Outcault's "The Yellow Kid" comic, *The World*, August 9, 1896.** *Pulitzer and Hearst introduced Sunday color comics, including "The Yellow Kid" (shown here on a bicycle). Working-class readers instantly recognized the "kid," slang that then referred to working-class immigrant children. The Kid, like other boys of his age, wore skirts; tenement toddlers' heads were shaved to discourage lice.*



Source: Picture Research Consultants & Archives

2. **Editorial, *Wheeling Register*, April 6, 1885.** *A West Virginia newspaper commented on a campaign by the* New York World *to complete the Statue of Liberty. Parts of the statue, donated by France, were languishing in New York City parks.*

   The *New York World* is a liberty-loving journal. It has taken the responsibility of being foster mother to that much abused piece of bronze called the "BARTHOLDI statue." It begins to look as if the *World* may nurse it to a successful termination by raising funds enough through public contributions to complete the pedestal upon which it is to stand. Success to the enterprise.

3. **"HOMELESS, HOPELESS! Nellie Bly in a Night Haunt of the City's Wretchedest of Women," *New York World*, February 9, 1896.** *Pulitzer and Hearst hired many "stunt reporters." The most famous was Elizabeth Jane Cochrane, who took her pen name, Nellie Bly, from a popular song. In 1892, sponsored by the* World, *Bly beat the record in Jules Verne's famous novel* Around the World in Eighty Days, *circumnavigating the world in seventy-two days. She filed many investigative pieces such as this one.*

   An old woman stood with her back against the side of a building. Over her head was a ragged shawl that had once been red. Around her knees hung a limp and shapeless calico skirt. The rain and sleet were falling steadily and lay thick and slushy upon the streets.

   I shivered as I stopped to watch. . . . If the old woman felt the cold she gave no sign. She stood motionless, peeping around the corner. Her eyes were fixed upon the door of the Oak Street Station-House.

   Just then three small boys, unmindful of the weather, came trudging down the street . . . industriously gathering every white spot that showed upon the pavement to add to the black snowballs they held in their wet red hands.

   Turning the corner suddenly they came upon the old woman. For a second they paused and looked at her and she glared at them. It reminded me of the way dogs behave when they turn a corner and espy a cat. . . . The old woman started on a frantic hobble across the street, the boys after her. Their black snowballs landed squarely and soakingly against her bent back. . . . The old woman shouted things as she ran, things that do not sound well and are never by any chance reproduced in print, but they seemed to increase the delight of the fiendish boys. . . . As fast as she could hobble she made for the station-house and the boys pursued her, pelting her.

4. **Newsboys strike coverage, *New York Herald-Tribune*, July 25, 1899.** *As sales plummeted after the War of 1898, Pulitzer and other newspaper titans raised the cost of a newspaper bundle, for children who resold them, from 50 to 60 cents. Newsboys struck. They failed to get the 50-cent price reinstated, but the* World *and other companies agreed to buy back unsold papers, which they had not done before. Kid Blink, the strike leader, was blind in one eye.*

   The newsboys' strike gathered new strength last night in a monster mass meeting held at New Irving Hall. . . . "Kid"

Blink, who has been made Grand Master Workman of the union, led the procession. . . . The unbiased spectator last evening could not fail to be impressed with the resolute, manly fight the little fellows are making. . . .

SPEECH OF "KID" BLINK

. . . Dis is de time when we'se got to stick togedder like glue! But der's one ting I want ter say before I goes any furder. I don't believe in getting' no feller's papers frum him and tearin' 'em up. I know I done it. (Cries of "You bet you did!") But I'm sorry fer it. No! der ain't nuttin in dat. We know wot we wants and we'll git it. . . . Dem 10 cents is as good ter us as to de millionaires — maybe better. . . . We'll strike and restrike till we get it. . . . We'll stick togedder like plaster, won't we, boys?

The boys answered that they would.

5. Lewis Wickes Hine, newsboys selling at a Hartford, Connecticut saloon, 9:30 P.M., March 1909. *In addition to subscriptions and sales at newsstands, newspapers sold bundles of one hundred papers to boys and girls, who resold as many as they could. Photographer Lewis Hine's caption, included below, suggests one strategy for selling papers. Hine, working for the National Child Labor Committee, took many such images.*

A common case of "team work." The smaller boy . . . goes into one of the saloons and sells his "last" papers. Then comes out and his brother gives him more. Joseph said, "Drunks are me best customers. . . . Dey buy me out so I kin go home." He sells every afternoon and night. Extra late Saturday. At it again at 6 A.M.

6. Circulation statistics for the *New York World* from *N. W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory*, 1910.

Edition	Political affiliation	No. of Pages	Circulation
Morning	Democratic	16	361,412
Evening	Independent	12–16	410,259
Sunday	Democratic	56–72	459,663

SOURCES: (2) *Wheeling Register*, April 6, 1885; (3) *New York World*, February 9, 1896; (4) *New York Herald-Tribune*, July 25, 1899; (6) *N. W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1910), 623.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Based on these sources, why do you think "yellow journalism" was popular and profitable? What audiences did it serve, and how?
2. Consider the tone and point of view of sources 1, 3, and 5. What do they suggest about American attitudes toward the urban poor?
3. What do these sources say about how Pulitzer and Hearst viewed their roles as publishers? How might we compare their newspaper empires to other corporations of the industrial era (Chapter 16)?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Write a brief essay in which you explain the ways in which the rise of mass-market newspapers might have contributed to and helped to publicize calls for progressive reform.

SOURCE: Library of Congress.

Governing the Great City

One of the most famous muckrakers was Lincoln Steffens, whose book *The Shame of the Cities* (1904), first published serially in *McClure's* magazine, denounced the corruption afflicting America's urban governments. Steffens used dramatic language to expose "swindling" politicians. He claimed, for example, that the mayor of Minneapolis had turned his city over to "outlaws." In St. Louis, "bribery was a joke," while Pittsburgh's Democratic Party operated a private company that handled most of the city's street-paving projects — at a hefty profit. Historians now believe that Steffens and other middle-class crusaders took a rather extreme view of urban politics; the reality was more complex. But charges of corruption could hardly be denied. As industrial cities grew with breathtaking speed, they posed a serious problem of governance.

Urban Machines

In the United States, cities relied largely on private developers to build streetcar lines and provide urgently needed water, gas, and electricity. This preference for business solutions gave birth to what one urban historian calls the "private city" — an urban environment shaped by individuals and profit-seeking businesses. Private enterprise, Americans believed, spurred great innovations — trolley cars, electric lighting, skyscrapers — and drove urban real estate development. Investment opportunities looked so tempting, in fact, that new cities sprang up almost overnight from the ruins of a catastrophic Chicago fire in 1871 and a major San Francisco earthquake in 1906. Real estate interests were often instrumental in encouraging streetcar lines to build outward from the central districts.

Sending Bosses to Prison, 1894 In this cartoon the humor journal *Puck* imagines the citizenry removing Democrat Edward Murphy Jr. from the U.S. Senate and depositing him in New York's state prison at Ossining, beside convicted Coney Island boss John McKane. *Puck*'s prediction did not come true: despite allegations of graft, Murphy had a long and successful career. Library of Congress

When contractors sought city business, or saloonkeepers needed licenses, they turned to **political machines**: local party bureaucracies that kept an unshakable grip on both elected and appointed public offices. A machine like New York's infamous Tammany Society — known by the name of its meeting place, Tammany Hall — consisted of layers of political **functionaries**. At the bottom were **precinct** captains who knew every city neighborhood and block; above them were ward bosses and, at the top, powerful citywide leaders, who had usually started at the bottom and worked their way up. Machines dispensed jobs and patronage, arranged for urban services, and devoted their energies to staying in office, which they did, year after year, on the strength of their political clout and popularity among urban voters.

For constituents, political machines acted as a rough-and-ready social service agency, providing jobs for the jobless or a helping hand for a bereaved family. Tammany ward boss George Washington Plunkitt, for example, reported that he arranged housing for families after their apartments burned, "fix[ing] them up until they get things runnin' again." Plunkitt was an Irishman, and so were most Tammany Hall leaders. But by the 1890s, Plunkitt's Fifteenth District was filling up with Italians and Russian Jews. On a given day (as recorded in his diary), he might attend an Italian funeral in the afternoon and a Jewish wedding in the evening. Wherever he went, he brought gifts, listened to his constituents' troubles, and offered a helping hand.

The favors dispensed by men like Plunkitt came via a system of boss control that was, as Lincoln Steffens charged, corrupt. Though rural, state, and national politics were hardly immune to such problems, cities offered flagrant opportunities for bribes and kickbacks. The level of corruption, as Plunkitt observed, was greater in cities, "accordin' to the opportunities." When politicians made contracts

for city services, some of the money ended up in their pockets. In the 1860s, William Marcy Tweed, known as Boss Tweed, had made Tammany Hall a byword for corruption, until he was brought down in 1871 by flagrant overpricing of contracts for a lavish city courthouse. Thereafter, machine corruption became more **surreptitious**. Plunkitt declared that he had no need for outright bribes. He favored what he called "honest graft" — the profits that came to savvy insiders who knew where and when to buy land. Plunkitt made most of his money building wharves on Manhattan's waterfront.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of political machines in the development of cities is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Middle-class reformers condemned immigrants for supporting machines. But urban immigrants believed that few middle-class Americans cared about the plight of poor city folk like themselves. Machines were hardly perfect, but immigrants could rely on them for jobs, emergency aid, and the only public services they could hope to obtain. Astute commentators saw that bosses dominated city government because they provided what was needed, with no condescending moral judgments. As reformer Jane Addams put it, the ward boss was a "stalking survival of village kindness." Voters knew he was corrupt, but on election day they might say, "Ah, well, he has a big Irish heart. He is good to the widow and the fatherless," or, "he knows the poor." Addams concluded that middle-class reformers would only make headway if they set aside their prejudices, learned to "stand by and for and with the people," and did a better job of it than the machine bosses did.

To see a longer excerpt of the Jane Addams essay, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Machine-style governments achieved some notable successes. They arranged (at a profit) for companies to operate streetcars, bring clean water and gaslight, and remove garbage. Nowhere in the world were there more massive public projects — aqueducts, sewage systems, bridges, and spacious parks — than in the great cities of the United States. The nature of this achievement can be grasped by comparing Chicago, Illinois, with Berlin, the capital of Germany, in 1900. At that time, Chicago's waterworks pumped 500 million gallons of water a day, providing 139 gallons per resident; Berliners made do with 18 gallons each. Flush toilets, a rarity in Berlin, could be found in 60 percent of Chicago homes. Chicago lit its streets with electricity, while Berlin still relied mostly on gaslight. Chicago had twice as many parks as the German capital, and it had just completed an ambitious sanitation project that reversed the course of the Chicago River, carrying sewage into Lake Michigan, away from city residents.

These achievements were remarkable, because American municipal governments labored under severe political constraints. Judges did grant cities some authority: in 1897, for example, New York's state supreme court ruled that New York City was entirely within its rights to operate a municipally owned subway. Use of private land was also subject to whatever regulations a city might impose. But, starting with an 1868 ruling in Iowa, the American legal system largely classified the city as a "corporate entity" subject to state control. In contrast to state governments, cities had only a limited police power, which they could use, for example, to stop crime but not to pass more ambitious measures for public welfare. States, not cities, held most taxation power and received most public revenues. Machines and their private allies flourished, in part, because cities were starved for legitimate cash.

Thus money talked; powerful economic interests warped city government. Working-class residents — even those loyal to their local machines — knew that the newest electric lights and best trolley lines served affluent neighborhoods, where citizens had the most clout. Hilda Satt, a Polish immigrant who moved

A Hint to Boards of Health In 1884, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* urged municipal and state boards of health to work harder to protect urban children. When this cartoon appeared, New Yorkers were reading shocking reports of milk dealers who diluted milk with borax and other chemicals. Note the range of health threats that the cartoonist identifies. Ruther

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why, given that everyone agreed machines were corrupt, did urban voters support them?

into a poor Chicago neighborhood in 1893, recalled garbage-strewn streets and filthy backyard privies. "The streets were paved with wooden blocks," she later wrote, "and after a heavy rainfall the blocks would become loose and float about in the street." She remembered that on one such occasion, local pranksters posted a sign saying, "The Mayor and the Aldermen are Invited to Swim Here." As cities expanded, the limitations of political machines became increasingly clear.

The Limits of Machine Government

The scale of urban problems became dramatically evident in the depression of the 1890s, when unemployment reached a staggering 25 percent in some cities. Homelessness and hunger were rampant; newspapers nationwide reported on cases of starvation, desperation, and suicide. To make matters worse, most cities had abolished the early-nineteenth-century system of outdoor relief, which provided public support for the indigent. Fearing the system promoted laziness among the poor, middle-class reformers had insisted on private, not public, charity. Even cities that continued to provide outdoor relief in the 1890s were overwhelmed by the magnitude of the crisis. Flooded with "tramps," police stations were forced to end the long-standing practice of allowing homeless individuals to sleep inside.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the causes for the changes that occurred in municipal governments in the early twentieth century.

Faced with this crisis, many urban voters proved none too loyal to the machines when better alternatives arose. Cleveland, Ohio, for example, experienced eighty-three labor strikes between 1893 and 1898. Workers' frustration centered on corrupt businesses with close ties to municipal officials. The city's Central Labor Union, dissatisfied with Democrats' failure to address its concerns, worked with middle-class allies to build a thriving local branch of the People's Party (Chapter 19). Their demands for stronger government measures, especially to curb corporate power, culminated in citywide protests in 1899 during a strike against the hated streetcar company. That year, more than eight thousand workers participated in the city's annual Labor Day parade. As they passed the mayor's reviewing stand, the bands fell silent and the unions furled their flags in a solemn protest against the mayor's failure to support their cause.

To recapture support from working-class Clevelanders, Democrats made a dramatic change in 1901, nominating Tom Johnson for mayor. Johnson, a reform-minded businessman, advocated municipal ownership of utilities and a tax system in which "monopoly and privilege" bore the main burdens. (Johnson once thanked Cleveland's city appraisers for raising taxes on his own mansion.) Johnson's comfortable victory transformed the Democrats into Cleveland's leading reform party. While the new mayor did not fulfill the whole agenda of the Central Labor Union and its allies, he became an advocate of publicly owned utilities and one of the nation's most famous and innovative reformers.

Like Johnson, other mayors began to oust machines and launch ambitious programs of reform. Some modeled their municipal governments on those of Glasgow, Scotland; Düsseldorf, Germany; and other European cities on the cutting edge of innovation. In Boston, Mayor Josiah Quincy built public baths, gyms, swimming pools, and playgrounds and provided free public concerts. Like other mayors, he battled streetcar companies to bring down fares. The scope of such projects varied. In 1912, San Francisco managed to open one small municipally owned streetcar line to compete with private companies. Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on the other hand, elected socialists who experimented with a sweeping array of measures, including publicly subsidized medical care and housing.

Republican Hazen Pingree, mayor of Detroit from 1890 to 1897, was a particularly noted reformer who worked for better streets and public transportation. During the depression, Pingree opened a network of vacant city-owned lots as community vegetable gardens. Though some people ridiculed "Pingree's Potato Patches," the gardens helped feed thousands of Detroit's working people during the harsh depression years. By 1901, a coalition of reformers who campaigned against New York's Tammany Hall

began to borrow ideas from Pingree and other mayors. In the wealthier wards of New York, they promised to reduce crime and save taxpayer dollars. In working-class neighborhoods, they vowed to provide affordable housing and municipal ownership of gas and electricity. They defeated Tammany's candidates, and though they did not fulfill all of their promises, they did provide more funding for overcrowded public schools.

Reformers also experimented with new ways of organizing municipal government itself. After a devastating hurricane in 1900 killed an estimated six thousand people in Galveston, Texas, and destroyed much of the city, rebuilders adopted a commission system that became a nationwide model for efficient government. Leaders of the **National Municipal League** advised cities to elect small councils and hire professional city managers who would direct operations like a corporate executive. The league had difficulty persuading politicians to adopt its business-oriented model; it won its greatest victories in young, small cities like Phoenix, Arizona, where the professional classes held political power. Other cities chose, instead, to enhance democratic participation. As part of the Oregon System, which called for direct voting on key political questions, Portland voters participated in 129 municipal referendum votes between 1905 and 1913.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did reformers try to address the limits of machine government? To what extent did they succeed?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What problems did big cities pose for those who ran them, and how did political leaders try to meet those challenges?

Crucibles of Progressive Reform

The challenges posed by urban life presented rich opportunities for experimentation and reform. As happened in Cleveland with Tom Johnson's election as mayor, working-class radicals and middle-class reformers often mounted simultaneous challenges to political machines, and these combined pressures led to dramatic change. Many reformers pointed to the plight of the urban poor, especially children. Thus it is not surprising that **progressivism**, an overlapping set of movements to combat the ills of industrialization (Chapter 19), had important roots in the city. In the slums and tenements of the metropolis, reformers invented new forms of civic participation that shaped the course of national politics.

AP® EXAM TIP

Take detailed notes on the role of popular media in the rise of progressivism.

Fighting Dirt and Vice

As early as the 1870s and 1880s, news reporters drew attention to corrupt city governments, the abuse of power by large corporations, and threats to public health. Researcher Helen Campbell reported on tenement conditions in such exposés as *Prisoners of Poverty* (1887). Making innovative use of the invention of flash photography, Danish-born journalist Jacob Riis included photographs of tenement interiors in his famous 1890 book, *How the Other Half Lives*. Riis had a profound influence on Theodore Roosevelt when the future president served as New York City's police commissioner. Roosevelt asked Riis to lead him on tours around the tenements, to help him better understand the problems of poverty, disease, and crime.

Cleaning Up Urban Environments One of the most urgent problems of the big city was disease. In the late nineteenth century, scientists in Europe came to understand the role of germs and bacteria. Though researchers could not yet cure epidemic diseases, they could recommend effective measures for prevention. Following up on New York City's victory against cholera in 1866—when government officials instituted an effective quarantine and prevented large numbers of deaths—city and state officials began to champion more public health projects. With a major clean-water initiative for its industrial cities in the late nineteenth century, Massachusetts

City Garbage "How to get rid of the garbage?" was a question that bedeviled every American city. The difficulties of keeping up are all too clear in this ground-level photograph by the great urban investigator Jacob Riis, looking down Tammany Street in New York City around 1890. © Museum of the City of New York, USA
Bridgeman Art Library

demonstrated that it could largely eliminate typhoid fever. After a horrific yellow fever epidemic in 1878 that killed perhaps 12 percent of its population, Memphis, Tennessee, invested in state-of-the-art sewage and drainage. Though the new system did not eliminate yellow fever, it unexpectedly cut death rates from typhoid and cholera, as well as infant deaths from water-borne disease. Other cities followed suit. By 1913, a nationwide survey of 198 cities found that they were spending an average of $1.28 per resident for sanitation and other health measures.

The public health movement became one of the era's most visible and influential reforms. In cities, the impact of pollution was obvious. Children played on piles of garbage, breathed toxic air, and consumed poisoned food, milk, and water. Infant mortality rates were shocking: in the early 1900s, a baby born to a Slavic woman in an American city had a 1 in 3 chance of dying in infancy. Outraged, reformers mobilized to demand safe water and better garbage collection. Hygiene reformers taught hand-washing and other techniques to fight the spread of **tuberculosis**.

Americans worked in other ways to make industrial cities healthier and more beautiful to live in. Many municipalities adopted smoke-abatement laws, though they had limited success with enforcement until the post–World War I adoption of natural gas, which burned cleaner than coal. Recreation also received attention. Even before the Civil War, urban planners had established sanctuaries like New York's Central Park, where city people could stroll, rest, and contemplate natural landscapes. By the turn of the twentieth century, the **"City Beautiful" movement** arose to advocate more and better urban park spaces. Though most parks still featured flower gardens and tree-lined paths, they also made room for skating rinks, tennis courts, baseball fields, and swimming pools. Many included play areas with swing sets and seesaws, promoted by the National Playground Association as a way to keep urban children safe and healthy (AP® Interpreting the Past).

How Did Urban Progressive Reformers Approach Environmentalism?

Contemporary stereotypes often associate environmentalism with wild landscapes, but environmentalism had an early history in America's cities. The urban landscapes of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were the focus of reformers' efforts to manage the ill effects of industrialization and overcrowding. Though progressive environmentalists responded in different ways, they shared the view that America's cities were in danger.

The evidence was all around them. The nation's industrial factories belched plumes of coal ash. The pigs and horses wandering unpaved city streets dropped manure. The waste from overcrowded tenements spilled onto city sidewalks. With an inadequate and frequently corrupt public works infrastructure, cities were easily viewed as environmental disasters. Armed with an ideal of the city, reformers embraced an environmental mission to transform America's urban spaces. But what goals of environmentalism did reformers prioritize? In the excerpts below, two historians, William H. Wilson and David Stradling, emphasize different approaches to Progressive Era urban environmentalism.

WILLIAM H. WILSON

SOURCE: William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 79–80, 86–87.

[T]hose who endorsed the City Beautiful [movement] were environmentalists. When they trumpeted the meliorative power of beauty, they were stating their belief in its capacity to shape human thought and behavior. . . . [T]he whole urban environment and the entire human experience within it were critical to the City Beautiful movement. If the city became the locus of harmony, mutual responsibility, and interdependence between classes, mediated by experts, then it would be a peaceful, productive place. . . . [A]dvocates found secular salvation for humans in their belief in a flexible, organic city. . . . City Beautiful praised flowers, shrubs, and trees for their enhancing, softening qualities in city settings . . . [and] urged grass plots, ground covers, flowers, and plant groupings . . . [and] treated naturalistic parks and parkways as precious assets.

DAVID STRADLING

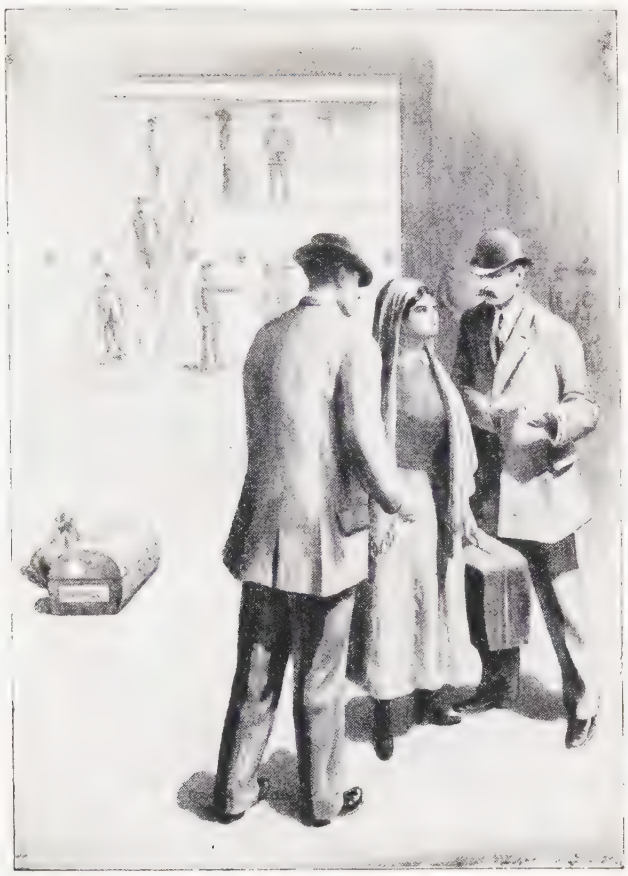
SOURCE: David Stradling, *The Nature of New York: An Environmental History of the Empire State* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 118–119.

Municipal health officials and city inspectors did make some advances against disease, especially through the improvement of the urban environment. They banned pigs from city streets, regulated notoriously unhealthy dairies inside city limits, and stepped up oversight of street cleaning and garbage removal. . . . [T]he Ladies Health Protective Association . . . shared a concern for the vile odors emanating from a manure handler along the East River . . . [and] the entire slaughterhouse district near . . . the tenements fouled by sickening smells and backed-up sewage. . . . [T]he association contacted business owners directly with their complaints, and . . . organized demonstrations at the offending locations, inviting the press to witness their lay inspections. . . . The women also gained considerable publicity when they brought their complaints to the Board of Health.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. What different perspectives of Progressive Era environmentalism do these two historians emphasize?
2. What do these excerpts reveal about the different strategies and tactics urban environmental reformers pursued?
3. What characteristics of progressivism, as discussed in this textbook, are visible in the urban environmental movements described in these excerpts?

Closing Red Light Districts Distressed by the commercialization of sex, reformers also launched a campaign against urban prostitution. They warned, in dramatic language, of the threat of white slavery, alleging (in spite of considerable evidence to the contrary) that large numbers of young white women were being kidnapped and forced into prostitution. In *The City's Perils* (1910), author Leona Prall Groetzinger wrote that young women arrived from the countryside "burning with high hope and filled with great resolve, but the remorseless city takes them, grinds them, crushes them, and at last deposits them in unknown graves."



"FRIENDS" MEETING EMIGRANT GIRL AT THE DOCK

"The girl was met at New York by two 'friends' who took her in charge. These 'friends' were two of the most brutal of all the white slave traders who are in the traffic."

U. S. Dist. Attorney Edwin W. Sims

Foreign girls are more helplessly at the mercy of white slave hunters than girls at home. Every year thousands of girls arriving in America from Italy, Sweden, Germany, etc., are never heard of again.

The Crusade Against "White Slavery" With the growth of large cities, prostitution was a major cause of concern in the Progressive Era. Though the number of sex workers per capita in the United States was probably declining by 1900, the presence of red light districts was obvious; thousands of young women (as well as a smaller number of young men) were exploited in the sex trade. This image appeared in *The Great War on White Slavery*, published by the American Purity Foundation in 1911. It illustrates how immigrant women could be ensnared in the sex trade by alleged "friends" who offered them work. Reformers' denunciations of "white slavery" show an overt racial bias: while antiprostitution campaigners reported on the exploitation of Asian and African American women, the victimization of white women received the greatest emphasis and most effectively grabbed the attention of prosperous, middle-class Americans. *The Great War on White* by Clifford G. Roe, 1911. Courtesy Vassar College Special Collection

Practical investigators found a more complex reality: women entered prostitution as a result of many factors, including low-wage jobs, economic desperation, abandonment, and often sexual and domestic abuse. Women who bore a child out of wedlock were often shunned by their families and forced into prostitution. Some working women and even housewives undertook casual prostitution to make ends meet. For decades, female reformers had tried to "rescue" such women and retrain them for more respectable employments, such as sewing. Results were, at best, mixed. Efforts to curb demand — that is, to focus on arresting and punishing men who employed prostitutes — proved unpopular with voters.

Nonetheless, with public concern mounting over "white slavery" and the payoffs machine bosses exacted from brothel keepers, many cities appointed vice commissions in the early twentieth century. A wave of brothel closings crested between 1909 and 1912, as police shut down red light districts in cities nationwide. Meanwhile, Congress passed the Mann Act (1910) to prohibit the transportation of prostitutes across state lines.

The crusade against prostitution accomplished its main goal, closing brothels, but in the long term it worsened the conditions under which many prostitutes worked. Though conditions in some brothels were horrific, sex workers who catered to wealthy clients made high wages and were relatively protected by madams, many of whom set strict rules for clients and provided medical care for their workers. In the wake of brothel closings, such women lost control of the prostitution business. Instead, almost all sex workers became "streetwalkers" or "call girls," more vulnerable to violence and often earning lower wages than they had before the antiprostitution crusade began.

The Movement for Social Settlements

Some urban reformers focused their energies on building a creative new institution, the **social settlement**. These community welfare centers investigated the plight of the urban poor, raised funds to address urgent needs, and helped neighborhood residents advocate on their own behalf. At the movement's peak in the early twentieth century, dozens of social settlements operated across the United States. The most famous, and one of the first, was **Hull House** on Chicago's West Side, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and her companion Ellen Gates Starr. Their dilapidated mansion, flanked by saloons in a neighborhood of Italian and Eastern European immigrants, served as a spark plug for community improvement and political reform.

The idea for Hull House came partly from Toynbee Hall, a London settlement that Addams and Starr had visited while touring Europe. Social settlements also drew inspiration from U.S. urban missions of the 1870s and 1880s. Some of these, like the Hampton Institute, had aided former slaves during Reconstruction; others, like Grace Baptist in Philadelphia, arose in northern cities. To meet the needs of urban residents, missions offered employment counseling, medical clinics, day care centers, and

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What prompted the rise of urban environmental and antiprostitution campaigns?

sometimes athletic facilities in cooperation with the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA).

Jane Addams, a daughter of the middle class, first expected Hull House to offer art classes and other cultural programs for the poor. But Addams's views quickly changed as she got to know her new neighbors and struggled to keep Hull House open during the depression of the 1890s. Addams's views were also influenced by conversations with fellow Hull House resident Florence Kelley, who had studied in Europe and returned a committed socialist. Dr. Alice Hamilton, who opened a pediatric clinic at Hull House, wrote that Addams came to see her settlement as "a bridge between the classes. . . . She always held that this bridge was as much of a help to the well-to-do as to the poor." Settlements offered idealistic young people "a place where they could live as neighbors and give as much as they could of what they had."

Addams and her colleagues believed that working-class Americans already *knew* what they needed. What they lacked were resources to fulfill those needs, as well as a political voice. These, settlement workers tried to provide. Hull House was typical in offering a bathhouse, playground, kindergarten, and day care center. Some settlements opened libraries and gymnasiums; others operated penny savings banks and cooperative kitchens where tired mothers could purchase a meal at the end of the day. (Addams humbly closed the Hull House kitchen when she found that her bland New England cooking had little appeal for Italians; her coworker, Dr. Alice Hamilton, soon investigated the health benefits of garlic.) At the Henry Street Settlement in New York, Lillian Wald organized visiting nurses to improve health in tenement wards. Addams, meanwhile, encouraged local women to inspect the neighborhood and bring back a list of dangers to health and safety. Together, they prepared a complaint to city council. The women, Addams wrote, had shown "civic enterprise and moral conviction" in carrying out the project themselves.

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of Hull House is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Social settlements took many forms. Some attached themselves to preexisting missions and African American colleges. Others were founded by energetic college graduates. Catholics ran St. Elizabeth Center in St. Louis; Jews, the Boston Hebrew Industrial School. Whatever their origins, social settlements were, in Addams's words, "an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern condition of life in a great city."

Settlements served as a springboard for many other projects. Settlement workers often fought city hall to get better schools and lobbied state legislatures for new workplace safety laws. At Hull House, Hamilton investigated lead poisoning and other health threats at local factories. Her colleague Julia Lathrop investigated the plight of teenagers caught in the criminal justice system. She drafted a proposal for separate juvenile courts and persuaded Chicago to adopt it. Pressuring the city to experiment with better rehabilitation strategies for juveniles convicted of crime, Lathrop created a model for juvenile court systems across the United States.

Another example of settlements' long-term impact was the work of Margaret Sanger, a nurse who moved to New York City in 1911 and volunteered with a Lower East Side settlement. Horrified by women's suffering from constant pregnancies — and remembering her devout Catholic mother, who had died young after bearing eleven children — Sanger launched a crusade for what she called birth control. Her newspaper column, "What Every Girl Should Know," soon garnered an indictment for violating obscenity laws. The publicity that resulted helped Sanger launch a national birth control movement.

Settlements were thus a crucial proving ground for many progressive experiments, as well as for the emerging profession of social work, which transformed the provision of public welfare. Social workers rejected the older model of private Christian charity, dispensed by well-meaning middle-class volunteers to those in need. Instead, social workers defined themselves as professional caseworkers who served as advocates of social justice. Like many reformers of the era, they allied themselves with the new social sciences, such as sociology and economics, and undertook statistical surveys and other

Hull House Playground, Chicago, 1906 When this postcard was made, the City of Chicago's Small Parks Commission had just taken over management of the playground from settlement workers at Hull House, who had created it. In a pattern repeated in many cities, social settlements introduced new institutions and ideas — such as safe places for urban children to play — and inspired municipal authorities to assume responsibility and control. Picture Research Consultants & Archive

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

What were the origins of social settlements, and how did they develop over time?

systematic methods for gathering facts. Social work proved to be an excellent opportunity for educated women who sought professional careers. By 1920, women made up 62 percent of U.S. social workers.

Cities and National Politics

Despite reform efforts, the problems wrought by industrialization continued to cause suffering in urban workplaces and environments. In 1906, journalist Upton Sinclair exposed some of the most extreme forms of labor exploitation in his novel *The Jungle*, which described appalling conditions in Chicago meatpacking plants. What caught the nation's attention was not Sinclair's account of workers' plight, but his descriptions of rotten meat and filthy packing conditions. With constituents up in arms, Congress passed the **Pure Food and Drug Act** (1906) and created the federal Food and Drug Administration to oversee compliance with the new law.

The impact of *The Jungle* showed how urban reformers could affect national politics. Even more significant was the work of Josephine Shaw Lowell, a Civil War widow from a prominent family. After years of struggling to aid poverty-stricken individuals in New York City, Lowell concluded that charity was not enough. In 1890, she helped found the New York Consumers' League to improve wages and working conditions for female store clerks. The league encouraged shoppers to patronize only stores where wages and working conditions were known to be fair. By 1899, the organization had become the **National Consumers' League** (NCL). At its head stood the outspoken and skillful Florence Kelley, a Hull House worker and former chief factory inspector of Illinois. Kelley believed that only government oversight could protect exploited workers. Under her crusading leadership, the NCL became one of the most powerful progressive organizations advocating worker protection laws.

Many labor organizations also began in a single city and then grew to national stature. One famous example was the **Women's Trade Union League**, founded in New York in 1903. Financed by wealthy women who supported its work, the league trained working-class leaders like Rose Schneiderman, who organized unions among garment workers. Although often frustrated by the patronizing attitude of elite sponsors, trade-union women joined together in the broader struggle for women's rights. When New York State held referenda on women's suffrage in 1915 and 1917, strong support came from Jewish and Italian precincts where unionized garment workers lived. Working-class voters hoped, in turn, that enfranchised women would use their ballots to help industrial workers.

Residents of industrial cities, then, sought allies in state and national politics. The need for broader action was made clear in New York City by a shocking event on March 25, 1911. On that Saturday afternoon, just before quitting time, a fire broke out at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company. The **Triangle Fire** quickly spread through the three floors the company occupied at the top of a ten-story building. Panicked workers discovered that, despite fire safety laws, employers had locked the emergency doors to prevent theft. Dozens of Triangle workers, mostly young immigrant women, were trapped in the flames. Many leaped to their deaths; the rest never reached the windows. The average age of the 146 people who died was just nineteen (AP® Analyzing Voices).

Outrage after the Triangle Fire This graphic cartoon by John Sloan was titled "In Memoriam — The Real Triangle." It appeared in a prolabor newspaper, the *New York Call*. "How Long," asked the *Call*'s headline, "Will the Workers Permit Themselves to be Burned As Well As Enslaved in Their Shops?" Who benefitted from the rent, interest, and profit that Sloan names as causes of the fire? The Granger Collection, New York

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of the Triangle Fire on the Progressive Era is critical on the AP® exam.

Shocked by this horrific event, New Yorkers responded with an outpouring of anger and grief that crossed ethnic, class, and religious boundaries. Many remembered that, only a year earlier, shirtwaist workers had walked off the job to protest abysmal safety and working conditions — and that the owners of Triangle, among other employers, had broken the strike. Facing demands for action, New York State appointed a factory commission that developed a remarkable program of labor reform: fifty-six laws dealing with such issues as fire hazards, unsafe machines, and wages and working hours for women and children. The chairman and vice chairman of the commission were Robert F. Wagner and Alfred E. Smith, both Tammany Hall politicians then serving in the state legislature. They established the commission, participated fully in its work, and marshaled party regulars to pass the proposals into law — all with the approval of Tammany. The labor code that resulted was the most advanced in the United States.

Tammany's response to the Triangle Fire showed that it was acknowledging its need for help. The social and economic problems of the industrial city had outgrown the power of party machines; only stronger state and national laws could bar industrial firetraps, alleviate sweatshop conditions, and improve slums. Politicians like Wagner and Smith saw that Tammany had to change or die. The fire had unforeseen further consequences. Frances Perkins, a Columbia University student who witnessed the horror of Triangle workers leaping from the windows to their deaths, decided she would devote her efforts to the cause of labor. Already active in women's reform organizations, Perkins went to Chicago, where she volunteered for several years at Hull House. In 1929, she became New York State's first commissioner of labor; four years later, during

"These Dead Bodies Were the Answer": The Triangle Fire

Entire books have been written about the catastrophic 1911 fire at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City. The following excerpts are from documents by four contemporaries who in various ways played a part in the Triangle tragedy and its aftermath. Note the different audiences that these speakers and authors were addressing and the lessons that each one draws from this horrific event.

WILLIAM G. SHEPHERD, REPORTER

William G. Shepherd's eyewitness account appeared in newspapers across the country. Working for the United Press, Shepherd phoned the story to his editor as he watched the unfolding tragedy.

"I was walking through Washington Square when a puff of smoke issuing from a factory building caught my eye. I reached the building before the alarm was turned in. I saw every feature of the tragedy visible from outside the building. I learned a new sound — a more horrible sound than description can picture. It was the thud of a speeding, living body on a stone sidewalk. . . .

I looked up — saw that there were scores of girls at the windows. The flames from the floor below were beating in their faces. Somehow I knew that they, too, must come down, and something within me — something I didn't know was there — steeled me.

I even watched one girl falling. Waving her arms, trying to keep her body upright until the very instant she struck the sidewalk, she was trying to balance herself. Then came the thud — then a silent, unmoving pile of clothing and twisted, broken limbs. . . .

On the sidewalk lay heaps of broken bodies. A policeman later went about with tags, which he fastened with wire to the wrists of the dead girls, numbering each with a lead pencil, and I saw him fasten tag no. 54 to the wrist of a girl who wore an engagement ring. . . .

The floods of water from the firemen's hose that ran into the gutter were actually stained red with blood. I looked upon the heap of dead bodies and I remembered these girls were the shirtwaist makers. I remembered their great strike of last year in which these same girls had demanded more sanitary conditions and more safety precautions in the shops. These dead bodies were the answer."

STEPHEN S. WISE, RABBI

A week after the fire, on April 2, 1911, a memorial meeting was held at the Metropolitan Opera House. One of the speakers, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, a prominent figure in New York reform circles, made the following remarks.

"This was not an inevitable disaster which man could neither foresee nor control. We might have foreseen it, and some of us did; we might have controlled it, but we chose not to do so. . . . It is not a question of enforcement of law nor of inadequacy of law. We have the wrong kind of laws and the wrong kind of enforcement. Before insisting upon inspection and enforcement, let us lift up the industrial standards so as to make conditions worth inspecting, and, if inspected, certain to afford security to workers. . . . And when we go before the legislature of the state, and demand increased appropriations in order to ensure the possibility of a sufficient number of inspectors, we will not forever be put off with the answer: We have no money.

The lesson of the hour is that while property is good, life is better; that while possessions are valuable, life is priceless. The meaning of the hour is that the life of the lowliest worker in the nation is sacred and inviolable, and, if that sacred human right be violated, we shall stand adjudged and condemned before the tribunal of God and history."

ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN, TRADE UNIONIST

Rose Schneiderman also spoke at the Metropolitan Opera House meeting. At age thirteen, she had gone to work in a garment factory like Triangle Shirtwaist's and, under the tutelage of the Women's Trade Union League, had become a labor organizer. The strike she mentions in her speech was popularly known as the Uprising of the 30,000, a nearly spontaneous walkout in 1909 that launched the union movement in the women's garment trades.

"I would be a traitor to these poor burned bodies if I came here to talk good fellowship. We have tried you good people of the public and we have found you wanting. The old Inquisition had its rack and its thumbscrews and its instruments of torture with iron teeth. We know what these things are today; the iron teeth are our necessities, the thumbscrews are the high-powered and swift machinery

the New Deal (Chapter 22), Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed her as U.S. secretary of labor — the first woman to hold a cabinet post.

The political aftermath of the Triangle Fire demonstrated how challenges posed by industrial cities pushed politics in new directions, transforming urban government and initiating broader movements for reform. The nation's political and cultural standards had long been set by native-born, Protestant, middle-class Americans. By 1900, the people who thronged to the great cities helped build America into a global industrial

close to which we must work, and the rack is here in the firetrap structures that will destroy us the minute they catch on fire.

This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in the city. . . . Every year thousands of us are maimed. The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred. There are so many of us for one job it matters little if 146 of us are burned to death.

We have tried you citizens; we are trying you now, and you have a couple of dollars for the sorrowing mothers, brothers, and sisters by way of a charity gift. But every time the workers come out in the only way they know to protest against conditions which are unbearable the strong hand of the law is allowed to press down heavily upon us . . . [and] beats us back, when we rise, into the conditions that make life unbearable.

I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered here. Too much blood has been spilled. I know from my experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement. ❞

MAX D. STEUER, LAWYER

After finding physical evidence of the locked door that had blocked escape from the fire, New York's district attorney brought manslaughter charges against the Triangle proprietors, Max Blanck and Isaac Harris, who hired in their defense the best, highest-priced trial attorney in town, Max D. Steuer. In this talk, delivered some time later to a rapt audience of lawyers, Steuer described how he undermined the testimony of the key witness for the prosecution by suggesting that she had been coached to recite her answer. The trial judge instructed the jury that it could only convict Blanck and Harris if it was *certain* they had known the emergency exits were locked; as Steuer notes, the jury voted to acquit.

❝ There are many times, many times when a witness has given evidence very hurtful to your cause and you say, 'No questions,' and dismiss him or her in the hope that the jury will dismiss the evidence too. [*Laughter.*] But can you do that when the jury is weeping, and the little girl witness is weeping too? [*Laughter.*] . . . There is one [rule] that commands what not to do. Do not attack the witness. Suavely, politely, genially, toy with the story.

In the instant case, about half an hour was consumed by the examiner [Steuer]. . . . Very little progress was made; but the tears had stopped. And then [the witness] was asked, 'Now, Rose, in your own words, and in your own way will you tell the jury everything you did, everything you said, and everything you saw from the moment you first saw flames.'

The question was put in precisely the same words that the District Attorney had put it, and little Rose started her answer with exactly the same word that she had started it to the District Attorney . . . and the only change in her recital was that Rose left out one word. And then Rose was asked, 'Didn't you leave out a word that you put in when you answered it before?' . . . So Rose started to repeat to herself the answer [*laughter*], and as she came to the missing word she said, 'Oh, yes!' and supplied it; and thereupon the examiner went on to an entirely different subject. . . . [W]hen again he [asked her to repeat her story] . . . Rose started with the same word and finished with the same word, her recital being identical with her first reply to the same question.

The jurymen were not weeping. Rose had not hurt the case, and the defendants were acquitted; there was not a word of reflection at any time during that trial upon poor little Rose. ❞

SOURCE: Excerpt from *Out of the Sweatshop: The Struggle of Industrial Democracy* by Leon Stein, copyright © 1977 by Leon Stein. Used by permission of Quadrangle Books, an imprint of Random House LLC. All rights reserved. Any third party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited. Interested parties must apply directly to Random House LLC for permission.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The hardest task of the historian is to conjure up the reality of the past — to say, "This is what it was really like." That's where eyewitness evidence like the reporter Shepherd's comes in. What is there in his account that you could only obtain from an eyewitness?
2. Both Rabbi Wise and Rose Schneiderman were incensed at the Triangle carnage, yet their speeches are quite different. In what ways? What conclusions do you draw about the different motivations and arguments that led to reform?
3. Max Steuer and Rose Schneiderman came from remarkably similar backgrounds. They were roughly the same age, grew up in poverty on the Lower East Side, and started out as child workers in the garment factories. The differences in their adult lives speak to the varieties of immigrant experience in America. What in their statements help to account for their differing life paths? What might have happened if Rose Schneiderman, rather than "little Rose," had faced Max Steuer on the witness stand?

power — and in the process, created an electorate that was far more ethnically, racially, and religiously diverse.

In the era of industrialization, some rural and native-born commentators warned that immigrants were "inferior breeds" who would "mongrelize" American culture. But urban political leaders defended cultural pluralism, expressing appreciation — even admiration — for immigrants, including Catholics and Jews, who sought a better life in the United States. At the same time, urban reformers worked to improve conditions of

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did urban reform movements impact state and national politics?

life for the diverse residents of American cities. Cities, then, and the innovative solutions proposed by urban leaders, held a central place in America's consciousness as the nation took on the task of progressive reform.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **Why and how did large cities become what one commentator called "seedbeds for reform"?**

SUMMARY

After 1865, American cities grew at an unprecedented rate, and urban populations swelled with workers from rural areas and abroad. To move their burgeoning populations around, cities pioneered innovative forms of mass transit. Skyscrapers came to mark urban skylines, and new electric lighting systems encouraged nightlife. Neighborhoods divided along class and ethnic lines, with the working class inhabiting crowded, shoddily built tenements. Immigrants developed new ethnic cultures in their neighborhoods, while racism followed African American migrants from the country to the city. At the same time, new forms of popular urban culture bridged class and ethnic lines, challenging traditional sexual norms and gender roles. Popular journalism rose to prominence and helped build rising sympathy for reform.

Industrial cities confronted a variety of new political challenges. Despite notable achievements, established machine governments could not address urban problems through traditional means. Forward-looking politicians took the initiative and implemented a range of political, labor, and social reforms. Urban reformers also launched campaigns to address public health, morals, and welfare. They did so through a variety of innovative institutions, most notably social settlements, which brought affluent Americans into working-class neighborhoods to learn, cooperate, and advocate on behalf of their neighbors. Such projects began to increase Americans' acceptance of urban diversity and their confidence in government's ability to solve the problems of industrialization.

CHAPTER 18 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW *Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.*

1. How did American cities change in the late nineteenth century?
2. What problems did big cities pose for those who ran them, and how did political leaders try to meet those challenges?
3. Why and how did large cities become what one commentator called "seedbeds for reform"?
4. Using the thematic timeline on pages 494–495, consider some of the ways in which mass migrations of people — both from other countries and from places within the United States — shaped industrial cities. How did this influence American society, culture, and national identity?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

Chicago school (p. 561)
mutual aid society (p. 564)
race riot (p. 565)
tenement (p. 565)
vaudeville theater (p. 566)
blues (p. 568)
"treat" (p. 568)
yellow journalism (p. 569)
muckrakers (p. 569)
political machines (p. 572)
National Municipal League (p. 575)
progressivism (p. 575)
"City Beautiful" movement (p. 576)
social settlement (p. 578)
Hull House (p. 578)
Pure Food and Drug Act (p. 580)
National Consumers' League (p. 580)
Women's Trade Union League (p. 581)
Triangle Fire (p. 581)

Key People

Scott Joplin (p. 567)
Tom Johnson (p. 574)
Jacob Riis (p. 575)
Jane Addams (p. 578)
Margaret Sanger (p. 579)
Upton Sinclair (p. 580)
Florence Kelley (p. 580)

Key Academic Terms

huckster (p. 558)
functionary (p. 572)
precinct (p. 572)
surreptitious (p. 573)
tuberculosis (p. 576)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. What broader economic changes that were occurring in the United States (Chapters 16 and 17) affected cities? How did urban dwellers' responses to these changes vary from those of farmers and other rural Americans?
2. Imagine that you have just arrived in a big American city in the early 1900s. Review the images of St. Louis (p. 561), amusement park (p. 567), urban garbage (p. 576), playground (p. 580), and Triangle Fire aftermath (p. 581), and the cartoon "A Hint to Boards of Health" (p. 573). What do these images suggest about the problems and dangers you might encounter? What opportunities might appeal to you as a newcomer? On balance, do you think you want to stay, or turn around and head back home? Why? What factors shape your decision?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 560 for help in answering the questions below.*

Based on the chapter chronology and the chapter narrative, what tipping points can you identify when Americans began to propose political solutions for urban industrial problems? What issues did they emphasize?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–4 refer to the 1871 below political cartoon by Thomas Nast depicting Boss Tweed.

Fotosearch/Archive Photos/Getty Images

1. The political situation depicted in the image was most directly caused by
   a. the First American Party System debates over the Alien Act.
   b. the Second American Party System debates over the national bank.
   c. large-scale international migration to cities of the United States.
   d. journalists seeking government reforms during the Progressive Era.
2. The conditions depicted in the cartoon were most prevalent in which type of election race?
   a. County
   b. City
   c. State
   d. Federal
3. Which of the following would have most likely critiqued the arrangement of political power portrayed in the image?
   a. Local party bureaucrats
   b. Recent immigrants
   c. College-educated women
   d. Political machine bosses
4. Which of the following reform movements drew the greatest extent of inspiration from the political situation depicted in the image?
   a. Radical reconstruction
   b. Populist
   c. Progressive
   d. Women's rights

Questions 5–7 refer to the excerpt below.

> "There were those who made the tins for the canned meat; and their hands, too, were a maze of cuts, and each cut represented a chance for blood poisoning. Some worked at the stamping machines, and it was very seldom that one could work long there at the pace that was set, and not give out and forget himself and have a part of his hand chopped off. . . . [A]nd as for the other men, who worked in tank rooms full of steam, and in some of which there were open vats near the level of the floor, their peculiar trouble was that they fell into the vats; and when they were fished out, there was never enough of them left to be worth exhibiting, — sometimes they would be overlooked for days, till all but the bones of them had gone out to the world as Durham's Pure Beef Lard!"
>
> Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*, 1906

5. The conditions described in the passage resulted most directly from
   a. reliance on unskilled labor in meatpacking industry.
   b. mechanization leading to lower meat prices.
   c. an unregulated business environment emphasizing profits.
   d. labor unions prioritizing pay raises over workplace safety.
6. During which earlier time period did American factory workers most commonly face comparably dangerous working conditions as those described in the excerpt?
   a. 1650 to 1700
   b. 1700 to 1750
   c. 1750 to 1800
   d. 1800 to 1850
7. The publication of muckraking accounts such as *The Jungle* most directly contributed to which of the following changes?
   a. Expanded governmental oversight of businesses
   b. Increased use of automation in factories
   c. Consolidation of large corporations into trusts
   d. Outsourcing of factories to lower wage countries

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"[T]hose who endorsed the City Beautiful [movement] were environmentalists. When they trumpeted the meliorative power of beauty, they were stating their belief in its capacity to shape human thought and behavior. . . . [T]he whole urban environment and the entire human experience within it were critical to the City Beautiful movement. If the city became the locus of harmony, mutual responsibility, and interdependence between classes, mediated by experts, then it would be a peaceful, productive place. . . . [A]dvocates found secular salvation for humans in their belief in a flexible, organic city. . . . City Beautiful praised flowers, shrubs, and trees for their enhancing, softening qualities in city settings . . . [and] urged grass plots, ground covers, flowers, and plant groupings . . . [and] treated naturalistic parks and parkways as precious assets."

William H. Wilson, *The City Beautiful Movement*, 1989

"Municipal health officials and city inspectors did make some advances against disease, especially through the improvement of the urban environment. They banned pigs from city streets, regulated notoriously unhealthy dairies inside city limits, and stepped up oversight of street cleaning and garbage removal. . . . [T]he Ladies Health Protective Association . . . shared a concern for the vile odors emanating from a manure handler along the East River . . . [and] the entire slaughterhouse district near . . . the tenements fouled by sickening smells and backed-up sewage. . . . [T]he association contacted business owners directly with their complaints, and . . . organized demonstrations at the offending locations, inviting the press to witness their lay inspections. . . . The women also gained considerable publicity when they brought their complaints to the Board of Health."

David Stradling, *The Nature of New York: An Environmental History of the Empire State*, 2010

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Wilson's and Stradling's historical interpretations of Progressive Era municipal reform.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1880 to 1917 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Wilson's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1880 to 1917 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Stradling's interpretation.

Rural and Urban Populations in the United States, 1870–1900

2. Using the graph above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that accounts for the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical political effect of the change illustrated in the graph.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical economic effect of the change illustrated in the graph.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between urban reform efforts in the period 1820 to 1860 and the period 1880 to 1920.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between urban reform efforts in the period 1820 to 1860 and the period 1880 to 1920.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific success or failure of the urban reform movement in the period 1880 to 1920.

CHAPTER 19

Whose Government? Politics, Populists, and Progressives 1880–1917

Reform Visions, 1880–1892

Electoral Politics After Reconstruction

The Populist Program

The Political Earthquakes of the 1890s

Depression and Reaction

Democrats and the "Solid South"

New National Realities

Reform Reshaped, 1901–1912

Theodore Roosevelt as President

Diverse Progressive Goals

The Election of 1912

Wilson and the New Freedom, 1913–1917

Economic Reforms

Progressive Legacies

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How and why did Progressive Era reformers seek to address the problems of industrial America, and to what extent did they succeed?

"We are living in a grand and wonderful time," declared Kansas political organizer Mary E. Lease in 1891. "Men, women and children are in commotion, discussing the mighty problems of the day." This "movement among the masses," she said, was based on the words of Jesus: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." Between the 1880s and the 1910s, thousands of reformers like Lease confronted the problems of industrialization. Lease herself stumped not only for the People's Party, which sought more government regulation of the economy, but also for the Knights of Labor and Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), as well as for women's suffrage and public health.

Between the end of Reconstruction and the start of World War I, political reformers focused on four main goals: cleaning up politics, limiting the power of big business, reducing poverty, and promoting social justice. Historians call this period of agitation and innovation the Progressive Era. In the 1880s and 1890s, labor unions and farm groups took the lead in critiquing the industrial order and demanding change. But over time, more and more middle-class and elite Americans took up the call, earning the name *progressives*. On the whole, they proposed more limited measures than farmer-labor advocates did, but since they had more political clout, they often had greater success in winning new laws. Thus both radicals and progressives played important roles in advancing reform.

No single group defined the Progressive Era. On the contrary, reformers took opposite views on such questions as immigration, racial justice, women's rights, and imperialism. Leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, initially hostile to the sweeping critiques of capitalism offered by radicals, gradually adopted bolder ideas. Dramatic political changes influenced the direction of reform. Close party competition in the 1880s gave way to Republican control between 1894 and 1910, followed by a period of Democratic leadership during Wilson's presidency (1913–1919). Progressives gave the era its name, not because they acted as a unified force, but because they engaged in diverse, energetic movements to improve America.

Coxey's Army on the March, 1894 During the severe depression of the 1890s, Ohio businessman Jacob Coxey organized unemployed men for a peaceful march to the U.S. Capitol to plead for an emergency jobs program. They called themselves the Commonweal of Christ but won the nickname "Coxey's Army." Though it failed to win sympathy from Congress, the army's march on Washington — one of the nation's first — inspired similar groups to set out from many cities. Here, Coxey's group nears Washington, D.C. The man on horseback is Carl Browne, one of the group's leaders and a flamboyant publicist. As the marchers entered Washington, Coxey's seventeen-year-old daughter Mamie, dressed as the "Goddess of Peace," led the procession on a white Arabian horse. Library of Congress

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1881** ▸ President James Garfield assassinated
- **1883** ▸ Pendleton Act establishes the Civil Service Commission
- **1890** ▸ Sherman Antitrust Act
  ▸ People's Party created in Kansas
- **1893** ▸ Economic depression begins
- **1894** ▸ Coxey's Army marches on Washington, D.C.
- **1895** ▸ John Pierpont Morgan arranges gold purchases to rescue U.S. Treasury
- **1896** ▸ William McKinley wins presidency
- **1898** ▸ *Williams v. Mississippi* allows poll taxes and literacy tests for voters
- **1900** ▸ William McKinley reelected
- **1901** ▸ Eugene Debs founds the Socialist Party of America
  ▸ McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt assumes presidency
- **1902** ▸ Newlands Reclamation Act
- **1903** ▸ Elkins Act
- **1904** ▸ Robert Hunter publishes *Poverty*
- **1905** ▸ Industrial Workers of the World founded
  ▸ Niagara Principles articulated
- **1906** ▸ Hepburn Act
- **1908** ▸ *Muller v. Oregon* limits women's work hours
- **1909** ▸ NAACP created
- **1911** ▸ Supreme Court orders Standard Oil divided to overturn its monopoly power
- **1912** ▸ Four-way election gives presidency to Woodrow Wilson
- **1913** ▸ Sixteenth Amendment
  ▸ Seventeenth Amendment
  ▸ Federal Reserve Act
- **1914** ▸ Clayton Antitrust Act

Reform Visions, 1880–1892

In the 1880s, radical farmers' groups and the Knights of Labor provided a powerful challenge to industrialization (Chapter 16). At the same time, groups such as the WCTU (Chapter 17) and urban settlements (Chapter 18) laid the groundwork for progressivism, especially among women. Though they had different goals, these groups confronted similar dilemmas upon entering politics. Should they work through existing political parties? Create new ones? Or generate pressure from the outside? Reformers tried all these strategies.

Electoral Politics After Reconstruction

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the application of the name "Gilded Age" to the late nineteenth century.

The end of Reconstruction ushered in a period of fierce partisan conflict. Republicans and Democrats traded control of the Senate three times between 1880 and 1894, and the House majority five times. Causes of this tight competition included northerners' disillusionment with Republican policies and the resurgence of southern Democrats, who regained a strong base in Congress. Dizzying population growth also changed the size and shape of the House of Representatives. In 1875, it counted 243 seats; two decades later, that had risen to 356. Between 1889 and 1896, entry of seven new western states — Montana, North and South Dakota, Washington, Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah — contributed to political instability.

Heated competition and the legacies of the Civil War drew Americans into politics. Union veterans donned their uniforms to march in Republican parades, while ex-Confederate Democrats did the same in the South. When politicians appealed to war loyalties, critics ridiculed them for "waving the bloody shirt": whipping up old animosities that ought to be set aside. For those who had fought or lost beloved family members in the conflict, however — as well as those struggling over African American rights in the South — war issues remained crucial. Many voters also had strong views on economic policies, especially Republicans' high protective tariffs. Proportionately more voters turned out in presidential elections from 1876 to 1892 than at any other time in American history.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

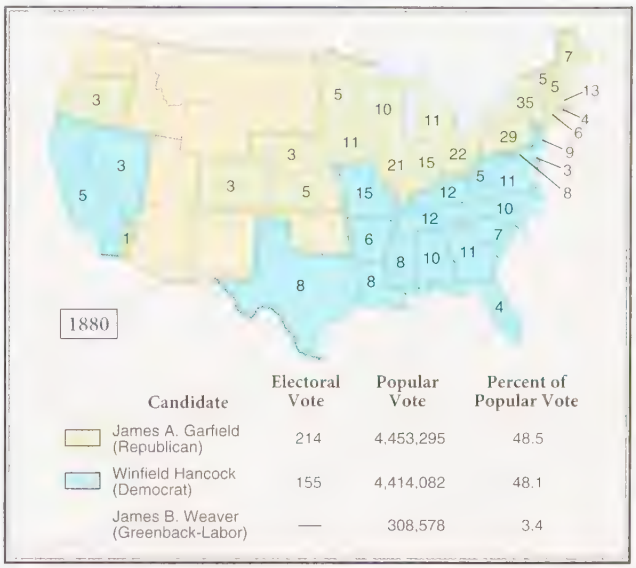
What factors led to close party competition in the 1880s?

The presidents of this era had limited room to maneuver in a period of narrow victories, when the opposing party often held one or both houses of Congress. Republicans Rutherford B. Hayes and Benjamin Harrison both won the electoral college but lost the popular vote. In 1884, Democrat Grover Cleveland won only 29,214 more votes than his opponent, James Blaine, while almost half a million voters rejected both major candidates (Map 19.1). With key states decided by razor-thin margins, both Republicans and Democrats engaged in vote buying and other forms of fraud. The fierce struggle for advantage also prompted innovations in political campaigning (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

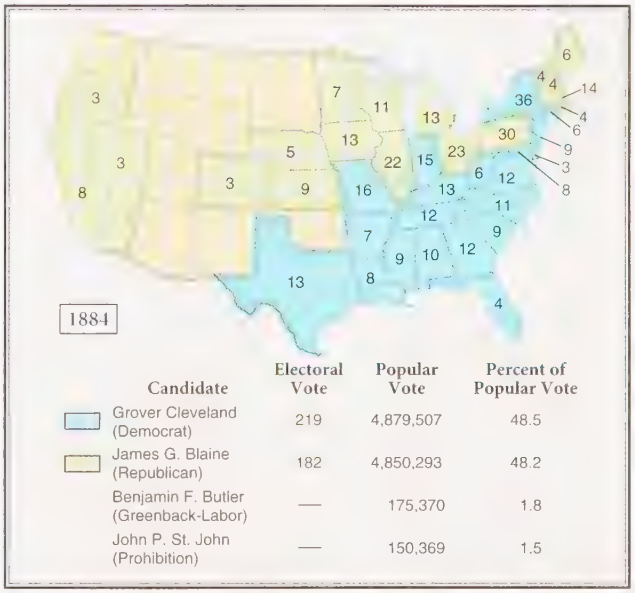
Some historians have characterized this period as a Gilded Age, when politics was corrupt and stagnant and elections centered on "meaningless hoopla." The term *Gilded Age*, borrowed from the title of an 1873 novel cowritten by Mark Twain, suggested that America had achieved a glittery outer coating of prosperity and lofty rhetoric, but underneath suffered from moral decay. Economically, the term *Gilded Age* seems apt: as we have seen in previous chapters, a handful of men made spectacular fortunes, and their triumphs belied a rising crisis of poverty, pollution, and erosion of workers' rights. But political leaders were not blind to these problems, and the political scene was hardly idle or indifferent. Rather, Americans bitterly disagreed about what to do. Nonetheless, as early as the 1880s, Congress passed important new federal measures to clean up corruption and rein in corporate power. That decade deserves to be considered an early stage in the emerging Progressive Era (AP® Interpreting the Past).

New Initiatives One of the first reforms resulted from tragedy. On July 2, 1881, only four months after entering the White House, James Garfield was shot at a train station in Washington, D.C. ("Assassination," he had told a friend, "can no more be guarded against than death by lightning, and it is best not to worry about either.") After lingering for several agonizing months, Garfield died. Most historians now believe the assassin, Charles Guiteau, suffered from mental illness. But reformers then blamed the spoils system, arguing that Guiteau had murdered Garfield out of disappointment in the scramble for patronage, the granting of government jobs to party loyalists.

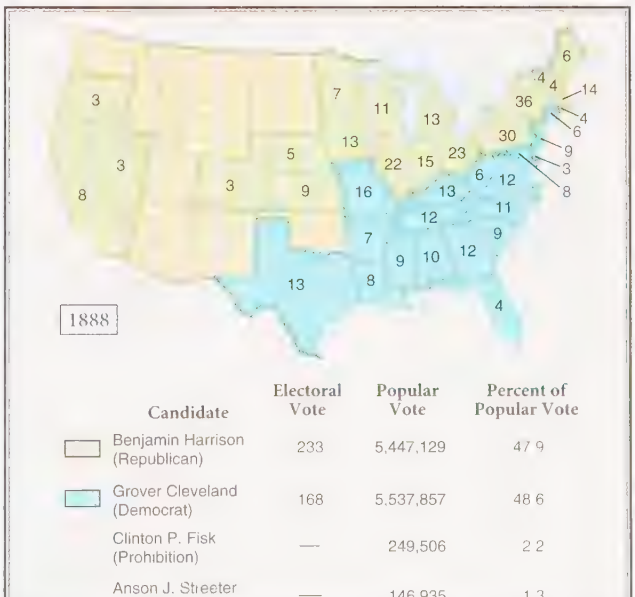
In the wake of Garfield's death, Congress passed the **Pendleton Act** (1883), establishing a nonpartisan Civil Service Commission to fill federal jobs by examination. Initially, civil



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
James A. Garfield (Republican)	214	4,453,295	48.5
Winfield Hancock (Democrat)	155	4,414,082	48.1
James B. Weaver (Greenback-Labor)	—	308,578	3.4



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Grover Cleveland (Democrat)	219	4,879,507	48.5
James G. Blaine (Republican)	182	4,850,293	48.2
Benjamin F. Butler (Greenback-Labor)	—	175,370	1.8
John P. St. John (Prohibition)	—	150,369	1.5



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Benjamin Harrison (Republican)	233	5,447,129	47.9
Grover Cleveland (Democrat)	168	5,537,857	48.6
Clinton P. Fisk (Prohibition)	—	249,506	2.2
Anson J. Streeter (Union Labor)	—	146,935	1.3

MAP 19.1 The Presidential Elections of 1880, 1884, and 1888
The anatomy of hard-fought, narrowly won presidential campaigns is evident in this trio of electoral maps. First, note the equal division of the popular vote between Republicans and Democrats. Second, note the persistent pattern of electoral votes, as states overwhelmingly went to the same party in all three elections. Here, we can identify who determined the outcomes — voters in swing states, such as New York and Indiana, whose vote shifted every four years and always in favor of the winning candidate.

Making Modern Presidents

Between 1880 and 1917, the stature and powers of the U.S. president grew in relation to those of Congress. Presidential campaign techniques also changed. The sources below shed light on candidates' increasing public visibility and new uses of campaign funds.

1. **Household sewing machine company advertisement, 1880s.** *President Grover Cleveland, a bachelor, married young Frances Folsom in a quiet White House ceremony in June 1886. The bride, a college graduate who was twenty-six years younger than her husband, proved wildly popular. The Clevelands never authorized political or commercial use of the First Lady's image. Nonetheless, over their objections, young women organized "Frankie Cleveland Clubs" to march in Democratic parades, while companies such as this one capitalized on her popularity in advertising.*

© t. Picture Research Consultants & Archives

2. **Account of Benjamin Harrison's front porch campaign in Indianapolis, *New York Tribune*, October 12, 1888.** *For much of the nineteenth century, presidential candidates left campaigning to their allies. A man who promoted himself risked appearing vain and greedy for office. By the 1880s, Republicans began to run "front porch campaigns": party leaders arranged for delegations to visit the candidate at home.*

This morning General Harrison's home was surrounded by visitors, who had arrived in the city in the night and on the early morning trains. . . . There were many relic-hunters among the early visitors and they swarmed about the house, taking, without protest from any one, whatever they were pleased to seize. There is no longer a fence about the house to be converted into relics, and so the visitors are taking the trees now. The shrubbery has almost disappeared. . . . The informal reception began as soon as the General got up from [breakfast] and continued until afternoon. The first delegation was composed of representatives of the Cincinnati Republican Clubs. . . . A delegation from Belleville, Ill., which . . . had patiently waited for more than four hours, were next invited to enter the house, and they were accorded the usual handshaking reception. . . .

The parade early in the afternoon was the principal feature of the day's demonstration. Two hundred or more clubs participated and they came from all parts of the State, representing various classes and interests. . . . There were mounted men and men on foot, women in wagons and women in uniform marching, brass bands. . . .

On the balcony beside General Harrison stood his wife, with several of her lady friends.

3. **Henry George on money in politics, *Wheeling Register*, September 19, 1896.** *Reformer Henry George was among many who warned of the influence of corporate contributions, solicited brilliantly in 1896 by William McKinley's campaign manager, Mark Hanna. Short of funds, Democratic candidate William Jennings Bryan undertook exhausting nationwide speaking tours.*

There is no question which of the great parties represents the house of Have and which the house of Want. . . . Democrat[s] are cramped for want of funds. . . . On the other hand there is

service applied to only 10 percent of such jobs, but the act laid the groundwork for a sweeping transformation of public employment. By the 1910s, Congress extended the act to cover most federal positions; cities and states across the country enacted similar laws.

Civil service laws had their downside. In the race for government jobs, they tilted the balance toward middle-class applicants who could perform well on tests. "Firemen now must know equations," complained a critic, "and be up on Euclid too." But the laws put talented professionals in office and discouraged politicians from appointing

practically "no end of money" at the disposal of the McKinley committees. . . .

As for the banks, the great railroad companies and insurance companies, who, even in ordinary times find it to their interest to help financially one, and frequently both, sides . . . , their purse strings are unloosed more freely than ever before, but only in one direction.

The danger to a republican form of government of a money interest in politics is so clear that it needs not to be dwelt upon. . . . The steady tendency of American legislation, national and state, has not merely been to create great special interests, but in the very effort to control them for the benefit of the public, to concern them directly in politics.

4. Theodore Roosevelt on the campaign trail, 1904. *Having watched Bryan's electrifying tours, Theodore Roosevelt became the first winning candidate to adopt the practice. In 1904, after a summer front porch campaign, he undertook a thirty-day speaking tour of the West. To cover as much ground as possible, Roosevelt often spoke from the last car of his train.*

Source: Library of Congress

5. "Expenses of the Campaign," *Springfield Daily Republican*, September 22, 1900.

It is estimated that it costs $25,000,000 to elect a president of the United States. The annual allowance which the British Parliament makes to Queen Victoria is $1,925,000 . . . indicat[ing] that it is much cheaper to maintain a queen permanently than it is to elect a president. . . .

More than half of the money spent by both national and state committees goes for campaign orators. During the next three months it is estimated that the Republican national committee will have 3000 "spellbinders" traveling out of the Chicago headquarters and 2500 who will report to the New York office. . . .

The next largest item on the campaign bill is that for printing. . . . Each of the national committees will spend at least $500,000 in this way. Before the campaign is over it is estimated that both the Republican and Democratic committees will send out 100,000,000 separate documents. . . .

One more important branch of the work is the two house-to-house canvasses of the voters. . . . Hundreds of men are employed in each state, and the work of tabulating and classifying the results is by no means small. . . .

Some novel campaign methods will be adopted by both the great parties during the campaign just opening. The Republicans, it is stated, have decided to use phonographs. . . . Some eloquent party man . . . will deliver a speech before a phonographic record, from which any desired number of copies may be made . . . and sent far out into the rural districts, where it would be impossible for the more popular and important orators to go. . . .

Democrats, on the other hand, will pin their faith to stereopticons [an early slide projector].

Sources: (2) *New York Tribune*, October 12, 1888; (3) *Wheeling Register*, September 19, 1896; (5) *Springfield Daily Republican*, September 22, 1900.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What did a presidential candidate need in the 1880s to run an effective campaign? Two decades later, what had changed, and what had not?
2. Based on these documents, what developments both inside and outside of politics seem to have influenced changing campaign strategies?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Historians have traced the rise of an "imperial presidency" in the late 1890s and early 1900s. How might new campaign techniques have reflected, and perhaps contributed to, this rise? To what extent was it a Republican invention?

unqualified party hacks. The civil service also brought stability and consistency to government, since officials did not lose their jobs every time their party lost power. In the long run, civil service laws markedly reduced corruption.

Leaders of the civil service movement included many classical liberals (Chapter 14): former Republicans who became disillusioned with Reconstruction and advocated smaller, more professionalized government. Many had opposed President Ulysses S. Grant's reelection in 1872. In 1884, they again left the Republican Party because they

Were the "Gilded Age" and "Progressive Era" Separate Periods?

Starting in the 1920s, historians borrowed the title of *The Gilded Age*, an 1873 novel by Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, to describe the late-nineteenth-century United States. "Gilded" implies a false impression of beauty: though American politics and society glittered on the outside, according to this view, they were dull or rotten underneath. Following this view, historians have described the years between 1870 and 1900 as marked by political stagnation and corruption, rampant greed and corporate ruthlessness, *laissez faire* government, and ineffective "dud presidents." Only after 1900 did a more optimistic, reform-minded "Progressive Era" begin. Some historians, including Elisabeth Israels Perry and Rebecca Edwards (one of the authors of this textbook), have identified themes that give us a different perspective on the late-nineteenth-century United States.

ELISABETH ISRAELS PERRY

SOURCE: Elisabeth Israels Perry, "Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1, no. 1 (January 2002): 43.

"When *was* the Progressive Era exactly?" my students ask. Roughly during the first two decades of the twentieth century, I tell them. . . . Some historians still use 1900 as a starting date, although more recently 1890 has become popular. . . . From the perspective of women progressives, however, these boundaries need to be much more fluid. . . . The women who founded social settlements in the 1880s, along with the temperance and suffrage campaigners, comprise a group of American citizens active in conceptualizing progressive reform long before the presumed dawn of progressivism.

REBECCA EDWARDS

SOURCE: Rebecca Edwards, *New Spirits: Americans in the "Gilded Age," 1865–1905*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 5–6.

Millions of freedmen, immigrants, students, workers, artists, intellectuals, and reformers believed that post–Civil War America offered a chance to start anew. . . . Many Americans worked energetically between 1865 and 1900 to purify politics, restrict the power of big business, and fight injustice. Those decades witnessed the first march on Washington, the first federal welfare programs, the first elections in which women and black men voted for president, and the first national park in the world. At the same time, problems that plagued the so-called Gilded Age continued and even intensified during the so-called "Progressive Era."

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How does each of these historians challenge conventional interpretations of the "Gilded Age" and "Progressive Era" as separate periods?
2. Identify one key difference between these two assessments of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.
3. Based on your reading of Chapters 14 to 19, how would you date and name the post–Civil War decades? Why?

could not stomach its scandal-tainted candidate, James Blaine. Liberal Republicans—ridiculed by their enemies as Mugwumps (fence-sitters who had their "mugs" on one side and their "wumps" on the other)—helped elect Democrat Grover Cleveland. They believed he shared their vision of smaller government.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of legislation to regulate business and industry in the late nineteenth century.

As president, Cleveland showed that he largely did share their views. He vetoed, for example, thousands of bills providing pensions for individual Union veterans. But in 1887, responding to pressure from farmer-labor advocates in the Democratic Party who demanded action to limit corporate power, he signed the Interstate Commerce Act (Chapter 16). At the same time, municipal and state-level initiatives were showing how expanded government could help solve industrial problems. In the 1870s and early 1880s, many states created Bureaus of Labor Statistics to investigate workplace safety and unemployment. Some appointed commissions to oversee key industries, from banking to dairy farming. By later standards, such commissions were underfunded, but even when they lacked legal power, energetic commissioners could serve as public advocates, exposing unsafe practices and generating pressure for further laws.

Republican Activism In 1888, after a decade of divided government, Republicans gained control of both Congress and the White House. They pursued an ambitious agenda they believed would meet the needs of a modernizing nation. In 1890, Congress extended pensions to all Union veterans and yielded to growing public outrage over trusts by passing a law to regulate interstate corporations. Though it proved difficult to enforce and was soon weakened by the Supreme Court, the **Sherman Antitrust Act** (1890) was the first federal attempt to forbid any "combination, in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy, in restraint of trade."

President Benjamin Harrison also sought to protect black voting rights in the South. Warned during his campaign that the issue was politically risky, Harrison vowed that he would not "purchase the presidency by a compact of silence upon this question." He found allies in Congress. Massachusetts representative Henry Cabot Lodge drafted the Federal Elections Bill of 1890, or **Lodge Bill**, proposing that whenever one hundred citizens in any district appealed for intervention, a bipartisan federal board could investigate and seat the rightful winner.

Despite cries of outrage from southern Democrats, who warned that it meant "Negro supremacy," the House passed the measure. But it met resistance in the Senate. Northern classical liberals, who wanted the "best men" to govern through professional expertise, thought it provided too much democracy, while machine bosses feared the threat of federal interference in the cities. Unexpectedly, many western Republicans also opposed the bill—and with the entry of ten new states since 1863, the West had gained enormous clout. Senator William Stewart of Nevada, who had southern family ties, claimed that federal oversight of elections would bring "monarchy or revolution." He and his allies killed the bill by a single vote.

The defeat was a devastating blow to those seeking to defend black voting rights. In the verdict of one furious Republican leader who supported Lodge's proposal, the episode marked the demise of the party of emancipation. "Think of it," he fumed. "Nevada, barely a respectable *county*, furnished two senators to betray the Republican Party and the rights of citizenship."

"Political Purity," *Puck*, 1884 This Democratic cartoon suggests the disillusionment with Republicans that emerged among many voters in the 1880s. Here, the party chooses a dress, bustle, and plume to celebrate Republicans' achievements in prior decades: the Union war record, emancipation, and "high moral ideals." Her undergarments tell a different story: they are marked with scandals of the Grant era (Chapter 14), while the economic interests of tariff supporters ("protection") are depicted as her corset. The hats in the upper right corner show Republicans' attempts to appeal to various constituencies: temperance advocates and German immigrants, workingmen and business leaders. Whitelaw Reid, staunchly Republican editor of the *New York Tribune*, appears as the party's handmaiden. Picture Research Consultants & Archive

Other Republican initiatives also proved unpopular—at the polls as well as in Congress. In the Midwest, swing voters reacted against local Republican campaigns to prohibit liquor sales and end state funding for Catholic schools. Blaming high consumer prices on protective tariffs, other voters rejected Republican economic policies. In a major shift in the 1890 election, Democrats captured the House of Representatives. Two years later, by the largest margin in twenty years, voters reelected Democrat Grover Cleveland to the presidency for a nonconsecutive second term. Republican congressmen abandoned any further attempt to enforce fair elections in the South.

The Populist Program

As Democrats took power in Washington, they faced rising pressure from rural voters in the South and West who had organized the Farmers' Alliance. Savvy politicians responded quickly. Iowa Democrats, for example, took up some of the farmers' demands, forestalling creation of a separate farmer-labor party in that state. But other politicians listened to Alliance pleas and did nothing. It was a response they came to regret.

Republicans utterly dominated Kansas, a state chock-full of Union veterans and railroad boosters. But politicians there treated the Kansas Farmers' Alliance with contempt.

Riding to a Populist Rally, Dickinson County, Kansas, 1890s Farm families in wagons carry their banners to a local meeting of the People's Party. Men, women, and children often traveled together to campaign events, which included not only stump speeches but also picnics, glee club music, and other family entertainments.

In 1890, the Kansas Alliance joined with the Knights of Labor to create a People's Party. They then stunned the nation by capturing four-fifths of the lower house of the Kansas legislature and most of the state's congressional seats. The victory electrified labor and agrarian radicals nationwide. In July 1892, delegates from these groups met at Omaha, Nebraska, and formally created the national People's Party. Nominating former Union general and Greenback-Labor leader James B. Weaver for president, the Populists, as they became known, captured a million votes in November. They returned to Washington with three representatives in the U.S. Senate and eleven in the House (Map 19.2). By 1896 they would double those totals — still only a sliver of congressional offices, but enough to make them one of the most successful insurgent parties in U.S. history.

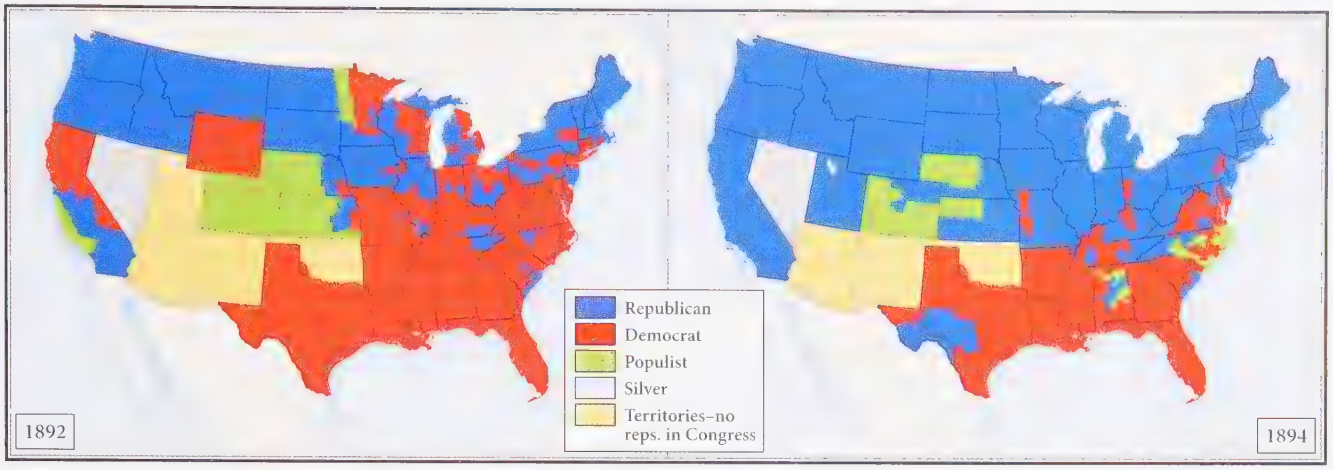
Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

In recognizing an "irrepressible conflict between capital and labor," Populists split from the mainstream parties, calling for stronger government to protect ordinary Americans. Their **Omaha Platform** called for public ownership of railroad and telegraph systems, protection of land from monopoly and foreign ownership, a federal income tax on the rich, and a looser monetary policy to help borrowers (AP® Analyzing Voices). Some Populist allies went further to make their point: in New Mexico, the Gorras Blancas, a vigilante group of small-scale Mexican American farmers, protested exploitative railroads and "land grabbers" by intimidating railroad workers and cutting fences on large Anglo farms.

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to explain the reforms proposed in the Omaha Platform is critical for success on the AP® exam.

Populist leaders represented a grassroots uprising of ordinary farmers, and some won colorful nicknames. After a devastating debate triumph, James H. Davis of Texas became known as "Cyclone." Mary E. Lease was derided as "Yellin' Mary Ellen"; her fellow Kansan Jerry Simpson was called "Sockless Jerry" after he ridiculed a wealthy opponent for wearing "fine silk hosiery," boasting that he himself wore no socks at all.



MAP 19.2 House of Representatives Elected in 1892 and 1894
Americans focus intensive effort and attention on presidential elections, but midterm congressional elections can be key turning points, as well. In response to the severe economic depression that began in 1893, American voters turned sharply away from the Democrats and toward the Republicans. That dramatic shift was first obvious not in 1896, with the election of President William McKinley, but in the midterm election that transformed Congress. These maps show the number of Democrats, Republicans, and Populists in the House of Representatives after the elections of 1892 (left) and 1894 (right). Where did Republicans make the biggest gains? How would the parties' strength in Congress have differed if Southern Populists in states such as Alabama, Arkansas, and Georgia had not been defeated through fraud?

The national press, based in northeastern cities, ridiculed such "hayseed politicians," but farmers insisted on being taken seriously. In the run-up to one election, a Populist writer encouraged party members to sing these lyrics to the tune of an old gospel hymn:

I once was a tool of oppression,
    As green as a sucker could be
And monopolies banded together
    To beat a poor hayseed like me. . . .
But now I've roused up a little,
    And their greed and corruption I see,
And the ticket we vote next November
    Will be made up of hayseeds like me.

Driven by farmers' votes, the People's Party had mixed success in attracting other constituencies. Its labor planks won support among Alabama steelworkers and Rocky Mountain miners, but not among many other industrial workers, who stuck with the major parties. Prohibitionist and women's suffrage leaders attended Populist conventions, hoping their issues would be taken up, but they were disappointed. The legacies of the Civil War also hampered the party. Southern Democrats warned that Populists were really Radical Republicans in disguise, while northeastern Republicans claimed the southern "Pops" were ex-Confederates plotting another round of treason. Amid these heated debates, the political system suddenly confronted an economic crisis.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did the political goals of Populists differ from those of Democrats and Republicans?

The Political Earthquakes of the 1890s

In 1893, a severe economic depression hit the United States. Though it was a global shock, and the agriculture sector had already lagged for years, Republicans blamed Grover Cleveland, who had just reentered the White House. "On every hand can be seen evidences of Democratic times," declared one Republican. "The deserted farm, the silent factory."

The Omaha Platform, 1892

Adopted by the People's Party's first national convention a year before the terrible depression of 1893 began, the Omaha Platform indicates that economic hardship was already widespread. The new party denounced the situation in a preamble written by Populist leader Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota. It then proposed specific measures for reform and appended a series of less binding "resolutions." Delegates adopted the platform unanimously. A Nebraska historian later commented that the document became "the Bible and common prayer book of millions of people" as well as "the object of the most intense denunciation and attack," and eventually a source for later Democratic, Republican, and Progressive reform ideas.

NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY PLATFORM

SOURCE: George Brown Tindall, ed., *A Populist Reader, Selections from the Works of American Populist Leaders* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 90–96.

Assembled upon the 116th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, the People's Party of America, in their first national convention, invoking upon their action the blessing of Almighty God, put forth in the name and on behalf of the people of this country, the following preamble and declaration of principles:

PREAMBLE

The conditions which surround us best justify our co-operation; we meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. The people are demoralized; . . . newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of capitalists. The urban workmen are denied the right to organize for self-protection, imported pauperized labor beats down their wages, a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of those, in turn, despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes — tramps and millionaires.

The national power to create money is appropriated to enrich bondholders; a vast public debt payable in legal tender currency has been funded into gold-bearing bonds, thereby adding millions to the burdens of the people.

Silver, which has been accepted as coin since the dawn of history, has been demonetized to add to the purchasing power of gold by decreasing the value of all forms of property as well as human labor, and the supply of currency is purposely abridged to fatten usurers, bankrupt enterprise, and enslave industry. A vast conspiracy against mankind has been organized on two continents, and it is rapidly taking possession of the world. If not met and overthrown at once it forebodes terrible social convulsions, the destruction of civilization, or the establishment of an absolute despotism.

We have witnessed for more than a quarter of a century the struggles of the two great political parties for power and plunder, while grievous wrongs have been inflicted upon the suffering people. We charge that the controlling influences dominating both these parties have permitted the existing dreadful conditions to develop without serious effort to prevent or restrain them. Neither do they now promise us any substantial reform. They have agreed together to ignore, in the coming campaign, every issue but one. They propose to drown the outcries of a plundered people with the uproar of a sham battle over the tariff, so that capitalists, corporations, national banks, rings, trusts, watered stock, the demonetization of silver and the oppressions of the usurers may all be lost sight of. They propose to sacrifice our homes, lives, and children on the altar of mammon; to destroy the multitude in order to secure corruption funds from the millionaires.

Assembled on the anniversary of the birthday of the nation, and filled with the spirit of the grand general and chief who established our independence, we seek to restore the government of the Republic to the hands of "the plain people," with which class it originated. We assert our purposes to be identical with the purposes of the National Constitution; to form a more perfect union and establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity.

We declare that this Republic can only endure as a free government while built upon the love of the whole people for each other and for the nation; that it cannot be pinned together by bayonets; that the civil war is over, and that every passion and resentment which grew out of it must die with it, and that we must be in fact, as we are in name, one united brotherhood of free men.

Our country finds itself confronted by conditions for which there is no precedent in the history of the world; our annual agricultural productions amount to billions of dollars in value, which must, within a few weeks or months, be exchanged for billions of dollars' worth of commodities consumed in their production; the existing currency supply is wholly inadequate to make this exchange; the results are falling prices, the formation of combines and rings, the impoverishment of the producing class. . . .

We believe that the power of government — in other words, of the people — should be expanded (as in the case of the postal service) as rapidly and as far as the good sense of an intelligent people and the teachings of experience shall

justify, to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land. . . .

PLATFORM

We declare, therefore —

First. — That the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual; may its spirit enter into all hearts for the salvation of the Republic and the uplifting of mankind.

Second. — Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery. "If any will not work, neither shall he eat." The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

Third. — We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads, and should the government enter upon the work of owning and managing all railroads, we should favor an amendment to the Constitution by which all persons engaged in the government service shall be placed under a civil-service regulation of the most rigid character, so as to prevent the increase of the power of the national administration by the use of such additional government employees.

FINANCE. — We demand a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and that without the use of banking corporations, a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people, at a tax not to exceed 2 per cent. per annum, to be provided as set forth in the sub-treasury plan of the Farmers' Alliance, or a better system; also by payments in discharge of its obligations for public improvements.

1. We demand free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1.
2. We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita.
3. We demand a graduated income tax.
4. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all State and national revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government, economically and honestly administered.
5. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the government for the safe deposit of the earnings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

TRANSPORTATION. — Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people. The telegraph, telephone, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the government in the interest of the people.

LAND. — The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be monopolized for speculative purposes, and alien ownership of land should be prohibited. All land now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs, and all lands now owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.

. . . *Whereas,* Other questions have been presented for our consideration, we hereby submit the following, not as a part of the Platform of the People's Party, but as resolutions expressive of the sentiment of this Convention.

1. RESOLVED, That we demand a free ballot and a fair count in all elections and pledge ourselves to secure it to every legal voter without Federal Intervention. . . .
2. RESOLVED, That the revenue derived from a graduated income tax should be applied to the reduction of the burden of taxation now levied upon the domestic industries of this country.
3. RESOLVED, That we pledge our support to fair and liberal pensions to ex-Union soldiers and sailors.
4. RESOLVED, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world and crowds out our wage-earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable emigration.
5. RESOLVED, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor, and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on Government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added to the said law.
6. RESOLVED, That we regard the maintenance of a large standing army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace to our liberties, and we demand its abolition. . . .
7. RESOLVED, That we commend to the favorable consideration of the people and the reform press the legislative system known as the initiative and referendum.
8. RESOLVED, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term, and providing for the election of Senators of the United States by a direct vote of the people.
9. RESOLVED, That we oppose any subsidy or national aid to any private corporation for any purpose.
10. RESOLVED, That this convention sympathizes with the Knights of Labor and their righteous contest with the tyrannical combine of clothing manufacturers of Rochester, and declare it to be a duty of all who hate tyranny and oppression to refuse to purchase the goods made by the said manufacturers, or to patronize any merchants who sell such goods.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What problems does the document's preamble identify? What specific legislation does the platform propose, and how do the authors suggest those will remedy problems the Populists have named?
2. In addition to its main planks, the Platform includes ten nonbinding resolutions. What differences do you see between the main planks and the resolutions? What might you conclude from this about the party's main base and about additional constituencies who may have had some influence, but less power, in the convention?
3. Based on the platform and your reading of the chapter, which groups of Americans do you think would have been likely to support Populist candidates in 1892, and which groups would have opposed them?

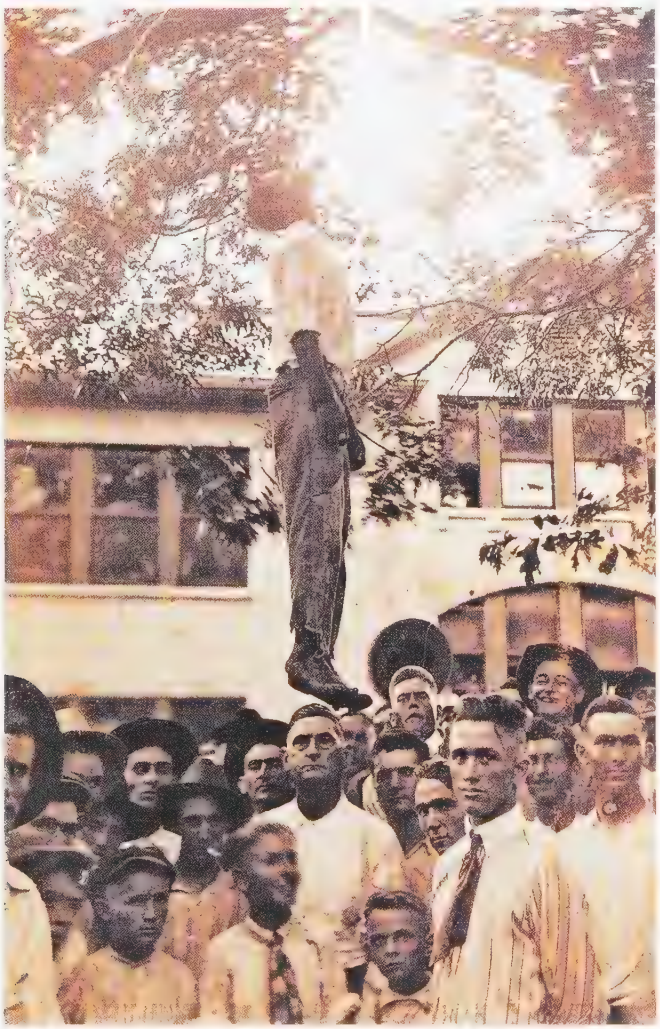
Apparently receptive to such appeals, voters outside the South abandoned the Democrats in 1894 and 1896. Republicans, promising prosperity, gained control of the White House and both chambers of Congress for the next sixteen years. This development created both opportunities and challenges for progressive reformers. A different pattern emerged in the South: Democrats deployed fraud, violence, and race-based appeals for white solidarity to defeat the Populist revolt.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the causes of popular action against the federal government is critical for success on the AP® exam.

Depression and Reaction

When Cleveland took the oath of office in March 1893, hard times were prompting European investors to pull money out of the United States; farm foreclosures and railroad bankruptcies signaled economic trouble. A few weeks later, a Pennsylvania railroad went bankrupt, followed by several other companies. Investors panicked; the stock market crashed. By July, major banks had drained their reserves and "suspended" withdrawals, unable to give depositors access to their money. By year's end, five hundred banks and thousands of other businesses had gone under. "Boston," one man remembered, "grew suddenly old, haggard, and thin." The unemployment rate in industrial cities soared above 20 percent.



Lynching in Texas Lynchings peaked between 1890 and 1910; while most common in the South, they occurred in almost every state, from Oregon to Minnesota to New York. After many lynchings — such as this one in the town of Center, Texas, in 1920 — crowds posed to have their pictures taken. Commercial photographers often, as in this case, produced photographic postcards to sell as souvenirs. What do we make of these gruesome rituals? Who is in the crowd, and who is not? What do we learn from the fact that this group of white men, some of whom may have been responsible for the lynching, felt comfortable having their photographs recorded with the body? The victim in this photograph, a young man named Lige Daniels, was seized from the local jail by a mob that broke down the prison door to kidnap and kill him. The inscription on the back of the postcard includes information about the killing, along with the instructions "Give this to Bud From Aunt Myrtle." Texas Images Consultants & Archive

For Americans who had lived through the terrible 1870s, conditions looked grimly familiar. Even fresher in the public mind were recent labor uprisings, including the 1886 Haymarket violence and the 1892 showdown at Homestead — followed, during the depression's first year, by a massive Pennsylvania coal strike and a Pullman railroad boycott that ended with bloody clashes between angry crowds and the U.S. Army. Prosperous Americans, fearful of Populism, were even more terrified that workers would embrace socialism or Marxism. Reminding Americans of upheavals such as the Paris Commune of 1871 and its bloody aftermath, conservative commentators of the 1890s launched America's first "Red Scare" — a precursor to similar episodes of hysteria in the 1920s and 1950s.

In the summer of 1894, a further protest jolted affluent Americans. Radical businessman Jacob Coxey of Ohio proposed that the U.S. government hire the unemployed to fix America's roads. In 1894, he organized hundreds of jobless men — nicknamed Coxey's Army — to march peacefully to Washington and appeal for the program. Though public employment of the kind Coxey proposed would become central to the New Deal in the 1930s, many Americans in the 1890s viewed Coxey as a dangerous extremist. Public alarm grew when more protesters, inspired by Coxey, started out from Los Angeles, Seattle, and other cities. As they marched east, these men found warm support and offers of aid in Populist-leaning cities and towns. In other places, police and property owners drove marchers away at gunpoint. Coxey was stunned by what happened when he reached Capitol Hill: he was jailed for trespassing on the grass. Some of his men, arrested for vagrancy, ended up in Maryland chain gangs. The rest went home hungry.

As this response suggested, President Grover Cleveland's administration was increasingly out of step with rural and working-class demands. Any president would have been hard-pressed to cope with the depression, but Cleveland was

particularly inept. He steadfastly resisted pressure to loosen the money supply by expanding federal coinage to include silver as well as gold. Advocates of this **free silver** policy ("free" because, under this plan, the U.S. Mint would not charge a fee for minting silver coins) believed the policy would encourage borrowing and stimulate industry. But Cleveland clung to the gold standard. However dire things became, he believed, the money supply must remain tied to the nation's reserves of gold.

As the 1894 midterm elections loomed, Democratic candidates tried to distance themselves from the president. But on election day, large numbers of voters chose Republicans, who promised to support business, put down social unrest, and bring back prosperity. Western voters turned many Populists out of office. In the next congressional session, Republicans controlled the House by a margin of 245 to 105 (see Map 19.2).

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did different groups of Americans react to the economic depression of the 1890s, and what happened as a result?

Democrats and the "Solid South"

In the South, the only region where Democrats gained strength in the 1890s, the People's Party lost ground for distinctive reasons. After the end of Reconstruction, African Americans in most states had continued to vote in significant numbers. As long as Democrats competed for (and sometimes bought) black votes, the possibility remained that other parties could win them away. Populists proposed new measures to help farmers and wage earners — an appealing message for poverty-stricken people of both races. Some white Populists went out of their way to build cross-racial ties. "The accident of color can make no difference in the interest of farmers, croppers, and laborers," argued Georgia Populist Tom Watson. "You are kept apart that you may be separately fleeced of your earnings."

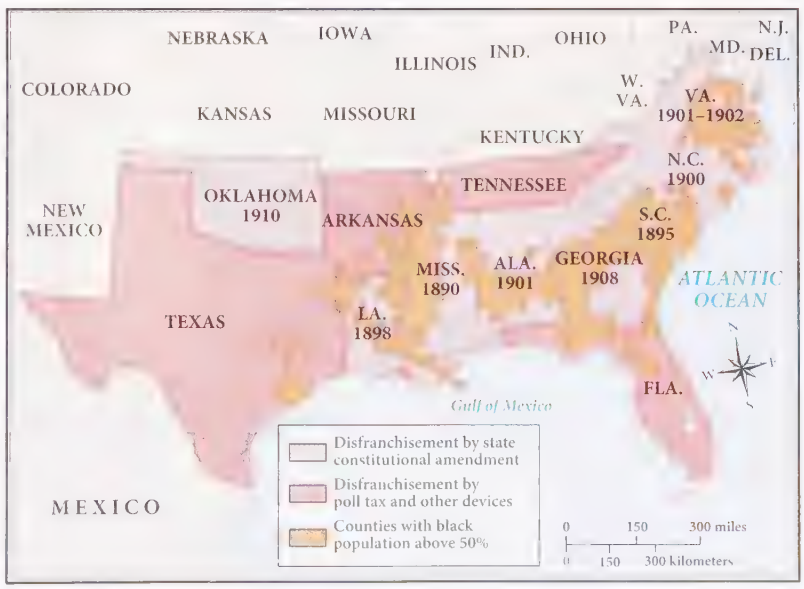
Such appeals threatened the foundations of southern politics. Democrats struck back, calling themselves the "white man's party" and denouncing Populists for advocating "Negro rule." From Georgia to Texas, many poor white farmers, tenants, and wage earners ignored such appeals and continued to support the Populists in large numbers. Democrats found they could put down the Populist threat only through fraud and violence. After using such tactics, Pitchfork Ben Tillman of South Carolina openly bragged that he and other southern whites had "done our level best" to block "every last" black vote. "We stuffed ballot boxes," he said in 1900. "We shot them. We are not ashamed of it." "We had to do it," a Georgia Democrat later argued. "Those damned Populists would have ruined the country."

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of the disfranchisement of African Americans is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Having suppressed the political revolt, Democrats looked for new ways to enforce white supremacy. In 1890, a constitutional convention in Mississippi had adopted a key innovation: an "understanding clause" that required would-be voters to interpret parts of the state constitution, with local Democratic officials deciding who met the standard. After the Populist uprising, such measures spread to other southern states. Louisiana's grandfather clause, which denied the ballot to any man whose grandfather had been unable to vote in slavery days, was struck down by the U.S. Supreme Court. But in ***Williams v. Mississippi*** (1898), the Court allowed poll taxes and literacy tests to stand. By 1908, every southern state had adopted such measures.

The impact of disfranchisement can hardly be overstated (Map 19.3). Across the South, voter turnout plunged, from above 70 percent to 34 percent or even lower.



MAP 19.3 Disfranchisement in the New South

In the midst of the Populist challenge to Democratic one-party rule in the South, a movement to deprive blacks of the right to vote spread from Mississippi across the South. By 1910, every state in the region except Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas, and Florida had made constitutional changes designed to prevent blacks from voting, and these four states accomplished much the same result through poll taxes and other exclusionary methods. For the next half century, the political process in the South would be for whites only.

Not only blacks but also many poor whites ceased to vote. Since Democrats faced virtually no opposition, action shifted to the "white primaries," where Democratic candidates competed for nominations. Some former Populists joined the Democrats in openly advocating white supremacy. The racial climate hardened. Segregation laws proliferated. Lynchings of African Americans increasingly occurred in broad daylight, with crowds of thousands gathered to watch.

The convict lease system, which had begun to take hold during Reconstruction, also expanded. Blacks received harsh sentences for crimes such as "vagrancy," often when they were traveling to find work or if they could not produce a current employment contract. By the 1890s, Alabama depended on convict leasing for 6 percent of its total revenue. Prisoners were overwhelmingly black: a 1908 report showed that almost 90 percent of Georgia's leased convicts were black; out of a white population of 1.4 million, only 322 were in prison. Calling attention to the torture and deaths of prisoners, as well as the damaging economic effect of their unpaid labor, reformers, labor unions, and Populists protested the situation strenuously. But "reforms" simply replaced convict leasing with the chain gang, in which prisoners worked directly for the state on roadbuilding and other projects, under equally cruel conditions. All these developments depended on a political "Solid South" in which Democrats exercised almost complete control.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did politics change in the South between the 1880s and the 1910s?

William Jennings Bryan This 1896 campaign poster emphasizes the youth of the thirty-six-year-old Nebraska Democrat and includes portraits of his wife Mary and their three young children. The full text of his famous "Cross of Gold" speech appears flanked by silver coins and overlaid with "16 to 1," representing the Chicago platform's proposal to mint U.S. silver coins at a 16-to-1 ratio with gold, increasing the money supply to stimulate the economy and aid borrowers. At the bottom stand a farmer and industrial workingman — primary bases of Democratic support. Many farmers and workers voted for McKinley, however, especially in the industrial heartland of the Northeast and Midwest. Though Bryan secured the electoral votes of the South and a substantial majority of western states, McKinley won the election. Library of Congress

The impact of the 1890s counterrevolution was dramatically illustrated in Grimes County, a cotton-growing area in east Texas where blacks comprised more than half of the population. African American voters kept the local Republican Party going after Reconstruction and regularly sent black representatives to the Texas legislature. Many local white Populists dismissed Democrats' taunts of "negro supremacy," and a Populist-Republican coalition swept the county elections in 1896 and 1898. But after their 1898 defeat, Democrats in Grimes County organized a secret brotherhood and forcibly prevented blacks from voting in town elections, shooting two in cold blood. The Populist sheriff proved unable to bring the murderers to justice. **Reconstituted** in 1900 as the White Man's Party, Democrats carried Grimes County by an overwhelming margin. Gunmen then laid siege to the Populist sheriff's office, killed his brother and a friend, and drove the wounded sheriff out of the county. The White Man's Party ruled Grimes County for the next fifty years.

New National Realities

While their southern racial policies were **abhorrent**, the national Democrats simultaneously amazed the country in 1896 by embracing parts of the Populists' radical farmer-labor program. They did so in defiance of President Cleveland, whose decisions continued to alienate him from his party's agrarian and labor base. Despite the worsening economic depression, collapsing prices, and a hemorrhage of gold to Europe, the president refused to budge from his defense of the gold standard. With gold reserves dwindling in 1895, he made a secret arrangement with a syndicate of bankers led by J. P. Morgan to arrange purchases to replenish the treasury. Morgan helped maintain America's gold supply — preserving the gold standard — and turned a tidy profit by earning interest on the bonds he provided. Cleveland's deal,

once discovered, enraged fellow Democrats. South Carolina governor Ben Tillman vowed to go to Washington and "poke old Grover with a pitchfork," earning the nickname "Pitchfork Ben."

In 1896, amid such outrage, Democrats rejected Cleveland and nominated a young Nebraska congressman, free silver advocate William Jennings Bryan, who passionately defended farmers and workers and attacked the gold standard. "Burn down your cities and leave our farms," Bryan declared in his famous convention speech, "and your cities will spring up again as if by magic; but destroy our farms and the grass will grow in the streets of every city in the country." He ended with a vow: "You shall not crucify mankind on a cross of gold." Cheering delegates endorsed a platform calling for free silver and a federal income tax on the wealthy that would replace tariffs as a source of revenue. Democrats, long defenders of limited government, were moving toward a more activist stance.

AP® EXAM TIP

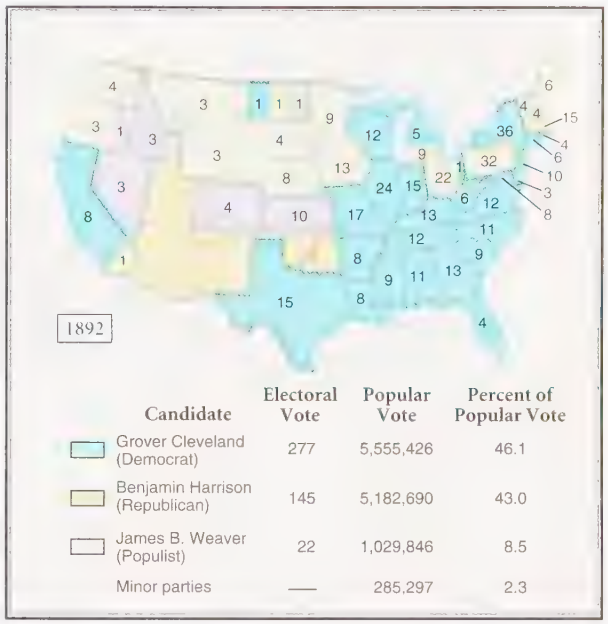
Analyze the impact of the election of 1896 on party politics and populism.

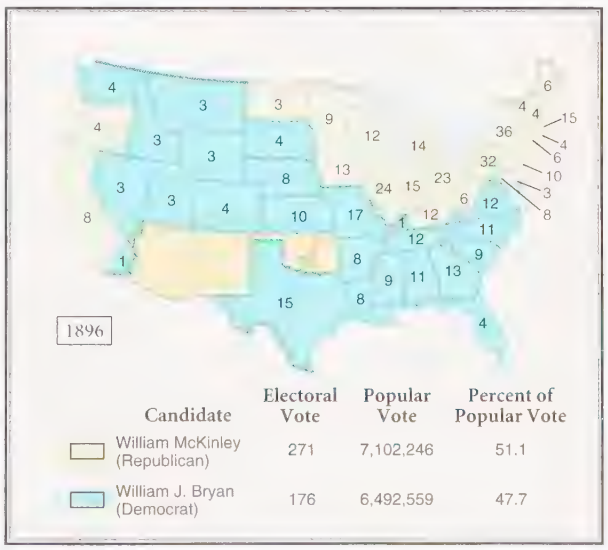
Populists, reeling from recent defeats, endorsed Bryan in the campaign, but their power was waning. Populist leader Tom Watson, who wanted a separate program that was more radical than Bryan's, observed that Democrats in 1896 had cast the Populists as "Jonah while they play whale." The People's Party never recovered from its electoral losses in 1894 and from Democrats' ruthless opposition in the South. By 1900, rural voters pursued reform elsewhere, particularly through the new Bryan wing of the Democratic Party.

Meanwhile, horrified Republicans denounced Bryan's platform as anarchistic. Their nominee, the Ohio congressman and tariff advocate William McKinley, chose a brilliant campaign manager, Ohio coal and shipping magnate Marcus Hanna, who orchestrated an unprecedented corporate fund-raising campaign. Under his guidance, the party backed away from moral issues such as prohibition of liquor and reached out to new immigrants. Though the popular vote was closer, McKinley won big: 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176 (Map 19.4).

Nationwide, as in the South, the realignment of the 1890s prompted new measures to exclude voters. Influenced by classical liberals' denunciations of "unfit voters," many northern states imposed literacy tests and restrictions on immigrant voting. Leaders of both major parties, determined to prevent future Populist-style threats, made it more difficult for new parties to get candidates listed on the ballot. In the wake of such laws, voter turnout declined, and the electorate narrowed in ways that favored the native-born and wealthy.

Antidemocratic restrictions on voting helped, paradoxically, to foster certain democratic innovations. Having excluded or reduced the number of poor, African American, and immigrant voters, elite and middle-class reformers felt more comfortable increasing the power of the voters who remained. Both major parties increasingly turned to the direct primary, asking voters (in most states, registered party members) rather than party leaders to choose nominees. Another measure that enhanced democratic participation was the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution (1913), requiring that U.S. senators be chosen not by state legislatures, but by popular vote. Though many states had adopted the practice well before 1913, southern states had resisted, since Democrats feared that it might give more power to their political opponents. After disfranchisement, such objections





MAP 19.4 The Presidential Elections of 1892 and 1896
In the 1890s, the age of political stalemate came to an end. Compare the 1892 map with Map 19.1 (p. 589) and note especially Cleveland's breakthrough in the normally Republican states of the Upper Midwest. In 1896, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction, with McKinley's consolidation of Republican control over the Northeast and Midwest far overbalancing the Democratic advances in the thinly populated western states. The 1896 election marked the beginning of sixteen years of Republican dominance in national politics.

The U.S. Supreme Court, 1894 During the 1890s, the Supreme Court struck down a number of pieces of progressive legislation, including a progressive federal income tax that had been signed into law by Congress and the president. In the Knight Sugar Case (*United States v. E. C. Knight Co.*), the Court ruled that the federal government had limited power over interstate commerce when a company did most of its manufacturing in a single state. In another 1894 decision, *In re Debs*, manufacturers were allowed free use of injunctions to shut down strikes. Two years later, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Court gave national sanction to racial segregation. In the front row, from left to right, are justices Horace Gray, Stephen J. Field, Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, justices John Marshall Harlan I and David J. Brewer. Standing in the back row, left to right, are justices Howell Jackson, Henry B. Brown, George Shiras, and Edward Douglas White. Library of Congress

faded and the measure passed. Thus disfranchisement enhanced the power of remaining voters in multiple, complicated ways.

At the same time, the Supreme Court proved hostile to many proposed reforms. In 1895, for example, it struck down a recently adopted federal income tax on the wealthy. The Court ruled that unless this tax was calculated on a per-state basis, rather than by the wealth of individuals, it could not be levied without a constitutional amendment. It took progressives nineteen years to achieve that goal.

Labor organizations also suffered in the new political regime, as federal courts invalidated many regulatory laws passed to protect workers. As early as 1882, in the case of *In re Jacobs*, the New York State Court of Appeals struck down a public-health law that prohibited cigar manufacturing in tenements, arguing that such regulation exceeded the state's police powers. In ***Lochner v. New York*** (1905), the U.S. Supreme Court told New York State it could not limit bakers' workdays to ten hours because that violated bakers' rights to make contracts. Judges found support for such rulings in the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibited states from depriving "any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Though the clause had been intended to protect former slaves, courts used it to shield contract rights, with judges arguing that they were protecting workers' freedom *from* government regulation. Interpreted in this way, the Fourteenth Amendment was a major obstacle to regulation of private business.

Farmer and labor advocates, along with urban progressives who called for more government regulation, disagreed with such rulings. They believed judges, not state legislators, were overreaching. While courts treated employers and employees as equal

parties, critics dismissed this as a legal fiction. "Modern industry has reduced 'freedom of contract' to a paper privilege," declared one labor advocate, "a mere figure of rhetoric." Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., dissenting in the *Lochner* decision, agreed. If the choice was between working and starving, he observed, how could bakers "choose" their hours of work? Holmes's view, known as legal realism, eventually won judicial favor, but only after years of progressive and labor activism.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did the depression of the 1890s impact federal politics and policy?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What developments caused the percentage of Americans who voted to plunge after 1900, and what role did courts play in antidemocratic developments?

Reform Reshaped, 1901–1912

William McKinley, a powerful presence in the White House, was no reformer. His victory was widely understood as a triumph for business and especially for industrial titans who had contributed heavily to his campaign. But the depression of the 1890s, by subjecting millions to severe hardship, had dramatically illustrated the problems of industrialization. At the same time, the success of McKinley's campaign managers — who spent more than $3.5 million, versus Bryan's $300,000 — raised unsettling questions about corporate power. Once the crisis of the 1890s passed, many middle-class Americans proved ready to embrace progressive ideas. The rise of such ideas was aided by historical chance, when a shocking assassination put a reformer in the White House.

Theodore Roosevelt as President

On September 14, 1901, only six months after William McKinley won his second face-off against Democrat William Jennings Bryan, the president was shot as he attended the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. He died eight days later. The murderer, Leon Czolgosz, was influenced by anarchists who had carried out recent assassinations in Europe. Though Czolgosz was American-born, many feared that McKinley's violent death was another warning of the threat posed by radical immigrants. As the nation mourned its third murdered president in less than four decades, Vice President Theodore Roosevelt was sworn into office.

Roosevelt, from a prominent family, had chosen an unconventional path. After graduating from Harvard, he plunged into politics, winning a seat as a Republican New York assemblyman. Disillusioned by his party's resistance to reform, he left politics in the mid-1880s and moved to a North Dakota ranch. But his cattle herd was wiped out in the blizzards of 1887. He returned east, winning appointments as a U.S. Civil Service commissioner, head of the New York City Police Commission, and McKinley's assistant secretary of the navy. An energetic presence in all these jobs, Roosevelt gained broad knowledge of the problems America faced at the municipal, state, and federal levels.

After serving in the War of 1898 (Chapter 20), Roosevelt was elected as New York's governor. In this job, he pushed through civil service reform and a tax on corporations. Seeking to neutralize this progressive and rather unpredictable political star, Republican bosses chose Roosevelt as McKinley's running mate in 1900, hoping the vice-presidency would be a political dead end. Instead, they suddenly found Roosevelt in the White House. The new president, who called for vigorous reform, represented a major shift for the Republicans.

Antitrust Legislation Roosevelt blended reform with the needs of private enterprise, but on occasion he challenged corporations in new ways. During a bitter 1902 coal strike, for example, he threatened to nationalize the big coal companies if their

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate Theodore Roosevelt's leadership in bringing Progressive Era reform to the federal government.

owners refused to negotiate with the miners' union. The owners hastily came to the table. Roosevelt also sought better enforcement of the Interstate Commerce Act and Sherman Antitrust Act. He pushed through the Elkins Act (1903), which prohibited discriminatory railway rates that favored powerful customers. That same year, he created the Bureau of Corporations, empowered to investigate business practices and bolster the Justice Department's capacity to mount antitrust suits. The department had already filed such a suit against the Northern Securities Company, arguing that this combination of northwestern railroads had created a monopoly in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act. In a landmark decision in 1904, the Supreme Court ordered Northern Securities dissolved.

That year, calling for every American to get what he called a Square Deal, Roosevelt handily defeated Democratic candidate Alton B. Parker. Now president in his own right, Roosevelt stepped up his attack on trusts. He regarded large-scale enterprise as the natural tendency of modern industry, but he hoped to identify and punish "malefactors of great wealth" who abused their power. After much wrangling in Congress, Roosevelt won a major victory with the passage of the **Hepburn Act** (1906), which strengthened the Interstate Commerce Commission, authorizing it to set shipping rates when it found evidence of railroad **collusion** to fix prices.

At the time Roosevelt acted, trusts had partially protected themselves with the help of two friendly states, New Jersey and Delaware, whose legislatures had loosened regulations and invited trusts to incorporate under their new state laws. With its Northern Securities ruling, however, the Supreme Court began to recognize federal authority to dissolve the most egregious monopolies. Roosevelt left a powerful legacy to his successor, William Howard Taft. In its **Standard Oil decision** (1911), the Supreme Court agreed with Taft's Justice Department that John D. Rockefeller's massive oil monopoly should be broken up into several competing companies. After this ruling, Taft's attorney general undertook antitrust actions against other giant companies.

Environmental Conservation Roosevelt was an ardent outdoorsman and hunter. It was after the president went bear hunting in Mississippi in 1902, in fact, that a Russian Jewish immigrant couple in New York began to sell stuffed "Teddy's bears," which became an American childhood tradition. After John Muir gave Roosevelt a tour of Yosemite Valley, the president described the transcendent experience of camping in the open air under the giant sequoias. "The majestic trunks, beautiful in color and in symmetry," he wrote, "rose round us like the pillars of a mightier cathedral than ever was conceived."

AP® EXAM TIP

Identify the complementary as well as competing goals of conservationists and preservationists in the Progressive Era.

Roosevelt translated his love of nature into environmental action. By the end of his presidency, he had issued fifty-one executive orders creating wildlife refuges and signed a number of bills advocated by environmentalists. He also oversaw creation of three national parks, including Colorado's Mesa Verde, the first to "protect the works of man": American Indian archaeological sites. Also notable was his vigorous use of the Antiquities Act, through which he set aside such beautiful sites as Arizona's Grand Canyon and Washington's Mt. Olympus.

Some of Roosevelt's conservation policies, however, had a probusiness bent. He increased the amount of land held in federal forest reserves and turned their management over to the new, independent U.S. Forest Service, created in 1905. But his forestry chief, Gifford Pinchot, insisted on fire suppression to maximize logging potential. In addition, Roosevelt lent support to the **Newlands Reclamation Act** (1902), which had much in common with earlier Republican policies to promote economic development in the West. Under the act, the federal government sold public lands to raise money for irrigation projects that expanded agriculture on arid lands. The law, interestingly, fulfilled one of the demands of the unemployed men who had marched with Coxey's Army.

Roosevelt's Legacies Like the environmental laws enacted during his presidency, Theodore Roosevelt was full of contradictions. An unabashed believer in what he

called "Anglo-Saxon" superiority, Roosevelt nonetheless incurred the wrath of white supremacists by inviting Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House. Roosevelt called for elite "best men" to enter politics, but he also defended the dignity of labor.

In 1908, Roosevelt chose to retire, bequeathing the Republican nomination to talented administrator William Howard Taft. Taft portrayed himself as Roosevelt's man, though he maintained a closer relationship than his predecessor with probusiness Republicans in Congress. In 1908, Taft faced off against Democrat William Jennings Bryan, who, eloquent as ever, attacked Republicans as the party of "plutocrats": men who used their wealth to buy political influence. Bryan outdid Taft in urging tougher antitrust and prolabor legislation, but Taft won comfortably.

In the wake of Taft's victory, however, rising pressure for reform began to divide Republicans. Conservatives dug in, while militant progressives within the party thought Roosevelt and his successor had not gone far enough. Reconciling these conflicting forces was a daunting task. For Taft, it spelled disaster. Through various incidents, he found himself on the opposite side of progressive Republicans, who began to call themselves "Insurgents" and to plot their own path.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

To what degree — and in what ways — were Roosevelt's policies progressive?

Diverse Progressive Goals

The revolt of Republican Insurgents signaled the strength of grassroots demands for change. No one described these emerging goals more eloquently than Jane Addams, who famously declared in *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1902), "The cure for the ills of Democracy is more Democracy." It was a poignant statement, given the sharply antidemocratic direction American politics had taken since the 1890s. What, now, should more democracy look like? Various groups of progressives — women, antipoverty reformers, African American advocates — often disagreed about priorities and goals. Some, frustrated by events in the United States, traveled abroad to study inspiring experiments in other nations, hoping to bring ideas home.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of local efforts and state governments in the Progressive Era is critical for success on the AP® exam.

States also served as seedbeds of change. Theodore Roosevelt dubbed Wisconsin a "laboratory of democracy" under energetic Republican governor Robert La Follette (1901–1905). La Follette promoted what he called the **Wisconsin Idea** — greater government intervention in the economy, with reliance on experts, particularly progressive economists, for policy recommendations. Like Addams, La Follette combined respect for expertise with commitment to "more Democracy." He won battles to restrict lobbying and to give Wisconsin citizens the right of recall — voting to remove unpopular politicians from office — and referendum — voting directly on a proposed law, rather than leaving it in the hands of legislators. Continuing his career in the U.S. Senate, La Follette, like Roosevelt, advocated increasingly aggressive measures to protect workers and rein in corporate power.

Robert M. La Follette La Follette became a political reformer when, in 1891, a Wisconsin Republican boss attempted to bribe him to influence a judge in a railway case. As he described it in his autobiography, "Out of this awful ordeal came understanding; and out of understanding came resolution. I determined that the power of this corrupt influence . . . should be broken." This photograph captures him at the top of his form in 1897, expounding his progressive vision to a rapt audience of Wisconsin citizens at an impromptu street gathering. Library of Congress

Protecting the Poor The urban settlement movement called attention to poverty in America's industrial cities. In the emerging social sciences, experts argued that unemployment and crowded slums were not caused by laziness and ignorance, as elite Americans had long believed. Instead, as journalist Robert Hunter wrote in his landmark study, *Poverty* (1904),

such problems resulted from "miserable and unjust social conditions." Charity work was at best a limited solution. "How vain to waste our energies on single cases of relief," declared one reformer, "when *society* should aim at removing the prolific sources of all the woe."

By the early twentieth century, reformers placed particular emphasis on labor conditions for women and children. The **National Child Labor Committee**, created in 1907, hired photographer Lewis Hine to record brutal conditions in mines and mills where children worked. (See one of Hine's photographs on p. 509 in Chapter 16.) Impressed by the committee's investigations, Theodore Roosevelt sponsored the first White House Conference on Dependent Children in 1909, bringing national attention to child welfare issues. In 1912, momentum from the conference resulted in creation of the Children's Bureau in the U.S. Labor Department.

Those seeking to protect working-class women scored a major triumph in 1908 with the Supreme Court's decision in ***Muller v. Oregon***, which upheld an Oregon law limiting women's workday to ten hours. Given the Court's ruling three years earlier in *Lochner v. New York*, it was a stunning victory. To win the case, the National Consumers' League (Chapter 18) recruited Louis Brandeis, a son of Jewish immigrants who was widely known as "the people's lawyer" for his eagerness to take on vested interests. Brandeis's legal brief in the *Muller* case devoted only two pages to the constitutional issue of state police powers. Instead, Brandeis rested his arguments on data gathered by the NCL describing the toll that long work hours took on women's health. The "Brandeis brief" cleared the way for use of social science research in court decisions. Sanctioning a more expansive role for state governments, the *Muller* decision encouraged women's organizations to lobby for further reforms. Their achievements included the first law providing public assistance for single mothers with dependent children (Illinois, 1911) and the first minimum wage law for women (Massachusetts, 1912).

Muller had drawbacks, however. Though men as well as women suffered from long work hours, the *Muller* case did not protect men. Brandeis's brief treated all women as potential mothers, focusing on the state's interest in protecting future children. Brandeis and his allies hoped this would open the door to broader regulation of working hours. The Supreme Court, however, seized on motherhood as the key issue, asserting that the female worker, because of her maternal function, was "in a class by herself, and legislation for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men." This conclusion dismayed labor advocates and divided female reformers for decades afterward.

To see a longer excerpt from the Supreme Court majority opinion in *Muller v. Oregon*, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Male workers did benefit, however, from new workmen's compensation measures. Between 1910 and 1917, all the industrial states enacted insurance laws covering on-the-job accidents, so workers' families would not starve if a breadwinner was injured or killed. Some states also experimented with so-called **mothers' pensions**, providing state assistance after a breadwinner's desertion or death. Mothers, however, were subjected to home visits to determine whether they "deserved" government aid; injured workmen were not judged on this basis, a pattern of gender discrimination that reflected the broader impulse to protect women, while also holding them to different standards than men. Mothers' pensions reached relatively small numbers of women, but they laid foundations for the national program Aid to Families with Dependent Children, an important component of the Social Security Act of 1935.

While federalism gave the states considerable freedom to innovate, it hampered national reforms. In some states, for example, opponents of child labor won laws barring young children from factory work and strictly regulating hours and conditions for older children's labor. In the South, however, and in coal-mining states like Pennsylvania, companies fiercely resisted such laws — as did many working-class parents who relied on children's income to keep the family fed. A proposed U.S. constitutional amendment to abolish child labor never won ratification; only four states passed it. Tens of thousands of children continued to work in low-wage jobs, especially in the South. The

same decentralized power that permitted innovation in Wisconsin hampered the creation of national minimum standards for pay and job safety.

The Birth of Modern Civil Rights Reeling from disfranchisement and the sanction of racial segregation in the Supreme Court's 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision (Chapter 17), African American leaders faced distinctive challenges. Given the obvious deterioration of African American rights, a new generation of black leaders proposed bolder approaches than those popularized earlier by Booker T. Washington. Harvard-educated sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois called for a **talented tenth** of educated blacks to develop new strategies. "The policy of compromise has failed," declared William Monroe Trotter, pugnacious editor of the *Boston Guardian*. "The policy of resistance and aggression deserves a trial."

In 1905, Du Bois and Trotter called a meeting at Niagara Falls — on the Canadian side, because no hotel on the U.S. side would admit blacks. The resulting Niagara Principles called for full voting rights; an end to segregation; equal treatment in the justice system; and equal opportunity in education, jobs, health care, and military service. These principles, based on African American pride and an uncompromising demand for full equality, guided the civil rights movement throughout the twentieth century.

In 1908, a bloody race riot broke out in Springfield, Illinois. Appalled by the white mob's violence in the hometown of Abraham Lincoln, New York settlement worker Mary White Ovington called together a group of sympathetic progressives to formulate a response. Their meeting led in 1909 to creation of the **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)**. Most leaders of the Niagara Movement soon joined; W. E. B. Du Bois became editor of the NAACP journal, *The Crisis*. The fledgling group found allies in many African American women's clubs and churches. It also cooperated with the National Urban League (1911), a union of agencies that assisted black migrants in the North. Over the coming decades, these groups grew into a powerful force for racial justice.

Niagara Movement Leaders This superimposed image from 1905 shows some of the founders of the Niagara Movement in front of the famous waterfall near their meeting place. The men depicted came from Massachusetts, Minnesota, Kansas, Illinois, New York, Washington, D.C., and Georgia. W. E. B. DuBois, wearing a white hat and bow tie, is second from right in the middle row. The group's efforts eventually led to creation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. What factors might have led Niagara leaders to include only men (and one boy, Norris B. Herndon, son of Alonzo F. Herndon of Georgia) in the photograph, though women played supportive roles in the Niagara meeting? How might we account for the dearth of participants from the South, where the majority of the nation's African American population lived? Library of Congress

AP® EXAM TIP

The role of W. E. B. Du Bois and the NAACP in challenging racial segregation and discrimination is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

The Problem of Labor Samuel Gompers and other leaders of the nation's dominant union, the American Federation of Labor, were slow to ally with progressives. They had long believed workers should improve their situation through strikes and direct negotiation with employers, not through politics. But by the 1910s, as progressive reformers came forward with solutions, labor leaders in state after state began to press for political action.

The nation also confronted a daring wave of radical labor militancy. In 1905, the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), led by fiery leaders such as William "Big Bill" Haywood, helped create a new movement, the **Industrial Workers of the World** (IWW). The Wobblies, as they were called, fervently supported the Marxist class struggle. As **syndicalists**, they believed that by resisting in the workplace and ultimately launching a general strike, workers could overthrow capitalism. A new society would emerge, run directly by workers. At its height, around 1916, the IWW had about 100,000 members. Though divided by internal conflicts, the group helped spark a number of local protests during the 1910s, including strikes of rail car builders in Pennsylvania, textile operatives in Massachusetts, rubber workers in Ohio, and miners in Minnesota.

The Ludlow Massacre, 1914 Like his drawings of Triangle Shirtwaist fire victims in New York (see p. 581), this cover illustration for the popular socialist magazine *The Masses* demonstrates John Sloan's outrage at social injustice in progressive America. The drawing memorializes a tragic episode during a coal miners' strike at Ludlow, Colorado — the asphyxiation of women and children when vigilantes torched the tent city of evicted miners — and the aftermath, an armed revolt by enraged miners. Picture Research Consultants & Archive

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did various grassroots reformers define "progressivism," and how did their views differ from Theodore Roosevelt's version of "progressivism"?

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the election of 1912 as evidence of continuity and change in American politics as a result of the Progressive Era.

Meanwhile, after midnight on October 1, 1910, an explosion ripped through the *Los Angeles Times* headquarters, killing twenty employees and wrecking the building. It turned out that John J. McNamara, a high official of the American Federation of Labor's Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Union, had planned the bombing against the fiercely antiunion *Times*. McNamara's brother and another union member had carried out the attack. The bombing created a sensation, as did the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist fire (Chapter 18) and the IWW's high-profile strikes. What should be done? As the election of 1912 approached, labor issues moved high on the nation's agenda.

The Election of 1912

Retirement did not sit comfortably with Theodore Roosevelt. Returning from a year-long safari in Africa in 1910 and finding Taft wrangling with the Insurgents, Roosevelt itched to jump in. In a speech in Osawatomie, Kansas, in August 1910, he called for a **New Nationalism**. In modern America, he argued, private property had to be controlled "to whatever degree the public welfare may require it." He proposed a federal child labor law, more recognition of labor rights, and a national minimum wage for women. Pressed by friends like Jane Addams, Roosevelt also endorsed women's suffrage. Most radical was his attack on the legal system. Insisting that courts blocked reform, Roosevelt proposed sharp curbs on their powers.

Early in 1912, Roosevelt announced himself as a Republican candidate for president. A battle within the party ensued. Roosevelt won most states that held primary elections, but Taft controlled party caucuses elsewhere. Dominated by regulars, the Republican convention chose Taft. Roosevelt then led his followers into what became known as the Progressive Party, offering his New Nationalism directly to the people. Though Jane Addams harbored private doubts (especially about Roosevelt's mania for battleships), she seconded his nomination, calling the Progressive Party "the American exponent of a world-wide movement for juster social conditions." In a nod to Roosevelt's combative stance, party followers called themselves "Bull Mooses."

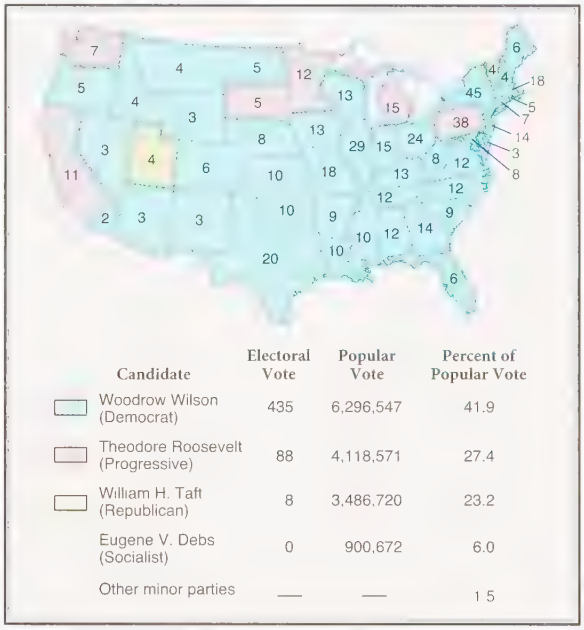
The Republicans Resist Roosevelt, August 7, 1912 This cartoon appeared in the political humor journal *Puck*, six weeks after the Republican convention nominated Taft and two days after the new Progressive Party nominated Theodore Roosevelt. The baptismal choir consists of men such as Gifford Pinchot, who helped Roosevelt form the new party. The G.O.P. elephant refuses to be baptized in "Teddyism," though Preacher Roosevelt insists, "Salvation is Free." President William Howard Taft, dressed in brown with a hat, pulls on the elephant's tail. Library of Congress

Roosevelt was not the only rebel on the ballot: the major parties also faced a challenge from charismatic socialist Eugene V. Debs. In the 1890s, Debs had founded the American Railway Union (ARU), a broad-based group that included both skilled and unskilled workers. In 1894, amid the upheavals of depression and popular protest, the ARU had boycotted luxury Pullman sleeping cars, in support of a strike by workers at the Pullman Company. Railroad managers, claiming the strike obstructed the U.S. mail, persuaded Grover Cleveland's administration to intervene against the union. The strike failed, and Debs served time in prison along with other ARU leaders. The experience radicalized him, and in 1901 he launched the Socialist Party of America. Debs translated socialism into an American idiom, emphasizing the democratic process as a means to defeat capitalism. By the early 1910s, his party had secured a minor but persistent role in politics. Both the Progressive and Socialist parties drew strength from the West, a region with vigorous urban reform movements and a legacy of farmer-labor activism.

Watching the rise of the Progressives and Socialists, Democrats were keen to build on dramatic gains they had made in the 1910 midterm election. Among their younger leaders was Virginia-born Woodrow Wilson, who as New Jersey's governor had compiled an impressive reform record, including passage of a direct primary, workers' compensation, and utility regulation. In 1912, he won the Democrats' nomination. Wilson possessed, to a fault, the moral certainty that characterized many elite progressives. He had much in common with Roosevelt. "The old time of individual competition is probably gone by," he admitted, agreeing for more federal measures to restrict big business. But his goals were less sweeping than Roosevelt's, and only gradually did he hammer out a reform program, calling it the New Freedom. "If America is not to have free enterprise," Wilson warned, "then she can have freedom of no sort whatever." He claimed Roosevelt's program represented collectivism, whereas the New Freedom would preserve political and economic liberty.

With four candidates in the field — Taft, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Debs — the 1912 campaign generated intense excitement. Democrats continued to have an enormous blind spot: their opposition to African American rights. But Republicans, despite plentiful opportunities, had also conspicuously failed to end segregation or pass antilynching laws. Though African American leaders had high hopes for the Progressive Party, they were crushed when the new party refused to seat southern black delegates or take a stand for racial equality. W. E. B. Du Bois considered voting for Debs, calling the Socialists the only party "which openly recognized Negro manhood." But he ultimately endorsed Wilson. Across the North, in a startling shift, thousands of African American men and women worked and voted for Wilson, hoping Democrats' reform energy would benefit Americans across racial lines. The change helped lay the foundations for Democrats' New Deal coalition of the 1930s.

Despite the intense campaign, Republicans' division between Taft and Roosevelt made the result fairly easy to predict. Wilson won, though he received only 42 percent of the popular vote and almost certainly would have lost if Roosevelt had not been in the race (Map 19.5). In comparison with Roosevelt and Debs, Wilson appeared to be a rather old-fashioned choice. But with labor protests cresting and progressives gaining support, Wilson faced intense pressure to act.



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Woodrow Wilson (Democrat)	435	6,296,547	41.9
Theodore Roosevelt (Progressive)	88	4,118,571	27.4
William H. Taft (Republican)	8	3,486,720	23.2
Eugene V. Debs (Socialist)	0	900,672	6.0
Other minor parties	—	—	1.5

MAP 19.5 The Presidential Election of 1912
The 1912 election reveals why the two-party system is so strongly rooted in American politics — especially in presidential elections. The Democrats, though a minority party, won an electoral landslide because the Republicans divided their vote between Roosevelt and Taft. This result indicates what is at stake when major parties splinter. The Socialist Party candidate, Eugene V. Debs, despite a record vote of 900,000, received no electoral votes.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS
COMPARE & CONTRAST
Why did the election of 1912 feature four candidates, and how did their platforms differ?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What factors transformed national politics between 1900 and 1912?

Wilson and the New Freedom, 1913–1917

In his inaugural address, Wilson acknowledged that industrialization had precipitated a crisis. "There can be no equality of opportunity," he said, "if men and women and children be not shielded . . . from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they cannot alter, control, or singly cope with." Wilson was a Democrat, and labor interests and farmers — some previously radicalized in the People's Party — were important components of his base. In the South, many of those voters also upheld strong support for white supremacy. Despite many northern African Americans' support for Wilson, his administration did little for those constituents. But he undertook bold economic reforms.

Economic Reforms

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the efforts of progressives to regulate the economy and promote social change.

In an era of rising corporate power, many Democrats believed workers needed stronger government to intervene on their behalf, and they began to transform themselves into a modern, state-building party. The Wilson administration achieved a series of landmark measures — at least as significant as those enacted during earlier administrations, and perhaps more so (Table 19.1). The most enduring was the federal progressive income tax. "Progressive," by this definition, referred to the fact that it was not a flat tax but rose progressively toward the top of the income scale. The tax, passed in the 1890s but rejected by the Supreme Court, was reenacted as the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, ratified by the states in February 1913. The next year, Congress used the new power to enact an income tax of 1 to 7 percent on Americans with annual incomes of $4,000 or more. At a time when white male wageworkers might expect to make $800 per year, the tax affected less than 5 percent of households.

Three years later, Congress followed this with an inheritance tax. These measures created an entirely new way to fund the federal government, replacing Republicans' high tariff as the chief source of revenue. Over subsequent decades, especially between the 1930s and the 1970s, the income tax system markedly reduced America's extremes of wealth and poverty.

Wilson also reorganized the financial system to address the absence of a central bank. At the time, the main function of national central banks was to back up commercial banks in case they could not meet their obligations. In the United States, the great private banks of New York (such as J. P. Morgan's) assumed this role; if they weakened, the entire system could collapse. This had nearly happened in 1907, when the Knickerbocker Trust Company failed, precipitating a panic. The **Federal Reserve Act** (1913) gave the nation a banking system more resistant to such crises. It created twelve district reserve banks funded and controlled by their member banks, with a central Federal Reserve Board to impose regulation. The Federal Reserve could issue currency — paper money based on assets held in the system — and set the interest rate that district reserve banks charged to their members. It thereby regulated the flow of credit to the general public. The act strengthened the banking system and, to a modest degree, discouraged risky speculation on Wall Street.

Wilson and the Democratic Congress turned next to the trusts. In doing so, Wilson relied heavily on Louis D. Brandeis, the celebrated people's lawyer. Brandeis denied that monopolies were efficient. On the contrary, he believed the best source of efficiency was vigorous competition in a free market. The trick was to prevent trusts from unfairly using their power to curb such competition. In the **Clayton Antitrust Act** (1914), which amended the Sherman Act, the definition of illegal practices was left flexible, subject to the test of whether an action "substantially lessen[ed] competition." The new Federal Trade Commission received broad powers to decide what was fair, investigating companies and issuing "cease and desist" orders against anticompetitive practices.

TABLE 19.1

Major Federal Progressive Measures, 1883–1921
Before 1900
Pendleton Civil Service Act (1883)
Hatch Act (1887; Chapter 16)
Interstate Commerce Act (1887; Chapter 16)
Sherman Antitrust Act (1890)
Federal income tax (1894; struck down by Supreme Court, 1895)
During Theodore Roosevelt's Presidency, 1901–1909
Newlands Reclamation Act for federal irrigation (1902)
Elkins Act (1903)
First National Wildlife Refuge (1903; Chapter 17)
Bureau of Corporations created to aid Justice Department antitrust work (1903)
U.S. Forest Service created (1905)
Antiquities Act (1906; Chapter 17)
Pure Food and Drug Act (1906; Chapter 18)
Hepburn Act (1906)
First White House Conference on Dependent Children (1909)
During William Howard Taft's Presidency, 1909–1913
Mann Act preventing interstate prostitution (1910; Chapter 18)
Children's Bureau created in the U.S. Labor Department (1912)
U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations appointed (1912)
During Woodrow Wilson's Presidency, 1913–1920
Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution; federal income tax (1913)
Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution; direct election of U.S. senators (1913)
Federal Reserve Act (1913)
Clayton Antitrust Act (1914)
Seamen's Act (1915)
Workmen's Compensation Act (1916)
Adamson Eight-Hour Act (1916)
National Park Service created (1916; Chapter 17)
Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution; prohibition of liquor (1920; Chapter 21)
Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution; women's suffrage (1920; Chapter 20)

Labor issues, meanwhile, received attention from a blue-ribbon U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, appointed near the end of Taft's presidency and charged with investigating the conditions of labor. In its 1913 report, the commission summed up the impact of industrialization on low-skilled workers. Many earned $10 or less a week and endured regular episodes of unemployment; some faced long-term poverty and hardship. Workers held "an almost universal conviction" that they were "denied justice." The commission concluded that a major cause of industrial violence was the ruthless

Wilson Chases Big Business, 1913–1914 Robert Carter, cartoonist for the *New York Sun*, drew on images of earlier president Theodore Roosevelt carrying a "big stick" in foreign policy, to show Woodrow Wilson's domestic policy toward big business. Wilson, a former schoolteacher, carries a "big ruler" instead of a big stick. Backed by Democratic working-class and agrarian interests, Wilson found himself forced as president to fight corporate monopolies and extend new protections for labor. The Granger Coll... York

antiunionism of American employers. In its key recommendation, the report called for federal laws protecting workers' right to organize and engage in collective bargaining. Though such laws were, in 1915, too radical to win passage, the commission helped set a new national agenda that would come to fruition in the 1930s.

Guided by the commission's revelations, President Wilson warmed up to labor. In 1915 and 1916, he championed a host of bills to benefit American workers. They included the Adamson Act, which established an eight-hour day for railroad workers; the Seamen's Act, which eliminated age-old abuses of merchant sailors; and a workmen's compensation law for federal employees. Wilson, despite initial modest goals, presided over a major expansion of federal authority, perhaps the most significant since Reconstruction. The continued growth of U.S. government offices during Wilson's term reflected a reality that transcended party lines: corporations had grown in size and power, and Americans increasingly wanted federal authority to grow, too.

Wilson's reforms did not extend to the African Americans who had supported him in 1912. In fact, the president rolled back certain Republican policies, such as selected appointments of black postmasters. "I tried to help elect Wilson," W. E. B. Du Bois reflected gloomily, but "under Wilson came the worst attempt at Jim Crow legislation and discrimination in civil service that we had experienced since the Civil War." Wilson famously praised the film *Birth of a Nation* (1915), which depicted the Reconstruction-era Ku Klux Klan in heroic terms. In this way, Democratic control of the White House helped set the tone for the Klan's return in the 1920s.

Progressive Legacies

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

To what degree did reforms of the Wilson era fulfill goals that various agrarian-labor advocates and progressives had sought?

AP® EXAM TIP

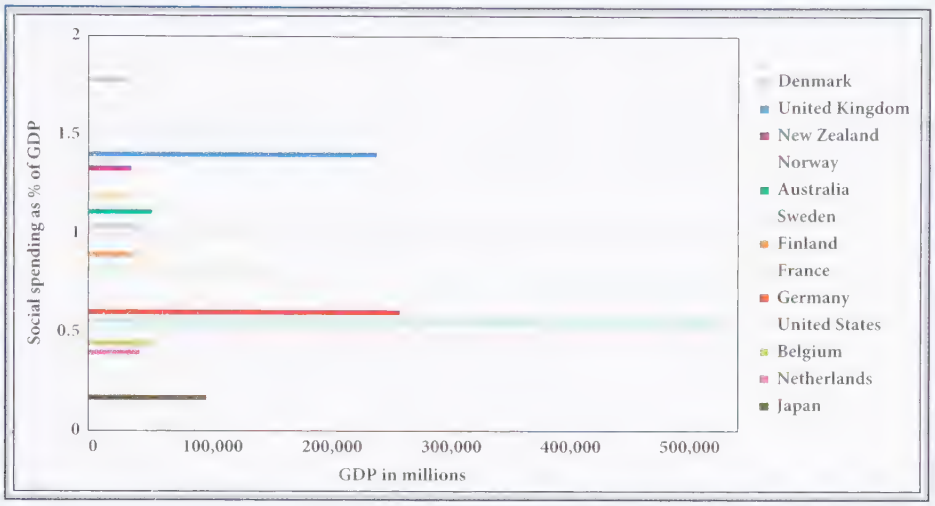
Recognizing the failure of the Progressive Era to address issues of civil rights for African Americans is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

In the industrial era, millions of Americans decided that their political system needed to adjust to new conditions. Whatever their specific goals — and whether they were rural, working-class, or middle-class — reformers faced fierce opposition from powerful business interests. When they managed to win key regulatory laws, they often found these struck down by hostile courts and were forced to try again by different means. Thus the Progressive Era in the United States should be understood partly by its limitations. Elitism and racial prejudice, embodied in new voting restrictions, limited working-class power at the polls; African Americans, their plight ignored by most white reformers, faced segregation and violence. Divided power in a federalist system blocked passage of uniform national policies on such key issues as child labor. Key social welfare programs that became popular in Europe during these decades, including national health insurance and old-age pensions, scarcely made it onto the American agenda until the 1930s (AP® America in the World).

An international perspective suggests several reasons for American resistance to such programs. Business interests in the United States were exceptionally successful and powerful, flush with recent expansion. At the time, also, voters in countries with older, more native-born populations tended to support government regulation and welfare spending to a greater extent than their counterparts in countries with younger populations and large numbers of immigrants. Younger voters, understandably, seem to have been less concerned than older voters about health insurance and old-age security. Divisions in the American working class also played a role. Black, immigrant, and native-born white laborers often viewed one another as enemies or strangers rather

Economic Output and Government Social Spending, 1913

This graph shows social spending—expenditures at all levels of government for health, housing, and assistance to the elderly and the poor—in thirteen industrialized nations in 1913. The horizontal axis shows the size of each nation's economy, measured by gross domestic product (GDP). The vertical axis estimates percentage of GDP devoted to social spending.



QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What similarities and differences does the graph show, in the size of each nation's economy and the amount of its spending on public social welfare?
2. Based on your reading of this textbook, what factors accounted for the United States's position on the graph?

than as members of a single class with common interests. This helps explain why the Socialist Party drew, at peak, less than 6 percent of the U.S. vote at a time when its counterparts in Finland, Germany, and France drew 40 percent or more. Lack of pressure from a strong, self-conscious workingmen's party contributed to more limited results in the United States.

But it would be wrong to underestimate progressive achievements. Over several decades, in this period, more and more prosperous Americans began to support stronger economic regulations. Even the most cautious, elite progressives recognized that the United States had entered a new era. Multinational corporations overshadowed small businesses; in vast cities, old support systems based on village and kinship melted away. Outdated political institutions — from the spoils system to urban machines — would no longer do. Walter Lippmann, founding editor of the progressive magazine *New Republic*, observed in 1914 that Americans had "no precedents to guide us, no wisdom that wasn't made for a simpler age." Progressives created new wisdom. By 1917, they had drawn blueprints for a modern American state, one whose powers more suited the needs of an industrial era.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What factors explain the limits of progressive reform in the United States?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What caused Woodrow Wilson to become a reformer once he entered the White House?

SUMMARY

The Progressive Era emerged from the political turmoil of the 1880s and 1890s. In the 1880s, despite the limits imposed by close elections, federal and state governments managed to achieve important administrative and economic reforms. After 1888, Republican leaders undertook more sweeping efforts, including the Sherman Antitrust Act, but failed in a quest to protect black voting rights. In the South and West, the People's Party called for much stronger government intervention in the economy, but its radical program drew bitter Republican and Democratic resistance.

The depression of the 1890s brought a wave of reaction. Labor unrest threw the nation into crisis, and Cleveland's intransigence over the gold standard cost the Democrats dearly in the 1894 and 1896 elections. While Republicans took over the federal government, southern Democrats restricted voting rights in the Solid South. Federal courts struck down regulatory laws and supported southern racial discrimination.

After McKinley's assassination, Roosevelt launched a program that balanced reform and private enterprise. At both the federal and state levels, progressive reformers made extensive use of elite expertise. At the grassroots, black reformers battled racial discrimination, women reformers worked on issues ranging from public health to women's working conditions, and labor activists tried to address the problems that fueled persistent labor unrest. The election of 1912 split the Republicans, giving victory to Woodrow Wilson, who launched a Democratic program of economic and labor reform. Despite the limits of the Progressive Era, the reforms of this period laid the foundation for a modern American state.

CHAPTER 19 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. How did the political goals of Populists differ from those of Democrats and Republicans?
2. How did the depression of the 1890s impact federal politics and policy?
3. What factors transformed national politics between 1900 and 1912?
4. What caused Woodrow Wilson to become a reformer once he entered the White House?
5. Look at the events on the thematic timeline on pages 494–495. Historians often call the later decades of this period (1890 to 1920) the Progressive Era. Given the limitations and new problems that emerged during this time, as well as the achievements of progressive policymaking, do you think the name is warranted? What other names might we suggest for this era?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

Pendleton Act (p. 589)
Sherman Antitrust Act (p. 593)
Lodge Bill (p. 593)
Omaha Platform (p. 594)
free silver (p. 599)
Williams v. Mississippi (p. 599)
Lochner v. New York (p. 602)
Hepburn Act (p. 604)
Standard Oil decision (p. 604)
Newlands Reclamation Act (p. 604)
Wisconsin Idea (p. 605)
National Child Labor Committee (p. 606)
Muller v. Oregon (p. 606)
mothers' pensions (p. 606)
talented tenth (p. 607)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) (p. 607)
Industrial Workers of the World (p. 607)
New Nationalism (p. 608)
Federal Reserve Act (p. 610)
Clayton Antitrust Act (p. 610)

Key People

Mary E. Lease (p. 586)
William Jennings Bryan (p. 601)
Theodore Roosevelt (p. 603)
Robert La Follette (p. 605)
Louis Brandeis (p. 606)
W. E. B. Du Bois (p. 607)
Eugene V. Debs (p. 609)

Key Academic Terms

reconstitute (p. 600)
abhor (p. 600)
collusion (p. 604)
syndicalism (p. 607)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. Returning to Chapter 16, review the strategies and goals of the labor and agrarian organizations that flourished in the 1870s and 1880s. The People's Party embodied many of those ideas. Imagine that you are a journalist interviewing a former People's Party leader in 1917. To what extent might he or she have said that progressives had, after 1900, fulfilled the agrarian-labor agenda? To what extent might he or she criticize progressives for failing to achieve important reforms? What do you conclude from this about the similarities and differences of populism and progressivism?
2. Compare the economic policies implemented by Republicans during the Civil War (Chapters 13 and 15) with the policies adopted in the Progressive Era. What were the main goals of legislators and presidents in each period? In what ways did those goals overlap? To what extent did progressive leaders seek to remedy limitations or problems that emerged as a result of the Civil War–era legislation?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 588 for help in answering the questions below.*

Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson both became president under unusual circumstances: Roosevelt after the assassination of William McKinley, and Wilson in a four-way race, in which the candidate of the previously dominant Republican Party came in third. How important was each man's arrival in the White House, based on events that occurred during their presidencies? Which events might have happened anyway, even if Roosevelt and Wilson had not served as chief executive? What does this suggest about the significance of the presidency during the Progressive Era?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "This is a nation of inconsistencies. . . . We fought England for our liberty and put chains on four million blacks. We wiped out slavery and by our tariff laws and national banks began a system of white wage slavery worse than the first.
>
> Wall Street owns the country. It is no longer a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a government of Wall Street, by Wall Street, and for Wall Street. . . .
>
> Tariff is not the paramount question. The main question is the money question. . . . Kansas now suffers from two great robbers, the Santa Fe Railroad and the loan companies. The common people are robbed to enrich their masters. . . .
>
> We want money, land and transportation. We want the abolition of national banks, and we want the power to make loans from the government. We want the accursed foreclosure system wiped out."
>
> Speech by Mary Elizabeth Lease, political activist, 1890

1. A supporter of the ideas Lease expressed in the excerpt would most likely also have supported
   - **a.** a stronger governmental role in regulating the American economic system.
   - **b.** ideas such as the Gospel of Wealth.
   - **c.** laissez-faire economic policies as pathways to growth in the long run.
   - **d.** increased sharecropping and tenant farming.
2. The ideas expressed in the excerpt had the most in common with the ideas of which of the following groups?
   - **a.** Social Darwinists in the late nineteenth century
   - **b.** The union movement of the 1930s
   - **c.** Conservatives in the 1980s
   - **d.** Jacksonian Democrats in the 1830s
3. The ideas expressed in the excerpt resulted most directly from
   - **a.** public debates over assimilation.
   - **b.** corporate consolidation in agricultural markets.
   - **c.** battles between labor and management over wages and working conditions.
   - **d.** the promotion of the idea of a "New South."

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly . . . known as 'trusts' appeal precisely to hatred and fear. . . .
>
> . . . . [Y]et it is also true that there are real and grave evils . . . and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils.
>
> There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as trusts are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This . . . is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be, not prohibited, but, supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and in my judgment this conviction, is right."
>
> Theodore Roosevelt, Message to Congress, December 3, 1901

4. The Roosevelt administration most directly acted upon the beliefs expressed in the passage through
   - **a.** resolving the Anthracite Coal Strike.
   - **b.** creating the Federal Trade Commission.
   - **c.** supporting reduced federal rates.
   - **d.** approving the corporate merger that created the United States Steel Corporation.
5. The ideas Theodore Roosevelt expressed in the excerpt share the greatest similarity to the ideas used to
   - **a.** pass Federalist economic programs in the 1790s.
   - **b.** enact New Deal legislation in the 1930s.
   - **c.** support Great Society legislation in the 1960s.
   - **d.** endorse free-trade agreements in the 1990s.
6. The ideas Theodore Roosevelt expressed about regulation in the excerpt show the greatest extent of similarity to the ideas of
   - **a.** the Marshall Court of 1800 to the 1820s.
   - **b.** Whigs favoring the national bank in the 1830s.
   - **c.** laissez-faire economists in the 1880s.
   - **d.** the federal legislature in the 1890s.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> " 'When was the Progressive Era exactly?' my students ask. Roughly during the first two decades of the twentieth century, I tell them. . . . Some historians still use 1900 as a starting date, although more recently 1890 has become popular. . . . From the perspective of women progressives, however, these boundaries need to be much more fluid. . . . The women who founded social settlements in the 1880s, along with the temperance and suffrage campaigners, comprise a group of American citizens active in conceptualizing progressive reform long before the presumed dawn of progressivism."
>
> Elisabeth Israels Perry, "Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era," 2002
>
> "Millions of freedmen, immigrants, students, workers, artists, intellectuals, and reformers believed that post–Civil War America offered a chance to start anew. . . . Many Americans worked energetically between 1865 and 1900 to purify politics, restrict the power of big business, and fight injustice. Those decades witnessed the first march on Washington, the first federal welfare programs, the first elections in which women and black men voted for president, and the first national park in the world. At the same time, problems that plagued the so-called Gilded Age continued and even intensified during the so-called Progressive Era."
>
> Rebecca Edwards, *New Spirits: Americans in the "Gilded Age," 1865–1905*, 2015

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Perry's and Edwards's historical interpretations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Perry's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Edwards's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE important historical difference between economic reforms sought by the Populists and the Progressives.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE important similarity between the economic reforms sought by the Populists and the Progressives.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for the similarity OR difference between the economic reforms sought by the Populists and the Progressives.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain why ONE of the following was the most significant factor contributing to political unrest between 1880 and 1917.
     - Monetary policy
     - Race relations
     - Economic inequality
   - **b.** Provide ONE specific historical example to support your argument in (a).
   - **c.** Provide specific evidence why ONE of the other options is a less significant factor contributing to political unrest between 1880 and 1917.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent to which the settlement of the American West changed the lives of peoples in the region between 1865 and 1900.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: Comanche Chief Ten Bears, Medicine Lodge Treaty Address, October 1867.

"I was born on the prairie where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and where everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls. . . . When I was at Washington the Great Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours and that no one should hinder us in living upon it. So, why do you ask us to leave the rivers and the sun and the wind and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the sheep. The young men have heard talk of this, and it has made them sad and angry. . . .

If the Texans had kept out of my country there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live on is too small. The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that we might have done the things you ask. But it is too late. The white man has the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Acts of the Wyoming Territorial Legislature, 1869 and 1870.

"AN ACT to confer to women all the rights of citizenship.

That every woman of the age of twenty-one years, residing in this territory, may, at every election . . . cast her vote. And her rights to the elective franchise, and to hold office, shall be the same under the election laws of the territory, as those electors.

AN ACT to protect married women in their separate property, and the enjoyment of their labor.

That all the property, both real and personal, belonging to any married woman as her sole and separate property . . . shall, notwithstanding her marriage, be and remain . . . her sole and separate property, under her sole control, and be held, owned, possessed and enjoyed by her, the same as though she were sole [single] and unmarried, and shall not be subject to the disposal, control or interference of her husband."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: A Remonstrance from the Chinese in California to the Congress of the United States, c. 1870.

"When we were first favored with the invitations of your ship-captains to emigrate to California, and heard the laudations [praises] which they published of the perfect and admirable character of your institutions, and were told of your exceeding respect and love toward the Chinese, we could hardly have calculated that we would now be the objects of your excessive hatred. . . .

If . . . you grant us, as formerly, to mine and trade here, then it is our request that you will give instructions to your courts that they shall again receive Chinese testimony; that they shall cease their incessant discussions about expelling the Chinese; that they shall quit their frequent agitations as to raising the license fees; that they shall allow the Chinese peace in the pursuit of their proper employments; and that they shall effectually repress the acts of violence common among the mountains, so that robbers shall not upon one pretext or another injure and plunder us."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Letter from Uriah Oblinger, a Nebraska homesteader, to his wife, December 1872.

"I am confident that I can live when I have 160 [acres] of my own. . . .

[T]he longer I stay here the better I like it, there are but very few old families here. They are mostly young families just starting in life the same as we are and I find them very generous indeed. . . .

I think any one that is not able to own a farm in Indiana or any of the older states and make their living by farming are foolish for staying any longer than to just get enough to leave on. . . . It is going to be rough starting as I always told you but when started it will be ours. . . . Those that are here seem to be as happy as birds. They are all Homesteaders, yet there is not more than one in 25 that has a deed for their land yet."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Interview of Nancy Guptil, a black migrant to Kansas, 1880.

"Came from Middle Tennessee. Heard neighbors talking of Kansas two or three years. We received two or three circulars that told about Kansas. . . . I find things here a heap better than I expected. We have forty acres. We came last May. We built our house in the fall. My husband finds enough work around here to support us. We had plenty of supplies to live on through the winter. . . . People treats us better here than they did there because they is willing to pay us what we work for. . . . I wouldn't go back for nothing. . . . All my people are mighty well satisfied here."

DOCUMENT 6

Source: Joseph Nimmo Jr., "The American Cowboy," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, November 1886.

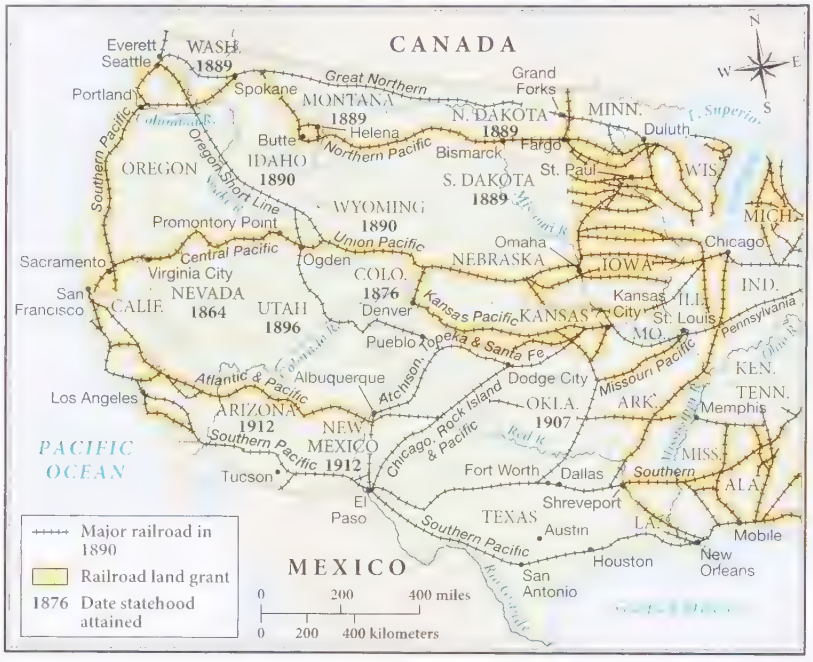
"The Texas cowboys were frontiersmen, accustomed from their earliest childhood to the alarms and the struggles incident to forays of Indians of the most ferocious and warlike nature. The section of the State in which they lived was also for many years exposed to incursions of bandits from Mexico, who came with predatory intent upon the herds and the homes of the people of Texas.

The carrying of firearms and other deadly weapons was consequently a prevalent custom among them. And being scattered over vast areas, and beyond the efficient protection and restraints of civil law, they of necessity became a law unto themselves. It is not a strange thing that such an occupation and such environment should have developed a class of men whom persons accustomed to the usages of cultivated society would characterize as ruffians of the most pronounced type.

But among the better disposed of the Texas cowboys, who constitute, it is believed, much more than a majority of them, there were true and trusty men, in whom the dangers and fortunes of their lives developed generous and heroic traits of character. The same experiences, however, led the viciously inclined to give free vent to the worst passions. Upon slight provocation they would shoot down a fellow man with almost as little compunction as they fired upon the wild beasts."

DOCUMENT 7

Source: Map of major railroads and statehood in the American West.



LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following three questions to answer.

2. **Evaluate the extent to which social reform movements between 1865 and 1900 changed American society.**

3. **Evaluate the extent to which urbanization changed politics in the United States between 1865 and 1900.**

4. **Evaluate the extent of difference between the effects of industrialization on the United States in the decades before the Civil War (1820–1860) to the effects in the decades after the Civil War (1865–1900).**

PART 7

CHAPTER 20
An Emerging World Power, 1890–1918

CHAPTER 21
Unsettled Prosperity: From War to Depression, 1919–1932

CHAPTER 22
Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal, 1929–1938

CHAPTER 23
The World at War, 1937–1945

Domestic and Global Challenges

1890–1945

What should be the role of the United States in the world, and what is the proper relationship between government and society? If these seem like monumental questions, they are indeed. In Part 7, we show how these two pressing questions came to the fore in a tumultuous period of global warfare and domestic strife and reform. Globally, the United States expanded its empire overseas and fought on the winning side in two world wars. Domestically, the reform impulse retreated during and immediately after World War I but surged back to the center of national life during the crisis of the Great Depression, when Americans once more debated the responsibilities and limits of their government.

As the chapters in this part show, on the world stage the United States acted both in calculated self-interest and to protect democratic nations and institutions. By acquiring the Philippines, Hawaii, Guam, and Puerto Rico, the United States behaved as a traditional empire, securing important strategic assets and protecting American investments abroad. In joining its European allies in the two world wars, the United States embraced a broad international partnership against the threat of **autocracy** and fascism. In his famous speech in 1918 outlining his Fourteen Points for international peace, made amid the horrors of World War I, President Woodrow Wilson argued that as responsible global citizens Americans "cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose."

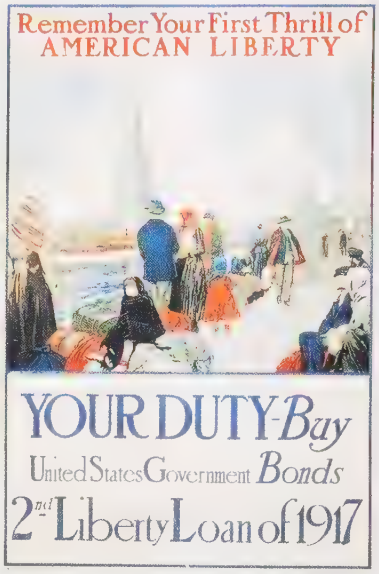
Fifteen years later, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt made a similar call for solidarity during the Great Depression. "We face the arduous days that lie before us," he said, "in the warm courage of national unity." During the crises of the depression and World War II, American voters called for — and got — what Roosevelt called "action and action now." We conclude Part 7 in 1945, when the United States emerged from World War II with unprecedented global power and the federal government with a broad mandate for sustaining the new welfare state, a major turning point in modern American history. ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

America's Rise to World Power

The United States became a major international power beginning in the 1890s, first in the Western Hemisphere and by the 1940s across the world, renewing debates at home about America's global role. After the War of 1898, the United States claimed overseas colonies and asserted control over the Caribbean basin. And although President Wilson attempted to maintain neutrality at the start of World War I, trade ties and old alliances drew the U.S. into the conflict on the Allied side. Wilson sought to influence the peace, but Allied leaders ignored his proposals and the Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles. By war's end, the U.S. position on the world stage remained uncertain.

The 1920s was an era of dollar diplomacy and U.S. business expansion abroad. In the 1930s, faced with isolationist sentiment at home and the rise of fascist powers in Europe and Japan, the Roosevelt administration steered a middle course. In the late 1930s, it began to send aid to its traditional ally Great Britain without committing U.S. forces to the conflict. When the United States entered World War II in 1941, it did so as part of an alliance with both England and the Soviet Union against Germany, Japan, and Italy. The United States emerged from the war as the dominant global power.



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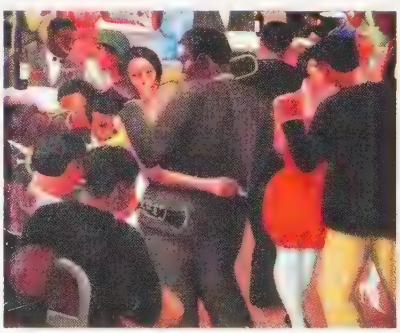
Modernity and Its Discontents

World War I had a powerful domestic impact in the United States, producing a sharp political right turn in the postwar years. A Red Scare, rollback of labor and immigrant rights, race riots against African Americans, and a resurgent nationwide Ku Klux Klan marked the political scene between 1919 and the late 1920s. A full-blown modern consumer culture also emerged in the decade as radio, automobiles, and Hollywood movies transformed leisure pastimes. Prosperity did not prevent conflict over an emerging secular, diverse, and modern society, however, as Americans battled over immigration, race, and religion in the 1920s.

During the Great Depression, the U.S. government deported hundreds of thousands of people of Mexican descent, including American citizens. During World War II, the government temporarily imprisoned Japanese Americans in a mass relocation policy, turned away most Jewish refugees fleeing Hitler, and segregated African Americans in a Jim Crow military. Yet many Americans celebrated the New Deal and the war effort as evidence of what a united country could accomplish. These events, too, represented battles over what a diverse, modern nation would look like.



Private Collection/© Valerie Gerrard Browne/Ch cago History Museum/Bridgeman Images

Creation of the Welfare State

Republican policymakers of the 1920s believed in hands-off government. Their policies likely helped trigger the Great Depression and deepened its impact after it arrived. President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs (1933–1938) expanded federal responsibility for the welfare of ordinary citizens, breaking dramatically with the *laissez faire* individualism of the previous decade. Though the New Deal faced considerable challenges on the political right — especially from business and corporate leaders and a hostile Supreme Court — the popularity of its programs, such as Social Security, established a broad consensus that the United States needed a modern welfare state to regulate the economy and provide a basic safety net for the nation's citizens.

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AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

Domestic and Global Challenges 1890–1945

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into seven themes.

Consider the entries under each theme. What connections do you see between events on the world stage and developments within the United States? What impact did World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II have on American politics, society, and culture?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1890	• "American exceptionalism" and rise of imperialism • Alfred Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890)	• Republicans sweep congressional elections after severe depression (1894) • Republican William McKinley elected president (1896)	• Depression of 1890s increases pressure to secure foreign markets
1900	• *Insular* cases establish non-citizenship status for new territories (1901) • California, Washington, and Hawaii limit rights for Asian immigrants	• McKinley reelected on pro-imperialist platform (1900) • McKinley assassinated; Theodore Roosevelt becomes president (1901)	• Root-Takahira Agreement affirms free oceanic commerce (1908) • Ford Motor Company introduces Model T
1910	• New Ku Klux Klan founded (1915) • Post–World War I race riots • Wartime pressure for "100 percent loyalty"; dissent suppressed	• Woodrow Wilson elected president (1912) • Red Scare (1919) • Wilson issues Fourteen Points (1919) • U.S. Senate rejects Treaty of Versailles (1919–1920)	• Assembly-line production of automobiles begins • U.S. Army Corps employs tens of thousands of workers to build Panama Canal
1920	• Harlem Renaissance artists emphasize black pride • National Origins Act limits immigration (1924)	• Nineteenth Amendment grants women's suffrage (1920) • Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act (1921) • Prohibition (1920–1933) • Teapot Dome scandal (1923) • Republican-associated state pro-business policies (1920–1932)	• Economic prosperity (1922–1929) • Labor gains rolled back • Era of welfare capitalism • Rise of automobile loans and consumer credit
1930	• Bonus Army (1932) • Indian Reorganization Act (1934) • Social Security created (1935)	• Hoover's Republican elected president (1932) • First New Deal (1933) • Second New Deal (1935) • Roosevelt attempts to reform Supreme Court (1937)	• Great Depression (1929–1941) • Rise of CIO and industrial unionism
1940	• Internment of Japanese Americans (1942) • Segregation in armed services until 1948	• Roosevelt elected to fourth term (1944) • Roosevelt dies (1945) • Harry Truman becomes president (1945)	• War spending ends depression • Rationing curbs consumer spending • Married women take war jobs

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• "Remember the *Maine*" campaign fuels surge in nationalism	• Josiah Strong encourages overseas Christian missionaries	• Americans debate overseas expansion and empire • Teller Amendment (1898)	• Congress funds construction of modern battleships • U.S.-backed planters overthrow Hawaii's queen (1892) • U.S. wins War of 1898 against Spain; claims Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Philippines • John Hay proclaims "open door" policy in China	1890
• Social Darwinism used to justify U.S. imperialism (1898–1910s)	• Rising immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe • Gentleman's agreement bars Japanese immigration (1907)	• Congress authorizes funds to purchase land in Colombia for future canal	• U.S. war against Philippine revolutionaries (1899–1902) • Platt Amendment (1902) • Roosevelt Corollary to Monroe Doctrine (1904) • United States helps crush Boxer Rebellion in China (1900)	1900
• Moviemaking industry moves to southern California • *Birth of a Nation* glorifies the Reconstruction-era Klan (1915) • Radio Corporation of America created (1919)	• Great Migration brings African Americans to northern cities • St. Louis (1917) and Chicago (1919) race riots • Mexican Revolution causes surge in immigration from Mexico	• Panama Canal construction • Panama Canal opens (1914) and links Atlantic and Pacific Oceans	• Wilson intervenes in Mexico (1914) • Panama Canal opens (1914) • United States enters World War I (1917) • War ends; Wilson seeks to influence peace treaty negotiations (1918)	1910
• Rise of Hollywood • Harlem Renaissance • Popularity of jazz music • Scopes "monkey trial" (1925)	• Rise of nativism • National Origins Act (1924) imposes immigration restriction • Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) advocates return to Africa for African Americans	• Suburban housing boom • Popularity of automobile spurs highway construction, financed by state gasoline taxes • First suburban shopping center opens outside Kansas City, Missouri (1924)	• Rise of "dollar diplomacy" • U.S. occupation of Haiti and other Caribbean and Central American nations	1920
• Documentary impulse in arts • WPA assists artists • Federal Writers' Project established (1935)	• Migrants ("Okies") leave drought-struck Midwest for California • U.S. deports Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans	• "Dust Bowl" drought strikes Midwest (1930–1941) • Civilian Conservation Corps constructs trails, roads, parks (1933–1942) • Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) creates flood control, dams, electricity • Works Progress Administration builds parks, zoos, trails (1935–1943)	• Rise of European fascist powers • Japan invades China (1937)	1930
• Film industry aids war effort	• War production leads to migration to California and major cities • Bracero program increases immigration from Mexico	• Temporary encampments imprison Japanese and Japanese Americans in inland states (1942)	• United States enters World War II (1941) • Atomic bombing of Japan and end of World War II (1945) • United Nations founded (1945)	1940

CHAPTER 20

An Emerging World Power

1890–1918

From Expansion to Imperialism

Foundations of Empire

The War of 1898

Spoils of War

A Power Among Powers

The Open Door in Asia

The United States and Latin America

The United States in World War I

From Neutrality to War

"Over There"

War on the Home Front

Catastrophe at Versailles

The Fate of Wilson's Ideas

Congress Rejects the Treaty

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

As the United States became a major power on the world stage, what ideas and interests did policymakers promote in international affairs?

Accepting the Democratic presidential nomination in 1900, William Jennings Bryan delivered a famous speech denouncing U.S. military occupations overseas. "God Himself," Bryan declared, "placed in every human heart the love of liberty. . . . He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master." At the time, Republican president William McKinley was leading an ambitious and popular plan of overseas expansion. The United States had asserted control over the Caribbean, claimed Hawaii, and sought to annex the Philippines. Bryan failed to convince a majority of voters that imperialism—the exercise of military, political, and economic power overseas—was the wrong direction. He lost the election by a landslide.

By the 1910s, however, American enthusiasm for overseas involvement cooled. Despite efforts to stay neutral, the United States got caught up in the global catastrophe of World War I, which killed 8 million combatants, including over 50,000 U.S. soldiers. By the war's end, European powers' grip on their colonial empires was weakening. The United States also ceased acquiring overseas territories and pursued a different path. It did so in part because the war brought dramatic changes at home, leaving Americans a postwar legacy of economic upheaval and political disillusionment.

President Woodrow Wilson, who in 1913 appointed Bryan as his secretary of state, tried to steer a middle course between revolutionary socialism and European-style imperialism. In Wilson's phrase, America would "make the world safe for democracy" while unapologetically working to advance U.S. economic interests. The U.S. Senate, however, rejected the 1919 Treaty of Versailles and with it Wilson's vision, leaving the nation's foreign policy in doubt. Should the United States try to promote democracy abroad? If so, how? To what degree should the federal government seek to promote American business interests? Under what conditions was overseas military action justified? When, on the contrary, did it **impinge** on others' sovereignty, endanger U.S. soldiers, and invite disaster? Today's debates over foreign policy still center to a large degree on questions that Americans debated in the era of McKinley, Bryan, and Wilson, when the nation first asserted itself as a major world power.

The Great White Fleet The U.S. Navy's newest battle fleet, nicknamed the "Great White Fleet" and celebrated proudly by President Theodore Roosevelt, took a world tour between 1907 and 1909, demonstrating to the world that the U.S. now had naval power rivaling Britain and Germany. Here, the USS *Connecticut* leads the fleet of sixteen battleships on its way out of Hampton Roads, Virginia, at the start of the voyage. By 1900, global economic and military power brought the United States new prestige — and new problems. Bettmann/Getty Images

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

- **1886** ▸ United States begins building modern battleships
- **1892** ▸ U.S.-backed planters overthrow Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani
- **1895** ▸ United States arbitrates border dispute between Britain and Venezuela
  ▸ Guerrilla war against Spanish rule begins in Cuba
- **1898** ▸ War between United States and Spain
  ▸ United States annexes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Guam
- **1899–1902** ▸ U.S.-Philippine War, ending in U.S. occupation of Philippines
  ▸ United States pursues open door policy in China
- **1900** ▸ United States helps suppress nationalist rebellion in China ("Boxer Rebellion")
- **1901** ▸ Hay-Pauncefote Treaty
- **1902** ▸ Platt Amendment gives United States exclusive role in Cuba
- **1903** ▸ United States recognizes Panama's independence from Colombia
- **1905** ▸ Russo-Japanese War; Roosevelt mediates peace
- **1908** ▸ Root-Takahira Agreement
- **1914** ▸ Panama Canal opens
  ▸ U.S. military action in Veracruz, Mexico
  ▸ World War I begins in Europe
- **1916** ▸ Jones Act commits United States to future Philippine independence
- **1917** ▸ United States declares war on Germany and its allies, creates new agencies to mobilize economy and promote national unity
  ▸ Espionage Act
- **1918** ▸ Sedition Act
  ▸ World War I ends
  ▸ Beginning of two-year influenza pandemic that kills 50 million people worldwide
- **1919** ▸ *Schenck v. United States* and *Abrams v. United States*
  ▸ Wilson promotes Fourteen Points at Paris Peace Conference
  ▸ Senate rejects the Treaty of Versailles
- **1920** ▸ Nineteenth Amendment grants women suffrage

From Expansion to Imperialism

Historians used to describe turn-of-the-twentieth-century U.S. imperialism as something new and unprecedented. Now they stress continuities between foreign policy in this era and the nation's earlier, relentless expansion across North America. Wars against Native peoples had occurred almost continuously since the country's founding; in the 1840s, the United States had annexed a third of Mexico. The United States never administered a large colonial empire, as did European powers like Spain, England, and Germany, partly because it had a plentiful supply of natural resources in the American West. But policymakers undertook a determined quest for global markets. Events in the 1890s opened opportunities to pursue this goal in new ways.

Foundations of Empire

AP® EXAM TIP

Outline the arguments that caused the rise of imperialism in U.S. foreign policy.

American empire builders around 1900 fulfilled a vision laid out earlier by William Seward, secretary of state under presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, who saw access to global markets as the key to power (Chapter 15). Seward's ideas had won only limited support at the time, but the severe economic depression of the 1890s brought Republicans into power and Seward's ideas back into vogue. Confronting high unemployment and mass protests, policymakers feared American workers would embrace socialism or Marxism. The alternative, they believed, was to create jobs and prosperity at home by selling U.S. products in overseas markets.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Intellectual trends also favored imperialism. As early as 1885, in his popular book *Our Country*, Congregationalist minister Josiah Strong urged Protestants to **proselytize** overseas. He predicted that the American "Anglo-Saxon race," which represented "the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization," would "spread itself over the earth." Such arguments were grounded in **American exceptionalism**, the idea that the United States had a unique destiny to foster democracy and civilization.

As Strong's exhortation suggested, imperialists also drew on the popular racial theory that people of "Anglo-Saxon" descent — English and often German — were superior to all others. "Anglo-Saxon" rule over foreign people of color made sense in an era when, at home, the United States denied most American Indians and Asian immigrants citizenship and southern states disfranchised blacks. Imperialists argued that "free land" on the western frontier was dwindling, and thus new outlets needed to be found for American energy and enterprise. Responding to critics of U.S. occupation of the Philippines, Theodore Roosevelt scoffed: if Filipinos should control their own islands, he declared, then America was "morally bound to return Arizona to the Apaches."

Imperialists also justified their views through racialized Social Darwinism (Chapter 17). Josiah Strong, for example, predicted that with the globe fully occupied, a "competition of races" would ensue, with victory based on "survival of the fittest." Fear of ruthless competition drove the United States, like European nations, to invest in the latest weapons. Policymakers saw that European powers were amassing steel-plated battleships and carving up Africa and Asia among themselves. In his book *The Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890), U.S. naval officer Alfred Mahan urged the United States to enter the fray, observing that naval power had been essential to past empires. As early as 1886, Congress ordered construction of two steel-hulled battleships, the USS *Texas* and USS *Maine*; in 1890, it appropriated funds for three more, a program that expanded over the next two decades.

During Grover Cleveland's second term (1893–1897), his secretary of state, Richard Olney, turned to direct confrontation. He warned Europe to stay away from Latin America, which he saw as the United States's rightful sphere of influence. Without consulting the nation of Venezuela, Olney suddenly demanded in 1895 that Britain resolve a long-standing border dispute between Venezuela and Britain's neighboring colony, British Guiana. Invoking the Monroe Doctrine, which stated that the Western Hemisphere was off-limits to further European colonization, Olney warned that the United States would **brook** no challenge to its interests. Startled, Britain agreed to arbitrate. U.S. power was on the rise.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did imperialism in the 1890s reflect both continuities and changes from earlier eras?

The War of 1898

Events in the Caribbean presented the United States with far greater opportunities. In 1895, Cuban patriots mounted a major guerrilla war against Spain, which had lost most of its other New World territories. The Spanish commander responded by rounding up Cuban civilians into concentration camps, where as many as 200,000 died of starvation, exposure, or dysentery. In the United States, "yellow journalists" such as William Randolph Hearst turned their plight into a cause célèbre. Hearst's coverage of Spanish atrocities fed a surge of nationalism, especially among those who feared that industrialization was causing American men to lose physical strength and valor. The government should not pass up this opportunity, said Indiana senator Albert Beveridge, to "manufacture manhood." Congress called for Cuban independence.

President Cleveland had no interest in supporting the Cuban rebellion but worried over Spain's failure to end it. The war disrupted trade and damaged American-owned sugar plantations on the island. Moreover, an unstable Cuba was incompatible with U.S. strategic interests, including a proposed canal whose Caribbean approaches had to be safeguarded. Taking office in 1897, President William McKinley took a tough stance. In September, a U.S. diplomat informed Spain that it must ensure an "early and certain peace" or the United States would step in. At first, this hard line seemed to work: Spain's conservative regime fell, and a liberal government, taking office in October 1897, offered Cuba limited self-rule. But Spanish loyalists in Havana rioted against this proposal, while Cuban rebels held out for full independence.

In February 1898, Hearst's *New York Journal* published a private letter in which a Spanish minister to the United States belittled McKinley. The minister, Dupuy de Lôme, resigned, but exposure of the de Lôme letter intensified Americans' indignation toward

Spain. The next week brought shocking news: the U.S. battle cruiser *Maine* had exploded and sunk in Havana harbor, with 260 seamen lost. "Whole Country Thrills with the War Fever," proclaimed the *New York Journal*. "Remember the *Maine*" became a national chant. Popular passions were now a major factor in the march toward war.

McKinley assumed the sinking of the *Maine* had been accidental. Improbably, though, a naval board of inquiry blamed an underwater mine, fueling public outrage. (Later investigators disagreed: the more likely cause was a faulty ship design that placed explosive munitions too close to coal bunkers, which were prone to fire.) No evidence linked Spain to the purported mine, but if a mine sank the *Maine*, then Spain was responsible for not protecting the ship.

Business leaders became impatient, believing war was preferable to an unending Cuban crisis. On March 27, McKinley cabled an ultimatum to Madrid: an immediate ceasefire in Cuba for six months and, with the United States mediating, peace negotiations with the rebels. Spain, while desperate to avoid war, balked at the added demand that mediation must result in Cuban independence. On April 11, McKinley asked Congress for authority to intervene in Cuba "in the name of civilization, [and] in behalf of endangered American interests."

AP® EXAM TIP

On the AP® exam, the War of 1898 is referred to as the Spanish-American War. Recognizing its impact on the U.S. is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Historians long referred to the ensuing fight as the Spanish-American War, but because that name ignores the central role of Cuban revolutionaries, many historians now call the three-way conflict the War of 1898. Though Americans widely admired Cubans' aspirations for freedom, the McKinley administration defeated a congressional attempt to recognize the rebel government. In response, Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado added an amendment to the war bill disclaiming any intention by the United States to occupy Cuba. The **Teller Amendment** reassured Americans that their country would uphold democracy abroad as well as at home. McKinley's expectations differed. He wrote privately, "We must keep all we get; when the war is over we must keep what we want."

On April 24, 1898, Spain declared war on the United States. The news provoked full-blown war fever. Across the country, young men enlisted for the fight. Theodore Roosevelt, serving in the War Department, resigned to become lieutenant colonel of a cavalry regiment. Recruits poured into makeshift bases around Tampa, Florida, where confusion reigned. Rifles failed to arrive; food was bad, sanitation worse. No provision had been made for getting troops to Cuba, so the government hastily collected a fleet of yachts and commercial boats. Fortunately, the regular army was a disciplined, professional force; its 28,000 seasoned troops provided a nucleus for 200,000 volunteers. The navy was in better shape: Spain had nothing to match America's seven battleships and armored cruisers. The Spanish admiral bitterly predicted that his fleet would "like Don Quixote go out to fight windmills and come back with a broken head."

The first, decisive military engagement took place in the Pacific. This was the handiwork of Theodore Roosevelt, who, in his government post, had gotten the intrepid Commodore George Dewey appointed commander of the Pacific fleet. In the event of war, Dewey had instructions to sail immediately for the Spanish-owned Philippines. When war was declared, Roosevelt confronted his surprised superior and pressured him into validating Dewey's instructions. On May 1, 1898, American ships cornered the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay and destroyed it. Manila, the Philippine capital, fell on August 13. "We must on no account let the [Philippines] go," declared Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. McKinley agreed. The United States now had a major foothold in the western Pacific.

Dewey's victory directed policymakers' attention to Hawaii. Nominally independent, these islands had long been subject to U.S. influence, including a horde of resident American sugarcane planters. An 1876 treaty between the United States and the island's monarch gave Hawaiian sugar free access to the American market, without tariff payments, and Hawaii pledged to sign no such agreement with any other power. When this treaty was renewed in 1887, Hawaii also granted a long-coveted lease for a U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor. Four years later, succeeding her brother as Hawaii's monarch,

Queen Liliuokalani made known her frustration with these treaties. In response, an Annexation Club of U.S.-backed planters organized secretly and in 1892, with the help of U.S. Marines, overthrew the queen. They then negotiated a treaty of annexation, but Grover Cleveland rejected it when he entered office in 1893. Cleveland declared that it would violate America's "unbroken tradition" against acquiring territory overseas.

Dewey's victory in Manila, however, delivered what the planters wanted: Hawaii acquired strategic value as a halfway station to the Philippines. In July 1898, Congress voted for annexation, over the protests of Hawaii's deposed queen. "Oh, honest Americans," she pleaded, "as Christians hear me for my down-trodden people! Their form of government is as dear to them as yours is precious to you. Quite as warmly as you love your country, so they love theirs." But to the great powers, Hawaii was not a country. One congressman dismissed Hawaii's monarchy as "absurd, grotesque, tottering"; the "Aryan race," he declared, would "rescue" the islands from it.

Further U.S. annexations took on their own logic. The navy pressed for another coaling base in the central Pacific; that meant Guam, a Spanish island in the Marianas. A strategic base was needed in the Caribbean; that meant Puerto Rico. By early summer, before U.S. troops had fired a shot in Cuba, McKinley's broader war aims were crystallizing.

In Cuba, Spanish forces were depleted by the long guerrilla war. Though poorly trained and equipped, American forces had the advantages of a demoralized foe and knowledgeable Cuban allies. The main battle occurred on July 1 at San Juan Hill, near Santiago, where the Spanish fleet was anchored. Roosevelt's Rough Riders took the lead, but four African American regiments bore the brunt of the fighting. Observers credited much of the victory to the "superb gallantry" of these soldiers. Spanish troops retreated to a well-fortified second line, but U.S. forces were spared the test of a second assault. On July 3, the Spanish fleet in Santiago harbor tried a desperate run through the American blockade and was destroyed. Days later, Spanish forces surrendered. American combat casualties had been few; most U.S. soldiers' deaths had resulted from malaria and yellow fever.

Hawaii's Queen Hawaiian queen Liliuokalani (1838–1917) was the great-granddaughter of Keaweaheulu, founder of the Kamehameha dynasty that had ruled the islands since the late 1700s. Liliuokalani assumed the throne after her brother's death in 1891. As an outspoken critic, however, of treaties ceding power to U.S. economic interests, she was deposed three years later by a cabal of sugar planters who established a republic. When secret plans to revolt and restore the monarchy were discovered, the queen was imprisoned for a year in Iolani Palace. She lived the remainder of her life in Hawaii but never regained power. Fluent in English and influenced from childhood by Congregational missionaries, she used this background to advocate for her people; in her book *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (1898), she appealed for justice from fellow Christians. George Bacon Collection, Hawaii State Archive

To see a longer excerpt from Queen Liliuokalani's appeal, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Spoils of War

The United States and Spain quickly signed a preliminary peace agreement in which Spain agreed to liberate Cuba and cede Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States. But what would happen to the Philippines, an immense **archipelago** that lay more than 5,000 miles from California? Initially, the United States aimed to keep only Manila, because of its fine harbor. Manila was not defensible, however, without the whole island of Luzon, on which it sat. After deliberating, McKinley found a justification for annexing all of the Philippines. He decided that "we could not leave [the Filipinos] to themselves — they were unfit for self-rule."

This declaration provoked heated debate. Under the Constitution, as Republican senator George F. Hoar argued, "no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies" or "to conquer alien people and hold them in subjugation." Leading citizens and peace advocates, including Jane Addams and Mark Twain, enlisted in the anti-imperialist cause. Steel king Andrew Carnegie offered $20 million to purchase Philippine independence. Labor leader

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why did the United States go to war against Spain in 1898, and what led to U.S. victory?

Philippine Exhibition at the St. Louis World's Fair, 1904 Anthropological displays were a popular feature of World's Fairs — scientific in purpose, but giving American and European tourists an opportunity to contrast their civilization, as they saw it, with various degrees of "barbarism" and "savagery." The Philippine Reservation in St. Louis was particularly controversial because it featured an array of peoples — many westernized, others traditionally tribal — from the United States' latest imperial possession. Here, Igorrote dancers rest after a performance. Some participants in such displays were lured with false promises of wealth and rapid return to their homelands; when promoters went bankrupt, some performers were stranded in the United States and never returned to their families and communities. Library of Congress

Samuel Gompers warned union members about the threat of competition from low-wage Filipino immigrants. Anti-imperialists, however, were a diverse lot. Some argued that Filipinos were perfectly capable of self-rule; others warned about the dangers of annexing eight million Filipinos of an "inferior race." "No matter whether they are fit to govern themselves or not," declared a Missouri congressman, "they are not fit to govern us."

Beginning in late 1898, anti-imperialist leagues sprang up around the country, but they never sparked a mass movement. On the contrary, McKinley's "splendid little war" proved immensely popular. Confronted with that reality, Democrats waffled. Their standard-bearer, William Jennings Bryan, decided not to stake Democrats' future on opposition to a policy that he believed to be irreversible. He threw his party into turmoil by declaring last-minute support for McKinley's proposed treaty. Having met military defeat, Spanish representatives had little choice. In the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States for $20 million.

Annexation was not as simple as U.S. policymakers had expected. On February 4, 1899, two days before the Senate ratified the treaty, fighting broke out between American and Filipino patrols on the edge of Manila. Confronted by annexation, rebel leader Emilio Aguinaldo asserted his nation's independence and turned his guns on occupying American forces. Though Aguinaldo found it difficult to organize a mass-based resistance movement, the ensuing conflict between Filipino nationalists and U.S. troops far exceeded in length and ferocity the war just concluded with Spain. Fighting tenacious guerrillas, the U.S. Army resorted to the same tactics Spain had employed in Cuba: burning crops and villages and rounding up civilians. Atrocities became commonplace on both sides. In three years of warfare, 4,200 Americans and an estimated 200,000 Filipinos died; many of the latter were dislocated civilians, particularly children, who succumbed to malnutrition and disease.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the arguments of the anti-imperialists who expressed opposition to the War of 1898 (Spanish-American War).

McKinley's convincing victory over William Jennings Bryan in 1900 suggested popular satisfaction with America's overseas adventures, even in the face of dogged Filipino resistance to U.S. rule. The fighting ended in 1902, and William Howard Taft, appointed as governor-general of the Philippines, sought to make the territory a model of road-building and sanitary engineering. Yet misgivings lingered as Americans confronted the brutality of the war (AP® Analyzing Voices). Philosopher William James noted that the United States had destroyed "these islanders by the thousands, their villages and cities. . . . Could there be any more damning indictment of that whole bloated ideal termed 'modern civilization'?"

Constitutional issues also remained unresolved. The treaty, while guaranteeing freedom of religion to inhabitants of ceded Spanish territories, withheld any promise of citizenship. It was up to Congress to decide Filipinos' "civil rights and political status." In 1901, the Supreme Court upheld this provision in a set of decisions known as the ***Insular Cases***. The Constitution, declared the Court, did not automatically extend citizenship to people in acquired territories; Congress could decide. Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines were thus marked as colonies, not future states.

The next year, as a condition for withdrawing from Cuba, the United States forced the newly independent island to accept a proviso in its constitution called the **Platt Amendment** (1902). This blocked Cuba from making a treaty with any country except

the United States and gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs if it saw fit. Cuba also granted the United States a lease on Guantánamo Bay (still in effect), where the U.S. Navy built a large base. Cubans' hard-fought independence was limited; so was that of Filipinos. Eventually, the Jones Act of 1916 committed the United States to Philippine independence but set no date. (The Philippines at last achieved independence in 1946.) Though the war's carnage had rubbed off some of the moralizing gloss, America's global aspirations remained intact.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **Explain the steps by which the late-nineteenth-century U.S. government began to exert military influence in different regions of the world.**

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the long-term results of the U.S. victory over Spain, in Hawaii, and in former Spanish possessions?

A Power Among Powers

No one appreciated America's emerging influence more than the man who, after William McKinley's assassination, became president in 1901. Theodore Roosevelt was an avid student of world affairs who called on "the civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world." He meant, in part, directing the affairs of "backward peoples." For Roosevelt, imperialism went hand in hand with domestic progressivism. He argued that a strong federal government, asserting itself both at home and abroad, would enhance economic stability and political order. Overseas, Roosevelt sought to arbitrate disputes and maintain a global balance of power, but he also asserted U.S. interests.

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to describe imperialism's impact on U.S. foreign policy outside of the Western Hemisphere in this period is critical to success on the AP® exam.

The Open Door in Asia

U.S. officials and business leaders had a burning interest in East Asian markets, but they were entering a crowded field (Map 20.1). In the late 1890s, following Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, and Britain divided coastal China into spheres of influence. Fearful of being shut out, U.S. Secretary of State John Hay sent these powers a note in 1899, claiming the right of equal trade access—an "**open door**" **policy**—for all nations seeking to do business in China. The United States lacked leverage in Asia, and Hay's note elicited only noncommittal responses. But he chose to interpret this as acceptance of his position.

When a secret society of Chinese nationalists, known outside China as "Boxers" because of their pugnacious

MAP 20.1 The Great Powers in East Asia, 1898–1910

European powers established dominance over China by way of "treaty ports," where the powers based their naval forces, and through "spheres of influence" that extended from the ports into the hinterland. This map reveals why the United States had a weak hand: it lacked a presence on this colonized terrain. An uprising of Chinese nationalists in 1900 gave the United States a chance to insert itself on the Chinese mainland by sending an American expeditionary force. American diplomats made the most of the opportunity to defend U.S. commercial interests in China. As noted in the key, all place names in this map are those in use in 1910: Modern *Beijing*, for example, is shown as *Peking*.

Debating the Philippines

As President McKinley privately acknowledged in writing—"when the war is over we must keep what we want"—seizing the Philippines was an act of national self-interest. Of the alternatives, it was the one that seemed best calculated to serve America's strategic aims in Asia. But McKinley's geopolitical decision had unintended consequences. For one, it provoked a bloody insurrection. For another, it challenged the United States's democratic principles. As these consequences hit home, a divided Senate set up a special committee and held closed hearings. Congressional testimony is a source much prized by historians. Though some of it is prepared, once questioning begins, testimony becomes unscripted and can be especially revealing. The following documents are taken from the 1902 testimony before the Senate Committee on the Philippines.

Ideals

General Arthur MacArthur (1845–1912) was in on the action in the Philippines almost from the start. He commanded one of the first units to arrive there in 1898 and in 1900 was reassigned as the islands' military governor and general commander of the troops. His standing as a military man—holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor from the Civil War—was matched later by his more famous son, Douglas MacArthur, who fought in the Pacific during World War II. Here the elder MacArthur explains in prepared testimony his vision of America's mission to the Philippines.

SOURCE: From *Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines of the United States Senate, April 10, 1902.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902).

"At the time I returned to Manila [May 1900] to assume the supreme command it seemed to me that . . . our occupation of the island was simply one of the necessary consequences in logical sequence of our great prosperity, and to doubt the wisdom of [occupation] was simply to doubt the stability of our own institutions and in effect to declare that a self-governing nation was incapable of successfully resisting strains arising naturally from its own productive energy. It seemed to me that our conception of right, justice, freedom, and personal liberty was the precious fruit of centuries of strife . . . [and that] we must regard ourselves simply as the custodians of imperishable ideas held in trust for the general benefit of mankind. In other words, I felt that we had attained a moral and intellectual height from which we were bound to proclaim to all as the occasion arose the true message of humanity as embodied in the principles of our own institutions. . . .

All other governments that have gone to the East have simply planted trading establishments; they have not materially affected the conditions of the people. . . . There is not a single establishment, in my judgment, in Asia to-day that would survive five years if the original power which planted it was withdrawn therefrom.

The contrasting idea with our idea is this: In planting our ideas we plant something that can not be destroyed. To my mind the archipelago is a fertile soil upon which to plant republicanism. . . . We are planting the best traditions, the best characteristics of Americanism in such a way that they can never be removed from that soil. That in itself seems to me a most inspiring thought. It encouraged me during all my efforts in those lands, even when conditions seemed most disappointing, when the people themselves, not appreciating precisely what the remote consequences of our efforts were going to be, mistrusted us; but that fact was always before me—that going deep down into that fertile soil were the indispensable ideas of Americanism."

Skepticism

At this point, the general was interrupted by Colorado senator Thomas Patterson, a Populist-Democrat and a vocal anti-imperialist.

"Sen. Patterson: Do you mean that imperishable idea of which you speak is the right of self-government?

Gen. MacArthur: Precisely so; self-government regulated by law as I understand it in this Republic.

Sen. Patterson: Of course you do not mean self-government regulated by some foreign and superior power?

Gen. MacArthur: Well, that is a matter of evolution, Senator. We are putting these institutions there so they will evolve themselves just as here and everywhere else where freedom has flourished. . . .

Sen. Patterson [after the General concluded his statement]: Do I understand your claim of right and duty to retain the Philippine Islands is based upon the proposition

political stance, rebelled against foreign occupation in 1900, the United States sent 5,000 troops to join a multinational campaign to break the nationalists' siege of European offices in Beijing. Hay took this opportunity to assert a second open door principle: China must be preserved as a "territorial and administrative entity." As long as the legal fiction of an independent China survived, Americans could claim equal access to its market.

that they have come to us upon the basis of our morals, honorable dealing, and unassailable international integrity?

Gen. MacArthur: That proposition is not questioned by anybody in the world, excepting a few people in the United States. . . . We will be benefited, and the Filipino people will be benefited, and that is what I meant by the original proposition —

Sen. Patterson: Do you mean the Filipino people that are left alive?

Gen. MacArthur: I mean the Filipino people. . . .

Sen. Patterson: You mean those left alive after they have been subjugated?

Gen. MacArthur: I do not admit that there has been any unusual destruction of life in the Philippine Islands. The destruction is simply the incident of war, and of course it embraces only a very small percentage of the total population.

. . . I doubt if any war — either international or civil, any war on earth — has been conducted with as much humanity, with as much careful consideration, with as much self-restraint, as have been the American operations in the Philippine Archipelago. . . . ”

Realities

Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes, a military district commander, testified as follows.

“ *Q:* In burning towns, what would you do? Would the entire town be destroyed by fire or would only the offending portions of the town be burned?

Gen. Hughes: I do not know that we ever had a case of burning what you would call a town in this country, but probably a barrio or a sitio; probably half a dozen houses, native shacks, where the insurrectos would go in and be concealed, and if they caught a detachment passing they would kill some of them.

Q: What did I understand you to say would be the consequences of that?

Gen. Hughes: They usually burned the village.

Q: All of the houses in the village?

Gen. Hughes: Yes, every one of them.

Q: What would become of the inhabitants?

Gen. Hughes: That was their lookout.

Q: If these shacks were of no consequence what was the utility of their destruction?

Gen. Hughes: The destruction was as a punishment. They permitted these people to come in there and conceal themselves. . . .

Q: The punishment in that case would fall, not upon the men, who could go elsewhere, but mainly upon the women and little children.

Gen. Hughes: The women and children are part of the family, and where you wish to inflict a punishment you can punish the man probably worse in that way than in any other.

Q: But is that within the ordinary rules of civilized warfare? . . .

Gen. Hughes: These people are not civilized. ”

Cruelties

Daniel J. Evans, Twelfth Infantry, describes the “water cure.”

“ *Q:* The committee would like to hear . . . whether you were the witness to any cruelties inflicted upon the natives of the Philippine Islands; and if so, under what circumstances.

Evans: The case I had reference to was where they gave the water cure to a native in the Ilicano Province at Ilocos Norte . . . about the month of August 1900. There were two native scouts with the American forces. They went out and brought in a couple of insurgents. . . . They tried to get from this insurgent . . . where the rest of the insurgents were at that time. . . . The first thing one of the Americans — I mean one of the scouts for the Americans — grabbed one of the men by the head and jerked his head back, and then they took a tomato can and poured water down his throat until he could hold no more. . . . Then they forced a gag into his mouth; they stood him up . . . against a post and fastened him so that he could not move. Then one man, an American soldier, who was over six feet tall, and who was very strong, too, struck this native in the pit of the stomach as hard as he could. . . . They kept that operation up for quite a time, and finally I thought the fellow was about to die, but I don't believe he was as bad as that, because finally he told them he would tell, and from that day on he was taken away, and I saw no more of him. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. The text of this chapter offers the U.S. reasons for holding on to the Philippines. In what ways does General MacArthur's testimony confirm, add to, or contradict the text account?
2. The chapter text also describes the anti-imperialist movement. What does Senator Patterson's cross-examination of General MacArthur reveal about the anti-imperialists' beliefs?
3. Does the clash of ideas in these excerpts remain relevant to our own time? How does it compare to what you might read or hear about in a news source today?

European and American plans were, however, unsettled by Japan's emergence as East Asia's dominant power. A decade after its victory over China, Japan responded to Russia's bids for control of both Korea and Manchuria, in northern China, by attacking Russia's fleet at its leased Chinese port. In a series of brilliant victories, the Japanese smashed the Russian forces. Westerners were shocked: for the first time, a European power had been defeated by a non-Western nation. Conveying both admiration and

alarm, American cartoonists sketched Japan as a martial artist knocking down the Russian giant. Roosevelt mediated a settlement to the war in 1905, receiving for his efforts the first Nobel Peace Prize awarded to an American.

Though he was contemptuous of other Asians, Roosevelt respected the Japanese, whom he called "a wonderful and civilized people." More important, he understood Japan's rising military might and aligned himself with the mighty. The United States approved Japan's "protectorate" over Korea in 1905 and, six years later, its seizure of full control. With Japan asserting harsh authority over Manchuria, energetic Chinese diplomat Yüan Shih-k'ai tried to encourage the United States to intervene. But Roosevelt reviewed America's weak position in the Pacific and declined. He conceded that Japan had "a paramount interest in what surrounds the Yellow Sea." In 1908, the United States and Japan signed the **Root-Takahira Agreement**, confirming principles of free oceanic commerce and recognizing Japan's authority over Manchuria.

William Howard Taft entered the White House in 1909 convinced that the United States had been shortchanged in Asia. He pressed for a larger role for American investors, especially in Chinese railroad construction. Eager to promote U.S. business interests abroad, he hoped that infusions of American capital would offset Japanese power. When the Chinese Revolution of 1911 toppled the Manchu dynasty, Taft supported the victorious Nationalists, who wanted to modernize their country and liberate it from Japanese domination. The United States had entangled itself in China and entered a long-term rivalry with Japan for power in the Pacific, a competition that would culminate thirty years later in World War II.

Panama Canal Workers, 1910 The 51-mile-long Panama Canal includes seven sets of locks that can raise and lower fifty large ships in a twenty-four-hour period. Building the canal took eight years and required tens of thousands of workers, including immigrants from Spain and Italy and many West Indians such as these men, who accomplished some of the worst-paid, most dangerous labor. Workers endured the horrors of rockslides, explosions, and a yellow fever epidemic that almost halted the project. But American observers hailed the canal as a triumph of modern science and engineering — especially in medical efforts to eradicate the yellow fever and malaria that had stymied earlier canal-building efforts. Theodore Roosevelt insisted on making a personal visit in November 1906. "He made the men that were building there feel like they were special people," recalled the descendant of one canal worker. "Give them pride of what they were doing for the United States." Library of Congress.

The United States and Latin America

Roosevelt famously argued that the United States should "speak softly and carry a big stick." By "big stick," he meant naval power, and rapid access to two oceans required a canal. European powers conceded the United States's "paramount interest" in the Caribbean. Freed by Britain's surrender of canal-building rights in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901), Roosevelt persuaded Congress to authorize $10 million, plus future payments of $250,000 per year, to purchase from Colombia a six-mile strip of land across Panama, a Colombian province.

Furious when Colombia rejected this proposal, Roosevelt contemplated outright seizure of Panama but settled on a more roundabout solution. Panamanians, long separated from Colombia by remote jungle, chafed under Colombian rule. The United States lent covert assistance to an independence movement, triggering a bloodless revolution. On November 6, 1903, the United States recognized the new nation of Panama; two weeks later, it obtained a perpetually renewable lease on a canal zone. Roosevelt never regretted the venture, though in 1922 the United States paid Colombia $25 million as a kind of conscience money.

MAP 20.2 Policeman of the Caribbean
After the War of 1898, the United States vigorously asserted its interest in the affairs of its neighbors to the south. As the record of interventions shows, the United States truly became the "policeman" of the Caribbean and Central America.

To build the canal, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers hired 60,000 laborers, who came from many countries to clear vast swamps, excavate 240 million cubic yards of earth, and construct a series of immense locks. The project, a major engineering feat, took eight years and cost thousands of lives among the workers who built it. Opened in 1914, the **Panama Canal** gave the United States a commanding position in the Western Hemisphere.

Meanwhile, arguing that instability invited European intervention, Roosevelt announced in 1904 that the United States would police all of the Caribbean (Map 20.2). This so-called **Roosevelt Corollary** to the Monroe Doctrine actually turned that doctrine upside down: instead of guaranteeing that the United States would protect its neighbors from Europe and help preserve their independence, it asserted the United States's unrestricted right to regulate Caribbean affairs. The Roosevelt Corollary was not a treaty but a unilateral declaration sanctioned only by America's military and economic might. Citing it, the United States intervened regularly in Caribbean and Central American nations over the next three decades.

AP® EXAM TIP
The construction of the Panama Canal as an expression of American imperialism is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Entering office in 1913, Democratic president Woodrow Wilson criticized his predecessors' foreign policy. He pledged that the United States would "never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest." This stance appealed to anti-imperialists in the Democratic base, including longtime supporters of William Jennings Bryan. But the new president soon showed that, when American interests called for it, his actions were not so different from those of Roosevelt and Taft.

AP® EXAM TIP
Compare the foreign policies of Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.

Since the 1870s, Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz had created a friendly climate for American companies that purchased Mexican plantations, mines, and oil fields. By the early 1900s, however, Díaz feared the extraordinary power of these foreign interests and began to nationalize — reclaim — key resources. American investors who faced the loss of Mexican holdings began to back Francisco Madero, an advocate of constitutional government who was friendly to U.S. interests. In 1911, Madero forced Díaz to resign and proclaimed himself president. Thousands of poor Mexicans took this opportunity to mobilize rural armies and demand more radical change. Madero's position was weak, and several strongmen sought to overthrow him; in 1913, he was deposed and murdered by a leading general. Immediately, several other military men vied for control.

Wilson, fearing that the unrest threatened U.S. interests, decided to intervene in the emerging Mexican Revolution. On the pretext of a minor insult to the navy, he ordered

Captured at the Border, April 1916 After Mexican general Pancho Villa led a raid on Columbus, New Mexico, U.S. troops crossed the border in pursuit of him. These Mexican soldiers who fought with Villa were captured and jailed in Namiquipa, New Mexico, by some of the U.S. soldiers in the photograph. Corbis Historical/Getty Images

U.S. occupation of the port of Veracruz on April 21, 1914, at the cost of 19 American and 126 Mexican lives. Though the intervention helped Venustiano Carranza, the revolutionary leader whom Wilson most favored, Carranza protested it as illegitimate meddling in Mexican affairs. Carranza's forces, after nearly engaging the Americans themselves, entered Mexico City in triumph a few months later. Though Wilson had supported this outcome, his interference caused lasting mistrust.

Carranza's victory did not subdue revolutionary activity in Mexico. In 1916, General Francisco "Pancho" Villa—a thug to his enemies, but a heroic Robin Hood to many poor Mexicans—crossed the U.S.-Mexico border, killing sixteen American civilians and raiding the town of Columbus, New Mexico. Wilson sent 11,000 troops to pursue Villa, a force that soon resembled an army of occupation in northern Mexico. Mexican public opinion demanded withdrawal as armed clashes broke out between U.S. and Mexican troops. At the brink of war, both governments backed off and U.S. forces departed. But policymakers in Washington had shown their intention to police not only the Caribbean and Central America but also Mexico when they deemed it necessary.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **Compare and contrast the factors that influenced U.S. actions in Asia and in Latin America in this period.**

The United States in World War I

While the United States staked claims around the globe, a war of unprecedented scale was brewing in Europe. The military buildup of Germany, a rising power, terrified its neighbors. To the east, the disintegrating Ottoman Empire was losing its grip on the Balkans. Out of these conflicts, two rival power blocs emerged: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) and Triple Entente (Britain, France, and Russia). Within each alliance, national governments pursued their own interests but were bound to one another by both public and secret treaties.

Americans had no obvious stake in these developments. In 1905, when Germany suddenly challenged French control of Morocco, Theodore Roosevelt arranged an international conference to defuse the crisis. Germany got a few concessions, but France—with British backing—retained Morocco. Accomplished in the same year that Roosevelt brokered peace between Russia and Japan, the conference seemed another diplomatic triumph. One U.S. official boasted that America had kept peace by "the power of our detachment." It was not to last.

From Neutrality to War

The spark that ignited World War I came in the Balkans, where Austria-Hungary and Russia competed for control. Austria's 1908 seizure of Ottoman provinces, including

Bosnia, angered the nearby Slavic nation of Serbia and its ally, Russia. Serbian revolutionaries recruited Bosnian Slavs to resist Austrian rule. In June 1914, in the city of Sarajevo, university student Gavrilo Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne.

Like dominos falling, the system of European alliances pushed all the powers into war. Austria-Hungary blamed Serbia for the assassination and declared war on July 28. Russia, tied by secret treaty to Serbia, mobilized against Austria-Hungary. This prompted Germany to declare war on Russia and its ally France. As a preparation for attacking France, Germany launched a brutal invasion of the neutral country of Belgium, which caused Great Britain to declare war on Germany. Within a week, most of Europe was at war, with the major Allies — Great Britain, France, and Russia — confronting the Central Powers of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Two military zones emerged. On the Western Front, Germany battled the British and French; on the Eastern Front, Germany and Austria-Hungary fought Russia. Because most of the warring nations held colonial empires, the conflict soon spread to the Middle East, Africa, and Asia.

The so-called Great War wreaked terrible devastation. New technology, some of it devised in the United States, made warfare deadlier than ever before. Every soldier carried a long-range, high-velocity rifle that could hit a target at 1,000 yards — a vast technical advancement over the 300-yard range of rifles used in the U.S. Civil War. The machine gun was even more lethal. Its American-born inventor, Hiram Maxim, had moved to Britain in the 1880s to follow a friend's advice: "If you want to make your fortune, invent something which will allow those fool Europeans to kill each other more quickly." Elaborate trenches, familiar from the Civil War era, were now enhanced with barbed wire to protect soldiers in defensive positions. Once advancing Germans ran into French fortifications, they stalled. Across a swath of Belgium and northeastern France, millions of soldiers on both sides hunkered down in fortified trenches. During 1916, repeatedly trying to break through French lines at Verdun, Germans suffered 450,000 casualties. The French fared even worse, with 550,000 dead or wounded. It was all to no avail. From 1914 to 1918, the Western Front barely moved.

At the war's outbreak, President Wilson called on Americans to be "neutral in fact as well as in name." If the United States remained out of the conflict, Wilson reasoned, he could influence the postwar settlement, much as Theodore Roosevelt had done after previous conflicts. Even if Wilson had wished to, it would have been nearly impossible in 1914 to unite Americans behind the Allies. Many Irish immigrants viewed Britain as an enemy — based on its continued occupation of Ireland — while millions of German Americans maintained ties to their homeland. Progressive-minded Republicans, such as Senator Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, vehemently opposed taking sides in a European fight, as did socialists, who condemned the war as a conflict among greedy capitalist empires. Two giants of American industry, Andrew Carnegie and Henry Ford, opposed the war. In December 1915, Ford sent a hundred men and women to Europe on a "peace ship" to urge an end to the war. "It would be folly," declared the *New York Sun*, "for the country to sacrifice itself to . . . the clash of ancient hatreds which is urging the Old World to destruction."

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate reactions in the U.S. to the start of World War I in Europe in 1914.

The Struggle to Remain Neutral The United States, wishing to trade with all the warring nations, might have remained neutral if Britain had not held commanding power at sea. In September 1914, the British imposed a naval blockade on the Central Powers to cut off vital supplies of food and military equipment. Though the Wilson administration protested this infringement of the rights of neutral carriers, commerce with the Allies more than made up for the economic loss. Trade with Britain and France grew fourfold over the next two years, to $3.2 billion in 1916; by 1917, U.S. banks had lent the Allies $2.5 billion. In contrast, American trade and loans to Germany stood then at a mere $56 million. This imbalance undercut U.S. neutrality. If Germany won and Britain and France defaulted on their debts, American companies would suffer catastrophic losses.

To challenge the British navy, Germany launched a devastating new weapon, the U-boat (short for *Unterseeboot*, "undersea boat," or submarine). In April 1915, Germany issued a warning that all ships flying flags of Britain or its allies were liable to destruction. A few weeks later, a U-boat torpedoed the British luxury liner *Lusitania* off the coast of Ireland, killing 1,198 people, including 128 Americans. The attack on the passenger ship (which was later revealed to have been carrying munitions) incensed Americans. The following year, in an agreement known as the Sussex pledge, Germany agreed not to target passenger liners or merchant ships unless an inspection showed the latter carried weapons. But the *Lusitania* sinking prompted Wilson to reconsider his options. After quietly trying to mediate in Europe but finding neither side interested in peace, he endorsed a $1 billion U.S. military buildup.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors led the United States to enter World War I, despite the desire of so many Americans, including the president, to stay out of the war?

American public opinion still ran strongly against entering the war, a fact that shaped the election of 1916. Republicans rejected the belligerently prowar Theodore Roosevelt in favor of Supreme Court justice Charles Evans Hughes, a progressive former governor of New York. Democrats renominated Wilson, who campaigned on his domestic record and as the president who "kept us out of war." Wilson eked out a narrow victory; winning California by a mere 4,000 votes, he secured a slim majority in the electoral college.

America Enters the War Despite Wilson's campaign slogan, events pushed him toward war. In February 1917, Germany resumed unrestricted submarine warfare, a decision dictated by the impasse on the Western Front. In response, Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany. A few weeks later, newspapers published an intercepted dispatch from German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann to his minister in Mexico. The **Zimmermann telegram** urged Mexico to join the Central Powers, promising that if the United States entered the war, Germany would help Mexico recover "the lost territory of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona." With Pancho Villa's border raids still fresh in Americans' minds, this threat jolted public opinion. Meanwhile, German U-boats attacked U.S. ships without warning, sinking three on March 18 alone.

On April 2, 1917, Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war. He argued that Germany had trampled on American rights and imperiled U.S. trade and citizens' lives. "We desire no conquest," Wilson declared, "no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make." Reflecting his progressive idealism, Wilson promised that American involvement would make the world "safe for democracy." On April 6, the United States declared war on Germany. Reflecting the nation's divided views, the vote was far from unanimous. Six senators and fifty members of the House voted against entry, including Representative Jeannette Rankin of Montana, the first woman elected to Congress. "You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake," Rankin said. "I want to stand by my country, but I cannot vote for war."

Flying Aces As millions of men suffered and died in the trenches during the Great War, a few hundred pilots did battle in the sky. America's best-known ace pilot was Eddie Rickenbacker (right) of the 94th Aero Pursuit Squadron — a pilot who was credited with shooting down twenty-six enemy aircraft. The 94th was known as the hat-in-the-ring squadron, after the American custom by which a combatant threw his hat into the ring as an invitation to fight. Note the hat insignia on the plane. Bettmann/Getty Image

"Over There"

To Americans, Europe seemed a great distance away. Many assumed the United States would simply provide munitions and economic aid. "Good Lord," exclaimed one U.S. senator to a Wilson administration official, "you're not going to send soldiers over there, are you?" But when General John J. Pershing asked how the United States could best support the Allies, the French

commander put it bluntly: "Men, men, and more men." Amid war fever, thousands of young men prepared to go "over there," in the words of George M. Cohan's popular song: "Make your Daddy glad to have had such a lad. / Tell your sweetheart not to pine, / To be proud her boy's in line."

AP EXAM TIP

Trace the events that led the U.S. to depart from its policy of neutrality and enter World War I in 1917.

Americans Join the War In 1917, the U.S. Army numbered fewer than 200,000 soldiers; needing more men, Congress instituted a military draft in May 1917. In contrast to the Civil War, when resistance was common, conscription went smoothly, partly because local, civilian-run draft boards played a central role in the new system. Still, draft registration demonstrated government's increasing power over ordinary citizens. On a single day — June 5, 1917 — more than 9.5 million men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty registered at local voting precincts for possible military service.

President Wilson chose General Pershing to head the American Expeditionary Force (AEF), which had to be trained, outfitted, and carried across the submarine-plagued Atlantic. This required safer shipping. When the United States entered the war, German U-boats were sinking 900,000 tons of Allied ships each month. By sending merchant and troop ships in armed convoys, the U.S. Navy cut that monthly rate to 400,000 tons by the end of 1917. With trench warfare grinding on, Allied commanders pleaded for American soldiers to fill their depleted units, but Pershing waited until the AEF reached full strength. As late as May 1918, the brunt of the fighting fell to the French and British.

AP EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the American Expeditionary Force in the victory of the Allies in World War I.

The Allies' burden increased when the Eastern Front collapsed following the Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution in Russia in November 1917. To consolidate power at home, the new Bolshevik government, led by Vladimir Lenin, sought peace with the Central Powers. In a 1918 treaty, Russia surrendered its claims over vast parts of its territories in exchange for peace. Released from war against Germany, the Bolsheviks turned their attention to a civil war at home. Terrified by communism, Japan and several Allied countries, including the United States, later sent troops to fight the Bolsheviks and aid forces loyal to the deposed tsar. But after a four-year civil war, Lenin's forces established full control over Russia and reclaimed Ukraine and other former possessions.

Peace with Russia freed Germany to launch a major offensive on the Western Front. By May 1918, German troops had advanced to within 50 miles of Paris. Pershing at last committed about 60,000 U.S. soldiers to support the French defense. With American soldiers engaged in massive numbers, Allied forces brought the Germans to a halt in July; by September, they forced a retreat. Pershing then pitted more than one million American soldiers against an outnumbered and exhausted German army in the Argonne forest. By early November, this attack broke German defenses at a crucial rail hub, Sedan. The cost was high: 26,000 Americans killed and 95,000 wounded (Map 20.3). But the flood of U.S. troops and supplies determined the outcome. Recognizing inevitable defeat and facing popular uprisings at home, Germany signed an armistice on November 11, 1918. The Great War was over.

MAP 20.3 U.S. Participation on the Western Front, 1918
When American troops reached the European front in significant numbers in 1918, the Allies and Central Powers had been fighting a deadly war of attrition for almost four years. The influx of American troops and supplies helped break the stalemate. Successful offensive maneuvers by the American Expeditionary Force included those at Belleau Wood and Château-Thierry and the Meuse-Argonne campaign.

Safe Sex, Vintage 1919 To teach young American men how to avoid venereal diseases, the War Department used posters, pep talks, and films. There were no effective treatments for venereal infections until 1928, when Alexander Fleming discovered penicillin, and so the army urged soldiers to refrain from visiting prostitutes or to use condoms. *Fit to Win* starred handsome Ray McKee, who had already appeared in eighty films, and was directed by E. H. Griffith, who would go on to direct sixty Hollywood films between 1920 and 1946. [illegible]

The American Fighting Force By the end of World War I, almost 4 million American men — popularly known as "doughboys" — wore U.S. uniforms, as did several thousand female nurses. The recruits reflected America's heterogeneity: one-fifth had been born outside the United States, and soldiers spoke forty-nine different languages. Though ethnic diversity worried some observers, most predicted that military service would promote Americanization.

Over 400,000 African American men enlisted, accounting for 13 percent of the armed forces. Their wartime experiences were often grim: serving in segregated units, they were given the most menial tasks. Racial discrimination hampered military efficiency and provoked violence at several camps. The worst incident occurred in August 1917, when, after suffering a string of racial attacks, black members of the 24th Infantry's Third Battalion rioted in Houston, killing 15 white civilians and police officers. The army tried 118 of the soldiers in military courts for mutiny and riot, hanged 19, and sentenced 63 to life in prison.

Unlike African Americans, American Indians served in integrated combat units. Racial stereotypes about Native Americans' prowess as warriors enhanced their military reputations, but it also prompted officers to assign them hazardous duties as scouts and snipers. About 13,000, or 25 percent, of the adult male American Indian population served during the war; roughly 5 percent died, compared to 2 percent for the military as a whole.

Most American soldiers escaped the horrors of sustained trench warfare. Still, during the brief period of U.S. participation, over 50,000 servicemen died in action; another 63,000 died from disease, mainly the devastating influenza **pandemic** that began early in 1918 and, over the next two years, killed 50 million people worldwide. The nation's military deaths, though substantial, were only a tenth as many as the 500,000 American civilians who died of this terrible epidemic — not to mention the staggering losses of Europeans in the war (AP® America in the World).

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did U.S. military entry into World War I affect the course of the war?

War on the Home Front

In the United States, opponents of the war were a minority. Helping the Allies triggered an economic boom that benefitted farmers and working people. Many progressives also supported the war, hoping Wilson's ideals and wartime patriotism would renew Americans' attention to reform. But the war bitterly disappointed them. Rather than enhancing democracy, it chilled the political climate as government agencies tried to enforce "100 percent loyalty."

Mobilizing the Economy American businesses made big bucks from World War I. As grain, weapons, and manufactured goods flowed to Britain and France, the United States became a creditor nation. Moreover, as the war drained British financial reserves, U.S. banks provided capital for investments around the globe.

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to explain the role of war in altering the power of government and the U.S. economy is critical for success on the AP® exam.

Government powers expanded during wartime, with new federal agencies overseeing almost every part of the economy. The **War Industries Board** (WIB), established in July 1917, directed military production. After a fumbling start that showed the limits of

The Human Cost of World War I

The United States played a crucial role in financing World War I. In its war-related expenditures, totaling $22.6 billion, the United States ranked fourth among all nations that participated, ranking behind only Germany ($37.7 billion), Britain ($35.3 billion), and France ($24.3 billion). In human terms, however, the U.S. role was different. Note that the figures below for military casualties are rough estimates. Civilian casualties are even more uncertain: the exact number of Russians, Italians, Romanians, Serbians, and others who died will never be known.

TABLE 20.1

World War I Casualties

Country	Total Population	Military Killed or Missing	Total Civilian Deaths
Germany	67,000,000	2,037,000	700,000
Russia	167,000,000	1,800,000	2,000,000
France	39,000,000	1,385,300	40,000
Austria-Hungary	49,900,000	1,016,200	unknown
United Kingdom	46,400,000	702,410	1,386
Italy	35,000,000	462,400	unknown
Turkey	21,300,000	236,000	2,000,000*
Romania	7,510,000	219,800	265,000–500,000
Serbia	5,000,000	127,500	600,000
Bulgaria	5,500,000	77,450	275,000
India	316,000,000	62,060	negligible
Canada	7,400,000	58,990	negligible
Australia	4,872,000	53,560	negligible
United States	92,000,000	51,822	negligible

*Mostly Armenians

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does this data suggest about the comparative role of the United States in World War I? The experience of its soldiers? The war's impact on civilians in each nation?
2. Which other countries made contributions similar to that of the United States, and why?

voluntarism, the Wilson administration reorganized the board and placed Bernard Baruch, a Wall Street financier and superb administrator, at its head. Under his direction, the WIB allocated scarce resources among industries, ordered factories to convert to war production, set prices, and standardized procedures. Though he could compel compliance, Baruch preferred to win voluntary cooperation. A man of immense charm, he usually succeeded—helped by the lucrative military contracts at his disposal. Despite higher taxes, corporate profits soared, as military production sustained a boom that continued until 1920.

Some federal agencies took dramatic measures. The **National War Labor Board** (NWLB), formed in April 1918, established an eight-hour day for war workers with time-and-a-half pay for overtime, and it endorsed equal pay for women. In return for a

Selling Liberty Bonds: Two Appeals Once the United States entered the Great War, government officials sought to enlist all Americans in the battle against the Central Powers. They carefully crafted patriotic advertising campaigns that urged Americans to buy bonds, conserve food, enlist in the military, and support the war effort in many other ways. One of these posters appeals to recent immigrants, reminding them of their debt to American Liberty. The other shows the overtly anti-German prejudices of many war appeals: it depicts the "Hun," a slur for a German soldier, with bloody hands and bayonet. Libra

no-strike pledge, the NWLB also supported workers' right to organize—a major achievement for the labor movement. The Fuel Administration, meanwhile, introduced daylight saving time to conserve coal and oil. In December 1917, the Railroad Administration seized control of the nation's hodgepodge of private railroads, seeking to facilitate rapid movement of troops and equipment—an experiment that had, at best, mixed results.

Perhaps the most successful wartime agency was the Food Administration, created in August 1917 and led by engineer Herbert Hoover. With the slogan "Food will win the war," Hoover convinced farmers to nearly double their acreage of grain. This increase allowed a threefold rise in food exports to Europe. Among citizens, the Food Administration mobilized a "spirit of self-denial" rather than mandatory rationing. Female volunteers went from door to door to persuade housekeepers to observe "Wheatless" Mondays and "Porkless" Thursdays. Hoover, a Republican, emerged from the war as one of the nation's most admired public figures.

Promoting National Unity Suppressing wartime dissent became a near obsession for President Wilson. In April 1917, Wilson formed the Committee on Public Information (CPI), a government propaganda agency headed by journalist George Creel. Professing lofty goals—educating citizens about democracy, assimilating

immigrants, and ending the isolation of rural life — the committee set out to mold Americans into "one white-hot mass" of war patriotism. The CPI touched the lives of nearly all civilians. It distributed seventy-five million pieces of literature and enlisted thousands of volunteers — **Four-Minute Men** — to deliver short prowar speeches at movie theaters.

The CPI also pressured immigrant groups to become "One Hundred Percent Americans." German Americans bore the brunt of this campaign (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). With posters exhorting citizens to root out German spies, a spirit of conformity pervaded the home front. A quasi-vigilante group, the American Protective League, mobilized about 250,000 "agents," furnished them with badges issued by the Justice Department, and trained them to spy on neighbors and coworkers. In 1918, members of the league led violent raids against draft evaders and peace activists. Government propaganda helped rouse a nativist hysteria that lingered into the 1920s.

Congress also passed new laws to curb dissent. Among them was the **Sedition Act of 1918**, which prohibited any words or behavior that might "incite, provoke, or encourage resistance to the United States, or promote the cause of its enemies." Because this and an earlier Espionage Act (1917) defined treason loosely, they led to the conviction of more than a thousand people. The Justice Department prosecuted members of the Industrial Workers of the World, whose opposition to militarism threatened to disrupt war production of lumber and copper. When a Quaker pacifist teacher in New York City refused to teach a prowar curriculum, she was fired. Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs was sentenced to ten years in jail for the crime of arguing that wealthy capitalists had started the conflict and were forcing workers to fight.

Federal courts mostly supported the acts. In *Schenck v. United States* (1919), the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of a socialist who was jailed for circulating pamphlets that urged army draftees to resist induction. The justices followed this with a similar decision in *Abrams v. United States* (1919), ruling that authorities could prosecute speech they believed to pose "a clear and present danger to the safety of the country." In an important dissent, however, Justices Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. and Louis Brandeis objected to the *Abrams* decision. Holmes's probing questions about the definition of "clear and present danger" helped launch twentieth-century legal battles over free speech and civil liberties.

Great Migrations World War I created tremendous economic opportunities at home. Jobs in war industries drew thousands of people to the cities. With so many men in uniform, jobs in heavy industry opened for the first time to African Americans, accelerating the pace of black migration from South to North. During World War I, more than 400,000 African Americans moved to such cities as St. Louis, Chicago, New York, and Detroit, in what became known as the **Great Migration**. The rewards were great, and taking war jobs could be a source of patriotic pride. "If it hadn't been for the negro," a Carnegie Steel manager later recalled, "we could hardly have carried on our operations."

Blacks in the North encountered discrimination in jobs, housing, and education. But in the first flush of opportunity, most celebrated their escape from the repressive racism and poverty of the South. "It is a matter of a dollar with me and I feel that God made the path and I am walking therein," one woman reported to her sister back home. "Tell your husband work is plentiful here." "I just begin to feel like a man," wrote another migrant to a friend in Mississippi. "My children

The Great Migration: Union Station, Jacksonville, Florida This photograph from 1921 shows a familiar sight across the South, especially after 1917 and 1918, when wartime jobs in Northern cities offered new opportunities for African Americans seeking to escape the Jim Crow South. Northern manufacturers, facing severe wartime labor shortages, sent labor agents to the South to recruit workers. These agents often arranged loans to pay for train fare and other travel expenses; once laborers were settled and employed in the North, they repaid the loans from their wages. In a typical pattern, some of the travelers in this photograph may have previously moved from rural parts of Florida to Jacksonville, before making the leap to the urban North. Photo by Woodward, courtesy of the State Archives of Florida

German Americans in World War I

Before 1917, Americans expressed diverse opinions about the war in Europe. After the United States joined the Allies, however, German Americans' loyalty became suspect. German immigrant men who were not U.S. citizens were required to register as "alien enemies," and government propaganda fueled fear of alleged German spies. In April 1918 in Collinsville, Illinois, a German-born socialist named Robert Prager — who had sought U.S. citizenship and tried to enlist in the navy — was lynched by drunken miners. The documents below shed light on German Americans' wartime experiences.

1. **Advertisement, *Fatherland*, 1915.** *This ad appeared in a political journal for German Americans. The translation of the songs offered on this recording are "Germany, Germany Above All" and "Precious Homeland."*

   Patriotic German Music on Columbia Double-Disc Records

   E2039 Deutschland, Deutschland über alles. . . .

   10 in. — 75¢ Teure Heimat. . . .

   COLUMBIA GRAMOPHONE COMPANY . . . DEALERS EVERYWHERE.

2. **C. J. Hexamer, speech, Milwaukee, 1915.** *This address by a German American community leader was widely cited during a 1918 investigation by the Senate Judiciary Committee.*

   Whoever casts his Germanism from him like an old glove, is not worthy to be spit upon. . . . We have long suffered the preachment that "you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated, you must merge more in the American people;" but no one will ever find us prepared to step down to a lesser culture. No, we have made it our aim to elevate the others to us. . . . Be strong, and German. Remember, you German pioneers, that we are giving to this people the best the earth affords, the benefits of Germanic *kultur*.

3. **Sign in a Chicago park, 1917.**

Chicago History Museum/Getty Images

4. **"Lager Uber Alles" cartoon, 1918.** *This cartoon was part of an Ohio Anti-Saloon League referendum campaign to prohibit liquor sales. Ohio voters had rejected such a measure in 1915 and 1917, but in 1918 a majority voted for prohibition. Many U.S. breweries, such as Anheuser-Busch and Pabst, were owned by German Americans. "Hun" was an epithet for Germans; "Lager (Beer) Uber Alles" refers to the German national anthem cited in source 1.*

Courtesy of The Ohio State University Department of History

5. **James W. Gerard, radio address, 1917.** *Gerard was U.S. ambassador to Great Britain.*

   The great majority of American citizens of German descent have, in this great crisis in our history, shown themselves splendidly loyal to our flag. Everyone has a right to sympathize with any warring nation. But now that we are in the war there are only two sides, and the time has come when every citizen must declare himself American — or traitor!

   . . . The Foreign Minister of Germany once said to me ". . . we have in your country 500,000 German reservists who will rise in arms against your government if you dare to make a move against Germany." Well, I told him that that might be so, but that we had 500,001 lampposts in this country, and that that was where the reservists would be hanging the day after they tried to rise. And if there are any German-Americans here who are so ungrateful for all the benefits they have received that they are still for the Kaiser, there is only one thing to do with them. And that is to hog-tie them, give them back the wooden shoes and the rags they landed in, and ship

them back. . . . There is no animal that bites and kicks and squeals . . . equal to a fat German-American, if you commenced to tie him up and told him that he was on his way back to the Kaiser.

6. **Actions by New York liederkranz reported in *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 16, 1918.** *Liederkranz, or singing societies, played a vital role in German immigrant communities. Before World War I the city of Wheeling, West Virginia, counted eleven such societies, with names like Harmonie, Germania, and Mozart. By 1918 most liederkranz had vanished. New York City's was one of the few that did not.*

Members of the [New York] Liederkranz, an organization founded seventy-one years ago by Germans . . . met tonight and placed on record their unqualified Americanism.

. . . They declared English the official language of the organization, and for the first time in years the sound of an enemy tongue will not be heard in the club's halls. Likewise they reiterated their offer to turn the buildings over to the government as a hospital if it were necessary.

7. **Lola Gamble Clyde, 1976 interview on life in Idaho during World War I.** *In the 1970s, historians interviewed residents of rural Latah County, Idaho, about their experiences in World War I. Frank Brocke, a farmer, recalled that neighbors on their joint telephone line would slam down the phone when his mother or sister spoke German. "We had to be so careful," he said.*

I remember when they smashed out store windows at Uniontown that said [sauer]kraut. . . . Nobody would eat kraut. Throw the Kraut out, they were Germans. . . . Even the great Williamson store, he went in and gathered up everything that was made in Germany, and had a big bonfire out in the middle of the street, you know. Although he had many good German friends all over the county that had helped make him rich. . . . And if it was a German name — we'll just change our name. . . . There were some [German American] boys that got draft deferments. . . . Some of them said that their fathers were sick and dying, and their father had so much land they had to stay home and farm it for them. . . . [Local men] tarred and feathered some of them. Some of them as old men dying still resented and remembered.

SOURCES: (1) Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 109; (2) *Hearings Before the Subcommittee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 65th Congress, Second Session* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1918), 300; (5) Gerard speech, transcript and recording, at Library of Congress American Memory: memory.loc.gov/ammem/nfhtml/nforSpeakers01.html; (6) *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 16, 1918; (7) Oral histories of Idaho residents at GMU History Matters, historymatters.gmu.edu/d/2/. Excerpt courtesy of Latah County Historical Society.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How did conditions change for German Americans between 1915 and 1918?
2. According to these sources, what aspects of German American culture did other Americans find threatening? What forms did anti-German hostility take?
3. Compare the sources that offer a German American perspective (sources 1, 2, 6, and 7) to those that represent a threat to German Americans' way of life (3, 4, 5). How did German Americans respond to growing anti-German sentiment in this period?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

World War I heightened anxieties about who was a "true" American. What groups were singled out in particular and why? What continuities do you see between these fears over "hyphenated" identities and controversies in earlier eras of U.S. history? Today?

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the causes and effects of the Great Migration for African Americans and American culture.

AP® EXAM TIP

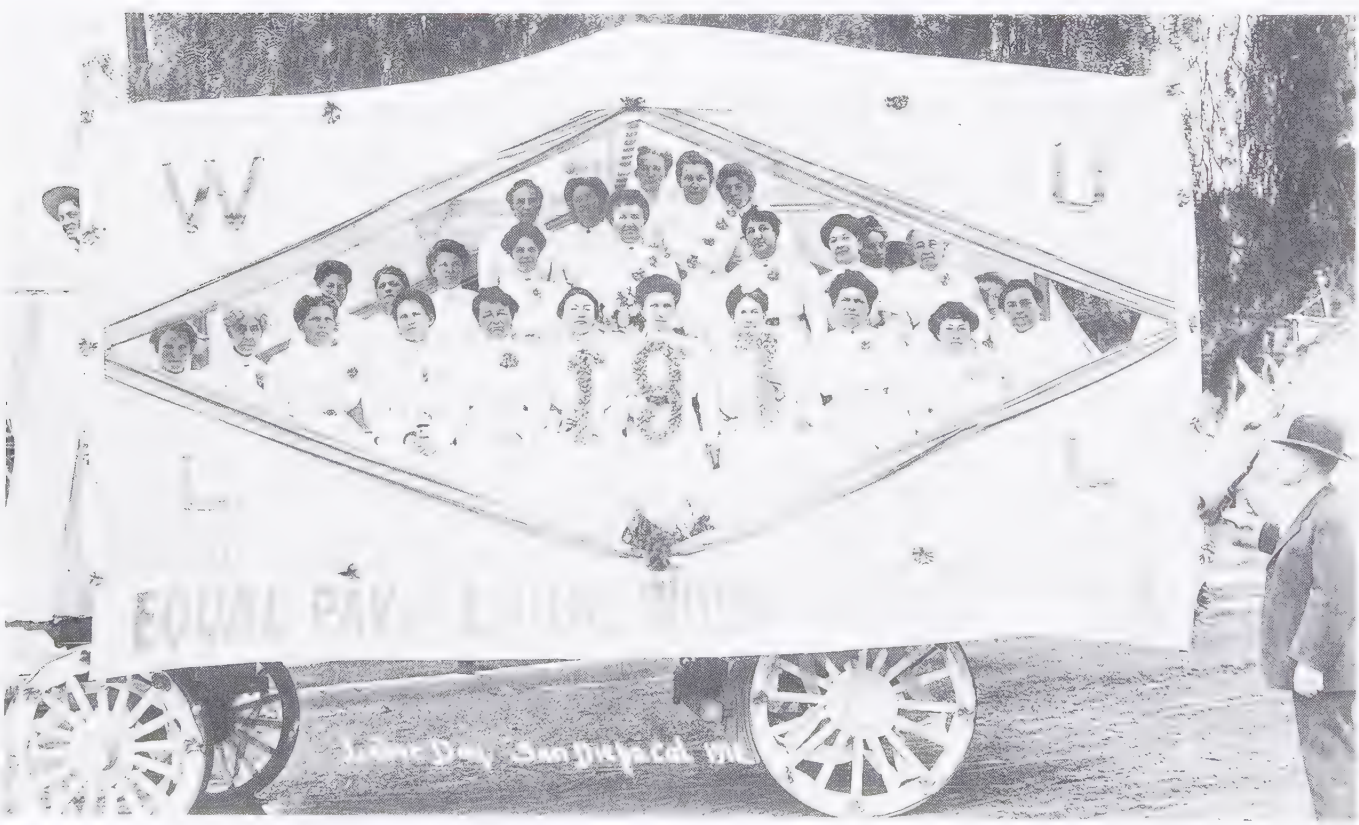
Evaluate the impact of World War I on immigration to the U.S.

are going to the same school with the whites. . . . Will vote the next election and there isn't any 'yes sir' and 'no sir' — it's all yes and no and Sam and Bill."

Wartime labor shortages prompted Mexican Americans in the Southwest to leave farmwork for urban industrial jobs. Continued political instability in Mexico, combined with increased demand for farmworkers in the United States, also encouraged more Mexicans to move across the border. Between 1917 and 1920, at least 100,000 Mexicans entered the United States; despite discrimination, large numbers stayed. If asked why, many might have echoed the words of an African American man who left New Orleans for Chicago: they were going "north for a better chance." The same was true for Puerto Ricans such as Jésus Colón, who also confronted racism. "I came to New York to poor pay, long hours, terrible working conditions, discrimination even in the slums and in the poor paying factories," Colón recalled, "where the bosses very dexterously pitted Italians against Puerto Ricans and Puerto Ricans against American Negroes and Jews."

Women were the largest group to take advantage of wartime job opportunities. About 1 million women joined the paid labor force for the first time, while another 8 million gave up low-wage service jobs for higher-paying industrial work. Americans soon got used to the sight of female streetcar conductors, train engineers, and defense workers. Though most people expected these jobs to return to men in peacetime, the war created a new comfort level with women's employment outside the home — and with women's suffrage.

Women's Voting Rights The National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) threw the support of its 2 million members wholeheartedly into the war effort. Its president, Carrie Chapman Catt, declared that women had to prove their



Wagon Decorated for the Labor Day Parade, San Diego, California, 1910 As the woman suffrage movement grew stronger in the years before and during World War I, working-class women played increasingly prominent and visible roles in its leadership. This Labor Day parade float, created by the Women's Union Label League of San Diego, showed that activists championed equal pay for women in the workplace as well as women's voting rights. "Union Label Leagues" urged middle-class shoppers to purchase only clothing with a union label, certifying that the item had been manufactured under safe conditions and the workers who made it had received a fair wage. San Diego

patriotism to win the ballot. NAWSA members in thousands of communities promoted food conservation and distributed emergency relief through organizations such as the Red Cross.

Alice Paul and the **National Woman's Party** (NWP) took a more confrontational approach. Paul was a Quaker who had worked in the settlement movement and earned a PhD in political science. Finding as a NAWSA lobbyist that congressmen dismissed her, Paul founded the NWP in 1916. Inspired by militant British suffragists, the group began in July 1917 to picket the White House. Standing silently with their banners, Paul and other NWP activists faced arrest for obstructing traffic and were sentenced to seven months in jail. They protested by going on a hunger strike, which prison authorities met with forced feeding. Public shock at the women's treatment drew attention to the suffrage cause.

Impressed by NAWSA's patriotism and worried by the NWP's militancy, the anti-suffrage Wilson reversed his position. In January 1918, he urged support for woman suffrage as a "war measure." The constitutional amendment quickly passed the House of Representatives; it took eighteen months to get through the Senate and another year to win ratification by the states. On August 26, 1920, when Tennessee voted for ratification, the Nineteenth Amendment became law. The state thus joined Texas as one of two ex-Confederate states to ratify it. In most parts of the South, the measure meant that *white* women began to vote: in this Jim Crow era, African American women's voting rights remained restricted along with men's.

In explaining suffragists' victory, historians have debated the relative effectiveness of Catt's patriotic strategy and Paul's militant protests. Both played a role in persuading Wilson and Congress to act, but neither might have worked without the extraordinary impact of the Great War. Across the globe, before 1914, the only places where women had full suffrage were New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway. After World War I, many nations moved to enfranchise women. The new Soviet Union acted first, in 1917, with Great Britain and Canada following in 1918; by 1920, the measure had passed in Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary as well as the United States. (Major exceptions were France and Italy, where women did not gain voting rights until after World War II, and Switzerland, which held out until 1971.) Thus, while World War I introduced modern horrors on the battlefield — machine guns and poison gas — it brought some positive results at home: economic opportunity and women's political participation.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What changes did U.S. participation in World War I bring about on the home front?

AP® EXAM TIP

The impact of war on the status of women in the U.S. is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the different effects of African Americans', Mexican Americans', and women's civilian mobilization during World War I?

Catastrophe at Versailles

The idealistic Wilson argued that no victor should be declared after World War I: only "peace among equals" could last. Having won at an incredible price, Britain and France showed zero interest in such a plan. But the devastation wrought by the war created popular pressure for a just and enduring outcome. At the peace conference held at Versailles, near Paris, in 1919, Wilson scored a diplomatic victory when the Allies chose to base the talks on his **Fourteen Points**, a blueprint for peace that he had presented a year earlier in a speech to Congress.

Wilson's Points embodied an important strand in progressivism. They called for open diplomacy; "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas"; arms reduction; removal of trade barriers; and national self-determination for peoples in the Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and German empires. Essential to Wilson's vision was the creation of an international regulatory body — eventually called the **League of Nations** — that would guarantee each country's "independence and territorial integrity." The League

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST

Was Wilson's Internationalism Successful?

President Woodrow Wilson won a hard-fought reelection in 1916 by maintaining American neutrality in the Great War then raging across Europe. Only a month after his second inauguration, however, he reluctantly abandoned his policy of "armed neutrality" after Germany resumed its unrestricted submarine warfare and sunk American ships.

In asking Congress for a declaration of war, Wilson envisioned a future peace based on the principles of democracy, the collective security of nations, and a system of international law to avert future wars. A League of Nations was at the center of his postwar vision, which he announced in his January 1918 "Fourteen Points" speech. But a number of factors frustrated Wilson's plans, with the result that the Republican-controlled Congress rejected the treaty Wilson had negotiated. Historians John Milton Cooper Jr. and Elizabeth McKillen offer contrasting views of Wilson's internationalism and the League of Nations proposal.

JOHN MILTON COOPER JR.

SOURCE: John Milton Cooper Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2009), 474–475.

[T]he substance of the Draft Covenant . . . [included the] guarantee of independence and territorial integrity . . . and asserted the right of the League of Nations to concern itself about "war or threat of war" anywhere in the world. Articles XII through XV established procedures for mediation and arbitration and called for a "Permanent Court of International Justice." Article XVI laid down the League's authority to impose economic boycotts and recommend the use of force. . . . [A]ll these features of Wilson's . . . were in the Draft Covenant. . . . It was a remarkable achievement, and the lion's share of the credit belonged to Wilson.

ELIZABETH MCKILLEN

SOURCE: Elizabeth McKillen, *Making the World Safe for Workers: Labor, the Left and Wilsonian Internationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 243–244.

The U.S. and transnational labor and Left debate over the Versailles Treaty, League [of Nations] and ILO [International Labor Organization] exposed fundamental contradictions in Wilsonian internationalism. . . . [F]rom the perspective of Left activists, a League comprised of the same government elites who had caused World War I was unlikely to fundamentally alter the imperial status quo in ways that would advance the interests of the world's workers or ensure future peace and prosperity. . . . Socialist and labor activists unmasked the Wilson administration's tendencies toward . . . the belief that other nations could be immeasurably improved by reshaping them in an American mold.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How do these historians differ in their assessment of Wilson's internationalism?
2. To what extent do these historians see the League of Nations as a solution to the international problems Wilson observed?
3. From these excerpts and the relevant sections of the chapter, identify at least two reasons why Wilson failed to win ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.

would mediate disputes, supervise arms reduction, and—according to its crucial Article X—curb aggressor nations through collective military action. Wilson hoped the League would "end all wars." But his ideals had marked limits, and in negotiations he confronted harsh realities (AP® Interpreting the Past).

The Fate of Wilson's Ideas

The peace conference included ten thousand representatives from around the globe, but leaders of France, Britain, and the United States dominated the proceedings. When the Japanese delegation proposed a declaration for equal treatment of all races, the Allies rejected it. Similarly, the Allies ignored a global Pan-African Congress, organized by W. E. B. Du Bois and other black leaders; they snubbed Arab representatives who had been military allies during the war. Even Italy's prime minister—included among the influential "Big Four" because in 1915 Italy had switched to the Allied side—withdrew

from the conference, aggrieved at the way British and French leaders marginalized him. The Allies excluded two key players: Russia, because they distrusted its communist leaders, and Germany, because they planned to dictate terms to their defeated foe. For Wilson's "peace among equals," it was a terrible start.

Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Britain and Premier Georges Clemenceau of France imposed harsh punishments on Germany. Unbeknownst to others at the time, they had already made secret agreements to divide up Germany's African colonies and take them as spoils of war. At Versailles, they also forced the defeated nation to pay $33 billion in reparations and surrender coal supplies, merchant ships, valuable patents, and even territory along the French border. These terms caused keen resentment and economic hardship in Germany, and over the following two decades they helped lead to World War II.

Given these conditions, it is remarkable that Wilson influenced the **Treaty of Versailles** as much as he did. He intervened repeatedly to soften conditions imposed on Germany. In accordance with the Fourteen Points, he worked with the other Allies to fashion nine new nations, stretching from the Baltic to the Mediterranean (Map 20.4 and Map 20.5). These were intended as a buffer to protect Western Europe from communist Russia; the plan also embodied Wilson's principle of self-determination for European states. Elsewhere in the world, the Allies dismantled their enemies' empires but did not create independent nations, keeping colonized people subordinate to European power. France, for example, refused to give up its long-standing occupation of Indochina; Clemenceau's snub of future Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh, who sought representation at Versailles, had grave long-term consequences for both France and the United States.

The establishment of a British mandate in Palestine (now Israel) also proved crucial. During the war, British foreign secretary Sir Arthur Balfour had stated that his country would work to establish there a "national home for the Jewish people," with the condition that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." Under the British mandate, thousands of Jews moved to Palestine and purchased land, in some cases evicting Palestinian tenants. As early as 1920, riots erupted between Jews and Palestinians—a situation that, even before World War II, escalated beyond British control.

The Versailles treaty thus created conditions for horrific future bloodshed, and it must be judged one of history's great catastrophes. Balfour astutely described Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson as "all-powerful, all-ignorant men, sitting there and carving up continents." Wilson, however, remained optimistic as he returned home, even though his health was beginning to fail. The president hoped the new League of Nations, authorized by the treaty, would moderate the settlement and secure peaceful resolutions of other disputes. For this to occur, U.S. participation was crucial.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the impact of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points in the post–World War I world is critical for success on the AP® exam.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

In what ways did the Treaty of Versailles embody—or fail to embody—Wilson's Fourteen Points?

"Peace and Future Cannon Fodder" This scathing cartoon, published in 1920, was drawn by Australian-born artist Will Dyson and published in a British magazine. It shows the "Big Four" power brokers at Versailles—from left to right, Vittorio Orlando of Italy, David Lloyd George of Britain, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson of the United States. Clemenceau, who was nicknamed "The Tiger," turns his head and comments on the crying child. Even at the time, astute observers such as Dyson argued that the treaty might have horrific consequences, particularly in the brutal conditions it imposed on Germany. Dyson sketched "1940 Class" over the head of the child. The young children of 1920 grew up to inherit the consequences of the Versailles treaty, which contributed to the rise of fascism, Nazism, and World War II.

Congress Rejects the Treaty

The outlook for U.S. ratification was not promising. Though major opinion makers and religious denominations supported the treaty, openly hostile Republicans held a majority in the Senate. One group, called the "irreconcilables," consisted of western progressive Republicans such as Hiram Johnson of California and Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, who opposed U.S. involvement in

MAP 20.4 AND MAP 20.5 Europe and the Middle East Before and After World War I

World War I and its aftermath dramatically altered the landscape of Europe and the Middle East. Before the war, the most powerful nations belonged to two alliances: the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) and the Entente (Great Britain, France, and Russia). The latter's victory, along with the 1917 communist revolution in Russia, dramatically reshaped power relations. Collapse of the German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian empires allowed reconstitution of Poland and creation of a string of new states along the Baltic Sea and in Eastern Europe, based on the principle of national (ethnic) self-determination. The demise of the Ottoman Empire prompted creation of four quasi-independent territories, or "mandates": Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. The League of Nations stipulated that their affairs would be supervised by one of the victorious Allied powers.

European affairs. Another group, led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, worried that Article X—the provision for collective security—would prevent the United States from pursuing an independent foreign policy. Was the nation, Lodge asked, "willing to have the youth of America ordered to war" by an international body? Wilson refused to accept any amendments, especially to placate Lodge, a hated rival. "I shall consent to nothing," the president told the French ambassador. "The Senate must take its medicine."

To mobilize support, Wilson embarked on an exhausting speaking tour. His impassioned defense of the League of Nations brought audiences to tears, but the strain proved too much for the president. While visiting Colorado in September 1919, Wilson collapsed. A week later, back in Washington, he suffered a stroke that left one side of his body paralyzed. Wilson still urged Democratic senators to reject all Republican amendments. When the treaty came up for a vote in November 1919, it failed to win the required two-thirds majority. A second attempt, in March 1920, fell seven votes short.

The treaty was dead, and so was Wilson's leadership. The president never fully recovered from his stroke. During the last eighteen months of his administration, the government drifted as Wilson's physician, his wife, and various cabinet heads secretly took charge. The United States never ratified the Versailles treaty or joined the League of Nations. In turn, the League was weak. When Wilson died in 1924, his dream of a just and peaceful international order lay in ruins.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the causes and effects of the failure of the U.S. Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

The impact of World War I can hardly be overstated. Despite bids for power by Britain and France, Europe's hold on its colonial empires never recovered. The United States, now a major world power, appeared to turn its back on the world when it rejected the Versailles treaty. But in laying claim to Hawaii and the Philippines, asserting power in Latin America, and intervening in Asia, the United States had entangled itself deeply in global politics. By 1918, the nation had gained too much diplomatic clout—and was too dependent on overseas trade—for isolation to be a realistic long-term option.

On the home front, the effects of World War I were no less dramatic. Wartime jobs and prosperity ushered in an era of exuberant consumerism, while the achievements of women's voting rights seemed to presage a new progressive era. But as peace returned, it became clear that the war had not advanced reform. Rather than embracing government activism, Americans of the 1920s proved eager to relinquish it.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What arguments did U.S. political leaders make for and against ratification of the Versailles treaty?**

SUMMARY

Between 1877 and 1918, the United States rose as a major economic and military power. Justifications for overseas expansion emphasized access to global markets, the importance of sea power, and the need to police international misconduct and trade. These justifications shaped U.S. policy toward European powers in Latin America, and victory in the War of 1898 enabled the United States to take control of former Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and Pacific. Victory, however, also led to bloody conflict in the Philippines as the United States struggled to suppress Filipino resistance to American rule.

After 1899, the United States aggressively asserted its interests in Asia and Latin America. In China, the United States used the so-called Boxer Rebellion to make good its claim to an "open door" to Chinese markets. Later, President Theodore Roosevelt strengthened relations with Japan, and his successor, William Howard Taft, supported U.S. business interests in China. In the Caribbean, the United States constructed the Panama Canal and regularly exercised the right, claimed under the Roosevelt Corollary,

to intervene in the affairs of states in the region. President Woodrow Wilson publicly disparaged the imperialism of his predecessors but repeatedly used the U.S. military to "police" Mexico.

At the outbreak of World War I, the United States asserted neutrality, but its economic ties to the Allies rapidly undercut that claim. In 1917, German submarine attacks drew the United States into the war on the side of Britain and France. Involvement in the war profoundly transformed the economy, politics, and society of the nation, resulting in an economic boom, mass migrations of workers to industrial centers, and the achievement of national voting rights. At the Paris Peace Conference, Wilson attempted to implement his Fourteen Points. However, the designs of the Allies in Europe undermined the Treaty of Versailles, while Republican resistance at home prevented ratification of the treaty. Although Wilson's dream of a just international order failed, the United States had taken its place as a major world power.

CHAPTER 20 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. Explain the steps by which the late-nineteenth-century U.S. government began to exert military influence in different regions of the world.
2. Compare and contrast the factors that influenced U.S. actions in Asia and in Latin America in this period.
3. What changes did U.S. participation in World War I bring about on the home front?
4. What arguments did U.S. political leaders make for and against ratification of the Versailles treaty?
5. Review the events listed under "America in the World" on the thematic timeline on page 619. By the end of World War I, what influence did the United States exercise in European affairs and in the Caribbean, Latin America, the Pacific, and China? How, and to what extent, had its power in each region expanded over the previous four decades? Compare and contrast the role of the United States to the roles of other powers in each region.

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

American exceptionalism (p. 622)
Teller Amendment (p. 624)
Insular Cases (p. 626)
Platt Amendment (p. 626)
"open door" policy (p. 627)
Root-Takahira Agreement (p. 630)
Panama Canal (p. 631)
Roosevelt Corollary (p. 631)
Zimmermann telegram (p. 634)
War Industries Board (p. 636)
National War Labor Board (p. 637)
Four-Minute Men (p. 639)
Sedition Act of 1918 (p. 639)
Great Migration (p. 639)
National Woman's Party (p. 643)
Fourteen Points (p. 643)
League of Nations (p. 643)
Treaty of Versailles (p. 645)

Key People

Theodore Roosevelt (p. 623)
Alfred Mahan (p. 623)
Queen Liliuokalani (p. 625)
Emilio Aguinaldo (p. 626)
Woodrow Wilson (p. 631)
Porfirio Díaz (p. 631)
Herbert Hoover (p. 638)
Alice Paul (p. 643)

Key Academic Terms

autocracy (p. 616)
impinge (p. 620)
proselytize (p. 622)
brook (p. 623)
archipelago (p. 625)
pandemic (p. 636)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Read again the documents from "Representing Indians" in Chapter 15 (Thinking Like a Historian, pp. 484–485). In what ways might ideas about Native Americans have informed attitudes toward Hawaiians, Filipinos, and other people of color overseas? How might this explain which peoples Woodrow Wilson included and excluded in his ideal of "national self-determination"? Write a short essay in which you explain how Americans' policies and attitudes toward Native peoples within North America shaped U.S. foreign policy between 1898 and 1918.
2. Review the images on pages 625, 639, and 642. What do they tell us about the opportunities and risks that World War I posed for different groups of Americans? What constraints might young men and women of different ethnic backgrounds have faced, and what factors might they have considered, when deciding what wartime activities to pursue?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 622 for help in answering the question below.

Identify at least five events from the chapter chronology that demonstrate the rising global power of the United States. Compare their consequences. How might an observer from another country have interpreted the United States's actions in each case?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "It will be our wish that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement has gone by; so is the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. . . .
>
> We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in. . . . All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us."
>
> Woodrow Wilson, Address to Congress, January 8, 1918

1. Which of the following issues of the period was Wilson most likely concerned with in the excerpt?
   a. The defense of humanitarian and democratic principles
   b. The pursuit of a unilateral American foreign policy
   c. The rise of fascism and totalitarianism
   d. The economic opportunities presented by imperialism
2. Based on the excerpt at left, which of the following would Wilson most likely NOT have supported?
   a. The Washington Naval Conference
   b. The Selective Service Act
   c. The Kellogg-Briand Pact
   d. Unrestricted submarine warfare
3. In the decades following Wilson's speech, significant divisions emerged within the United States over all of the following issues EXCEPT the
   a. ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.
   b. aggression of Nazi Germany.
   c. foreign policy tradition of noninvolvement in European affairs.
   d. appropriate national response to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "[The nation] is of age and it can do what it pleases; it can spurn the traditions of the past; it can repudiate the principles upon which the nation rests; it can employ force instead of reason; it can substitute might for right . . . but it cannot repeal the moral law or escape the punishment decreed for the violation of human rights. . . .
>
> Some argue that American rule in the Philippine Islands will result in the better education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us, and the most ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them, lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and Constitution of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency."
>
> Speech by William Jennings Bryan, presidential candidate, at the Democratic National Convention, August 8, 1900

4. In highlighting how the nation could "spurn the traditions of the past," Bryan was referring most directly to
   a. ideas articulated in George Washington's Farewell Address.
   b. the use of government power in the confining of American Indians to reservations.
   c. government policies promoting the assimilation of immigrants.
   d. increased barriers to Asian migration.

5. Based on the excerpt at left, Bryan most likely supported which of the following?
   a. Platt Amendment
   b. Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine
   c. Teller Amendment
   d. Writings of Alfred Mahan

6. The excerpt best reflects which of the following?
   a. Heightened public debates over America's role in the world
   b. The moral obligation of the wealthy to help the less fortunate
   c. The use of Social Darwinism to justify the success of nations
   d. The perception that the Western frontier was "closed"

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"[T]he substance of the Draft Covenant . . . [included the] guarantee of independence and territorial integrity . . . and asserted the right of the League of Nations to concern itself about 'war or threat of war' anywhere in the world. Articles XII through XV established procedures for mediation and arbitration and called for a 'Permanent Court of International Justice.' Article XVI laid down the League's authority to impose economic boycotts and recommend the use of force. . . . [A]ll these features of Wilson's . . . were in the Draft Covenant. . . . It was a remarkable achievement, and the lion's share of the credit belonged to Wilson."

John Milton Cooper Jr., *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography*, 2009

"The U.S. and transnational labor and Left debate over the Versailles Treaty, League [of Nations] and ILO [International Labor Organization] exposed fundamental contradictions in Wilsonian internationalism. . . . [F]rom the perspective of Left activists, a League comprised of the same government elites who had caused World War I was unlikely to fundamentally alter the imperial status quo in ways that would advance the interests of the world's workers or ensure future peace and prosperity. . . . Socialist and labor activists unmasked the Wilson administration's tendencies toward . . . the belief that other nations could be immeasurably improved by reshaping them in an American mold."

Elizabeth McKillen, *Making the World Safe for Workers: Labor, the Left and Wilsonian Internationalism*, 2013

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Cooper's and McKillen's historical interpretations of the effectiveness of American foreign policy in the immediate aftermath of the First World War.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1918 to 1922 not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Cooper's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development in the period 1918 to 1922 not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support McKillen's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain why ONE of the following developments was the most significant factor contributing to American involvement in World War I.
     - German submarine policy
     - Cultural ties between the United States and the Allies
     - Financial and commercial interests
   - **b.** Provide ONE historical example to support your argument in (a).
   - **c.** Provide specific evidence why ONE of the other options was a less influential factor contributing to American involvement in the war.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain why ONE of the following developments was the most significant change in the United States that resulted from American involvement in World War I.
     - Restrictions on civil liberties
     - Advances for womens' rights
     - A postwar rejection of foreign commitments
   - **b.** Provide ONE specific historical event or development to support your argument in (a).
   - **c.** Provide specific evidence why ONE of the other developments represented a less significant change in the United States that resulted from American involvement in World War I.

CHAPTER 21

Unsettled Prosperity: From War to Depression

1919–1932

Resurgent Conservatism

The Red Scare

Racial Backlash

The Business of America

Politics of Normalcy

Making a Modern Consumer Economy

Postwar Abundance

Consumer Culture

The Automobile and Suburbanization

The Politics and Culture of a Diversifying Nation

Women in a New Age

Culture Wars

The Harlem Renaissance

The Coming of the Great Depression

From Boom to Bust

Early Depression Years

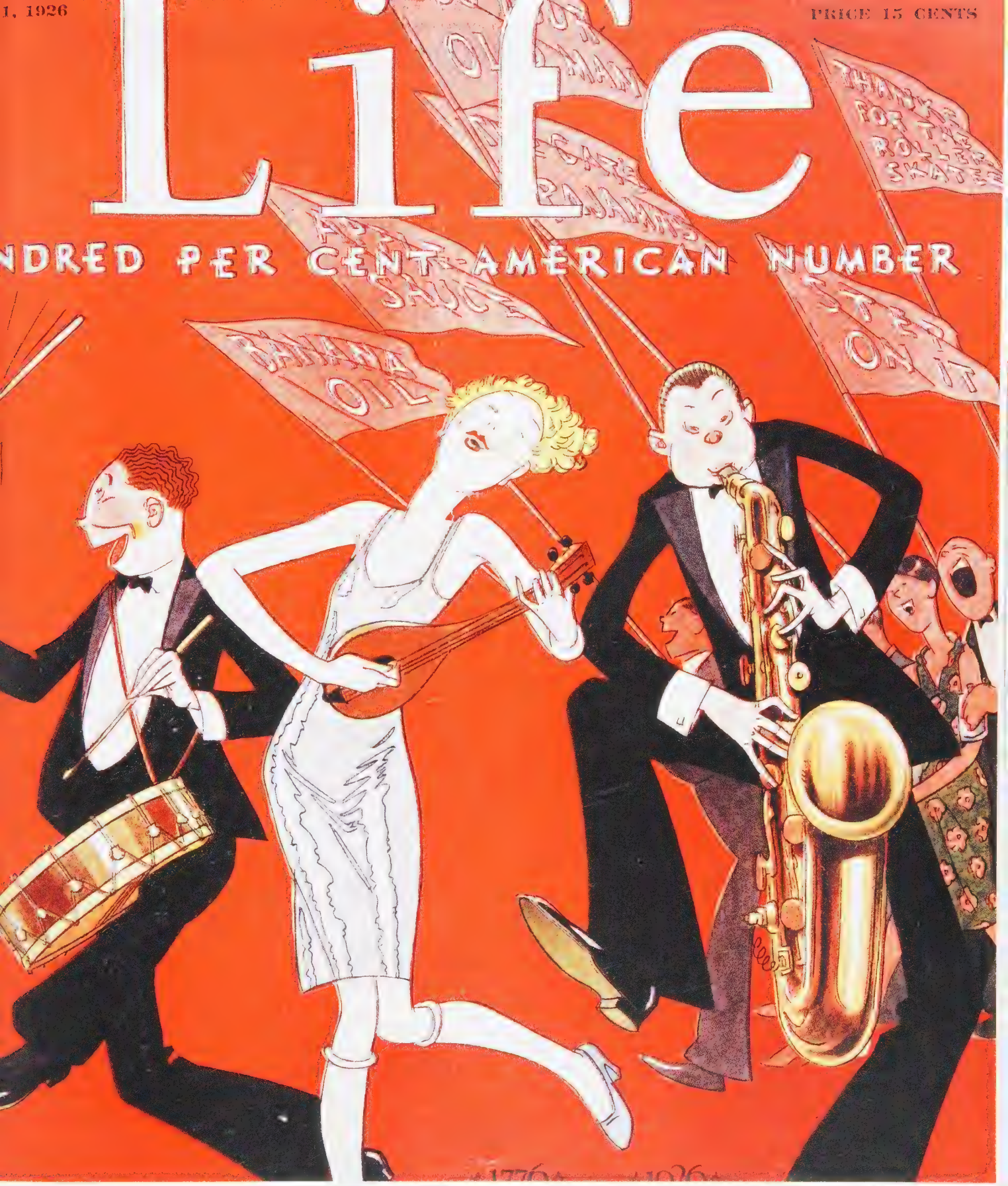
AP LEARNING FOCUS

What conflicts in culture and politics arose in the 1920s, and how did economic developments in that decade help cause the Great Depression?

For the United States, World War I was neither the ghastly and devastating experience that it was for Europe nor the profoundly disillusioning one it was in many other parts of the world. Yet the war years marked a crucial historical divide for Americans, and the country entered a distinctly new era after 1919. Progressivism flagged and gave way to a business-centered philosophy of government. The manufacturing economy surged and delivered a cornucopia of consumer goods to a growing middle class. In the halls of government and in the streets, Americans clashed over what a pluralist, modern society should look like — who got to define what it meant to be "American"? In the complex and turbulent years between World War I and the coming of a new era of reform in 1933, these were the defining themes: limited government, consumerism, and cultural warfare.

In this decade and a half, economic growth and cultural conflict revealed patterns in American life that would hold for the remainder of the twentieth century. The nation had become urban. Mass media and Hollywood shaped popular culture. The automobile became an affordable mass commodity, even a necessity, changing forever the way people lived. Many Americans celebrated the dawning of what they called a "new era," defined by freer individual lifestyles, convenient consumer technologies, and "modern" ways of thinking. Others saw this emerging modernity as a threat to their own social and cultural influence. Groups of native-born, Protestant Americans, for instance, battled with immigrants to define the meaning of race, religion, and national belonging. Many white Americans lashed out at black Americans — in often deadly ways — over economic opportunity. And Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and secular Americans clashed over everything from the prohibition of alcohol to the teaching of evolution.

By the end of the 1920s, political and cultural divides had hardened, and economic abundance proved short-lived, as the nation slid from consumer boom to Great Depression bust in 1929. The United States had grown more affluent, but it was an unsettled affluence. If the question in the decades of populist and progressive insurgent movements had been "whose government?" in the 1920s the question took on a broader cast: "whose country?"



Celebrating the Fourth of July, 1926 This *Life* magazine cover celebrates two famous symbols of the 1920s: jazz music and the "flapper," in her droopy leggings and scandalously short skirt, who loves to dance to its rhythms. The flags at the top record the latest slang expressions, including "so's your old man" and "step on it" ("it" being the accelerator of an automobile, in a decade when cars were America's hottest commodity). Americans embraced new and exuberant forms of consumption and material well being in the 1920s, but in an age of alcohol prohibition and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan, they also fought with one another over deeply held beliefs and values.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1915** New Ku Klux Klan founded; United States occupies Haiti
- **1916** United States occupies Dominican Republic
- **1917** Race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois
- **1919** Race riot in Chicago; Boston police strike; Palmer raids
- **1920** Height of Red Scare; Eighteenth Amendment (prohibition) takes effect; Warren Harding wins presidency
- **1921** Race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma; Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act
- **1923** President Harding dies; Calvin Coolidge assumes presidency; Race riot in Rosewood, Florida; Teapot Dome scandal; Equal Rights Amendment first introduced in Congress
- **1924** National Origins Act; Coolidge wins presidential election against Democrats and La Follette's Progressive Party; First suburban shopping center opens outside Kansas City, Missouri
- **1925** Scopes "monkey trial"; Alain Locke's *The New Negro*
- **1927** Sacco and Vanzetti executed
- **1928** Herbert Hoover wins presidency
- **1929** Stock market crashes precipitate Great Depression

Resurgent Conservatism

World War I brought an end to the long period of reform stretching from the 1880s to the 1910s (Chapter 19). A resurgent political conservatism emerged in the war's aftermath. Progressivism survived, but limited government was the dominant motif of national political life from 1919 to the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932. In place of progressives' call for economic regulation, business priorities now came to the fore. President Calvin Coolidge declared, "The man who builds a factory builds a temple. The man who works there worships there." The same theme prevailed in continued U.S. foreign policy: American business needs were the top priority. The single year of 1919 set the tone for this resurgent conservatism. An antiradical Red Scare, a massive strike wave, and white violence against African Americans together roiled the country and slowed the pace of social change.

The Red Scare

The war effort, overseen by a Democratic administration sympathetic to organized labor, had increased the size and power of labor unions. Membership in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) grew by a third during World War I, reaching more than 3 million by war's end. Workers' expectations also rose as the war economy brought higher pay and better working conditions. To extend these gains, in the first year after the armistice, 1919, more than 4 million wage laborers — one in every five — went on strike, a proportion never since equaled. A walkout of shipyard workers in Seattle sparked a general strike that shut down the entire city. Another strike disrupted the steel industry, as 350,000 workers demanded union recognition and an end to twelve-hour shifts. Most strikes were about basic economic issues — pay and hours — rather than revolution, but the bold exercise of worker power fueled dire warnings of rising radicalism from labor's opponents.

That same year, when the Soviet Union's new Bolshevik leaders founded the Third International with the intent to foster revolutions abroad, some Americans raised fears that the U.S. harbored dangerous radicals. Wartime hatred of Germans was replaced by hostility toward Bolsheviks (labeled "Reds," after the color of communist flags). In a telling example, Ole Hanson, Seattle's mayor during the general strike, wrote a book called *Americanism Versus Bolshevism* and toured the country lecturing about the

threat of revolution. Under the banner of "one hundred percent Americanism," groups such as the newly formed American Legion decried socialists, communists, and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) as un-American. Ironically, American communists remained few in number and had little political influence. Of the 63 million adults in the United States in 1920, no more than 13,000 belonged to either the fledgling U.S. Communist Party or the Communist Labor Party.

The strike wave combined with anti-Bolshevism to create fertile conditions for repression. When alert postal workers discovered thirty-four mail bombs addressed to government officials in April 1919, and in June a bomb detonated outside the Washington town house of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, the repression came. Palmer escaped unharmed, but he used the incident to fan public fears, precipitating a convulsive **Red Scare**. He set up an antiradicalism division in the Justice Department and appointed his assistant J. Edgar Hoover to direct it; in 1935, it became the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In November, Palmer's agents stormed the headquarters of radical organizations. The dragnet captured thousands of immigrants who had committed no crimes but who held anarchist or revolutionary beliefs. Lacking the protection of U.S. citizenship, many were deported without indictment or trial. The **Palmer raids** peaked on a notorious night in January 1920, when federal agents invaded homes and meeting halls, arrested six thousand citizens and aliens (immigrants without U.S. citizenship), and denied the prisoners access to legal counsel.

The Red Scare's fusion of antiradicalism and anti-immigrant sentiment had dire consequences in the case of Sacco and Vanzetti. In May 1920, at the height of the Red Scare, police arrested Nicola Sacco, a shoemaker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, for the murder of two men during a robbery of a shoe company in South Braintree, Massachusetts. Sacco and Vanzetti were Italian immigrants and self-proclaimed anarchists who had evaded the draft. Convicted of the murders, Sacco and Vanzetti sat in jail for six years while supporters appealed their verdicts. In 1927, Judge Webster Thayer denied a motion for a new trial and sentenced them to death. Scholars still debate their guilt or innocence. But the case was clearly biased by prosecutors' emphasis on their ties to radical groups and perhaps on their foreign birth. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti was one of the ugly scars left by the hostilities of the Red Scare.

Fear of "Bolshevism," 1919 This cartoon from the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* in Cleveland, Ohio, reflects nationwide panic over the general strike by 110 unions that paralyzed Seattle in February 1919. Opponents of radical labor unrest had a deeper fear: the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, resulting in creation of the USSR, had brought into existence the world's first enduring communist state. By crushing unions in Seattle with a club of "Law and Order," this image suggests that Uncle Sam could beat back the global communist threat. This aspect of the 1919 Red Scare prefigured, at an early date, the anxieties of the Cold War era. Ohio Historical Society Red Dawn RD

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the relationship between fear of radicalism and the Red Scare.

Racial Backlash

Other forms of repression escalated during and after World War I. The Great Migration drew hundreds of thousands of African Americans from the South to northern and midwestern industrial cities, where they secured wartime jobs and found they could vote and use their new economic clout to build community institutions and work for racial justice. The arrival of these southern migrants during the war deepened existing racial tensions, as African Americans competed with whites — including recent immigrants from Europe — for jobs and scarce housing.

Racism turned such conflicts into violent confrontations during the war. One of the deadliest riots in American history occurred in 1917 in East St. Louis, Illinois, where rampaging whites burned more than 300 black homes and murdered between 50 and 150 black men, women, and children (the exact death toll remains unknown). "This is

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Chicago Race Riot Racial violence exploded in Chicago during the summer of 1919. The riot was sparked when a black teenager, who had violated the unofficial segregation of the city's beaches, was stoned to death by a group of white youths. A week of violent rioting led to 15 white and 23 black deaths and the destruction of more than 1,000 black residences. In this photograph taken during the rioting, white children cheer outside an African American home that the mob had set on fire. Bettmann/Getty Images

a crime against the laws of humanity," said Marcus Garvey, the influential black leader of the Universal Negro Improvement Association.

Tensions also increased after the war because African Americans emerged from the conflict determined to achieve citizenship rights. Millions had loyally supported the war effort, and 370,000 had served in uniform. Returning veterans, empowered by their military service, often refused to accept second-class treatment at the hands of whites, whether North or South. The black man, one observer wrote, "realized that he was part and parcel of the great army of democracy. . . . With this realization came the consciousness of pride in himself as a man, and an American citizen."

These developments sparked white violence. In what became known as **Red Summer** because of bloody battles in more than twenty-four cities, Chicago endured five days of rioting in July 1919 after white youths stoned a black teenager to death on a Lake Michigan beach. By September, the national death toll from racial violence that year reached 120. There were also 78 lynchings in 1919, up from 48 in 1917. That number included several murders of returning black soldiers in uniform.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of violent racial confrontations on African American communities in the early twentieth century.

Attacks on African Americans continued after 1919. The oil boomtown of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was the site of a horrific incident in June 1921. Sensational, false reports of an alleged rape helped incite white mobs who resented growing black prosperity. Anger focused on the 8,000 residents of Tulsa's prosperous Greenwood district, locally known as "the black Wall Street." The mobs — helped by National Guardsmen, who arrested African Americans who resisted — burned thirty-five blocks of Greenwood and killed several dozen people. The city's leading paper acknowledged that "semi-organized bands of white men systematically applied the torch, while others shot on sight men of color." It took a decade for black residents to rebuild Greenwood. And in the January 1923 Rosewood Massacre, mobs of furious whites in a small Florida town torched houses and hunted down African Americans, killing at least six. Police and state authorities refused to intervene, and the town of Rosewood vanished from the map.

The Business of America

African Americans were not the only ones who faced challenges to their hard-won gains. So did labor unions. Following the strike wave of 1919, business leaders and their political allies fought back against organized labor, which entered a decade of decline. Across the country, employers advocated what they called the **American Plan** of employment — refusing to negotiate with unions. Facing a strike of Boston's police force, Massachusetts governor Calvin Coolidge illustrated this defiant approach by declaring, "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime." A majority of the public supported the governor, and Republicans rewarded Coolidge by nominating him for the vice-presidency in 1920.

Decisions by the Supreme Court were an additional factor in organized labor's decline. In *Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers of America* (1925), the Court ruled that a striking union could be penalized for illegal restraint of trade. Such

decisions, along with the aggressive antiunion campaigns under the American Plan, caused membership in labor unions to fall from 5.1 million in 1920 to 3.6 million in 1929—just 10 percent of the nonagricultural workforce. Labor's long-sought goal of organizing the nation's workforce retreated further from realization.

In place of unions, the 1920s marked the heyday of **welfare capitalism**, a system of labor relations that stressed a company's responsibility for its employees' well-being. Employers hoped this would build a loyal workforce and head off labor unrest. Automaker Henry Ford, among others, pioneered this system before World War I, famously paying $5 a day. Ford also offered a profit-sharing plan to employees who met the standards of its Sociological Department, which investigated to ensure that workers' private lives met the company's moral standards. At a time when government unemployment compensation and Social Security did not exist, General Electric and U.S. Steel provided health insurance and old-age pensions. Other employers built athletic facilities and selectively offered paid vacations. Such plans covered only about 5 percent of the industrial workforce, however, and when faced with new financial pressures in the late 1920s, even Henry Ford cut back his $5 day. In the tangible benefits it offered workers, welfare capitalism had distinct limitations.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

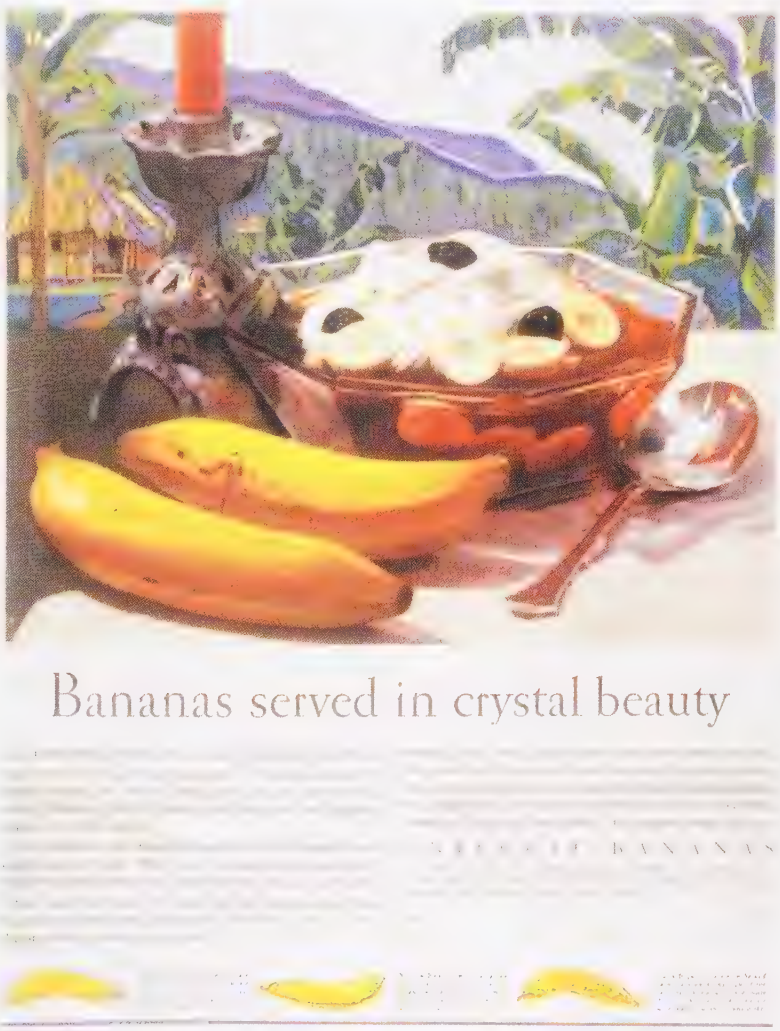
CONTEXTUALIZATION

What role did World War I play in the Red Scare, antiblack violence, and labor defeats, and what connections might we draw among these events?

Dollar Diplomacy American business interests shaped foreign affairs as well. The thrust of U.S. foreign policy after World War I continued to be in Latin America. There, under a policy initiated by Taft and continued under Wilson, presidents worked to advance U.S. business interests, especially by encouraging private banks to make foreign loans. Policymakers hoped loans would stimulate growth and increase demand for U.S. products in developing markets. Bankers, for their part, wanted government guarantees of repayment in countries they perceived as weak or unstable.

Officials provided such assurance. In 1922, for example, when American banks offered an immense loan to Bolivia (at a hefty profit), State Department officials pressured the South American nation to accept it. A similar arrangement was reached with El Salvador's government in 1923. In other cases, the United States intervened militarily, often to force repayment of debt. To implement such policies, the U.S. Marines occupied Nicaragua almost continuously from 1912 to 1933, the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924, and Haiti from 1915 to 1934. White Americans viewed these nations through demeaning racial stereotypes. They regarded Haitians as primitive savages or childlike people who needed U.S. guidance and supervision. One commander testified that his troops saw themselves as "trustees of a huge estate that belonged to minors. . . . The Haitians were our wards."

At home, critics denounced loan guarantees and military interventions as **dollar diplomacy**. The term was coined in 1924 by Samuel



American Companies Abroad In the 1920s, U.S. foreign policy was increasingly devoted to protecting the overseas investments of American companies. United Fruit was one of the many American companies that found opportunities for investment in South America in the 1920s and that introduced tropical foods to the United States consumer market ("From the Tropics to Your Table"). The company used elaborate and informative color advertisements to sell its products. Bananas were sufficiently new to that market that the ads explained to consumers how to store them and how to tell when bananas were ripe ("Just watch for flecks of brown on the golden skin"). Image courtesy of The Advertising Archives

Guy Inman, a Disciples of Christ missionary who toured U.S.-occupied Haiti and the Dominican Republic. "The United States," Inman declared, "cannot go on destroying with **impunity** the sovereignty of other peoples, however weak." African American leaders also denounced the Haitian occupation. On behalf of the International Council of Women of the Darker Races and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a delegation conducted a fact-finding tour of Haiti in 1926. Their report exposed, among other things, the sexual exploitation of Haitian women by U.S. soldiers.

AP® EXAM TIP

Discuss why the concept of "dollar diplomacy" was so controversial.

Inman and other critics put dollar diplomacy on the defensive by the late 1920s. The poor results spoke for themselves. Loans got repaid, securing bankers' profits, but the proceeds often ended up in the pockets of local elites; U.S. policies failed to build broad-based prosperity overseas. Military intervention had even worse results. In Haiti, for example, the marines crushed peasant protests and helped the Haitian elite consolidate power. U.S. occupation thus contributed to the harsh dictatorships that Haitians endured through the rest of the twentieth century. President Franklin Roosevelt initiated the "Good Neighbor" policy with respect to Latin America in 1933 in an effort to reverse these ill effects.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the economic goals of U.S. foreign policymakers in the 1920s, and what were their outcomes?

Dollar diplomacy guided U.S. interests in Latin America, but behind the scenes many diplomats considered East Asia more critical to long-term American foreign policy. To ease growing tensions there, the United States signed a major treaty in 1922, known as the Four Powers Act, with Japan, Great Britain, and France, limiting naval strength in the Pacific. A diplomatic triumph for President Harding, the treaty failed to address underlying East-West international rivalries because it reinforced European and American naval superiority over Japan. That island nation would gradually come to see the United States, not the traditional European powers, as its principal **adversary** for dominance in Asia.

Politics of Normalcy

The postwar conservative turn was particularly evident in national politics. With President Woodrow Wilson ailing from a stroke, in 1920 Democrats nominated Ohio governor James M. Cox for president, on a platform calling for U.S. participation in the League of Nations and continuation of Wilson's progressivism. Republicans, led by their probusiness wing, tapped genial Ohio senator Warren G. Harding. In a dig at Wilson's idealism, Harding promised "not **nostrums** but normalcy." On election day, he won in a landslide, beginning an era of Republican political dominance that lasted until 1932.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the associated state to the idea of government activism supported by Progressives.

Harding's most energetic appointee was Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, well known as head of the wartime Food Administration. Under Hoover's direction, the Commerce Department helped create two thousand trade associations representing companies in almost every major industry. Government officials worked closely with the associations, providing statistical research, suggesting industry-wide standards, and promoting stable prices and wages. Hoover hoped that through voluntary business cooperation with government — an **associated state** — he could achieve what progressives had sought through governmental regulation.

Other changes were afoot in Washington, D.C. The practice of lobbying Congress was a long-standing tradition among businesses, trade unions, and other organized interests. That practice grew in scale and became more formal and systematic in the 1920s. Noting the change, one observer joked that "the lobbyists were so thick they were constantly falling over one another." Hundreds of groups set up offices to lobby members of Congress — from religious and civic organizations to the Anti-Saloon League — but business took the lead. The National Association of Manufacturers, the Chamber of Commerce, and public utilities (water and electric companies), among many other business organizations, assumed an ever-larger role in the legislative process.

More malign links between government and corporate interests were soon revealed. When President Harding died suddenly of a heart attack in August 1923, evidence was

just emerging that parts of his administration were riddled with corruption. The worst scandal concerned secret leasing of government oil reserves in **Teapot Dome**, Wyoming, and Elk Hills, California, to private companies. Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall was eventually convicted of taking over $300,000 in bribes and became the first cabinet officer in U.S. history to serve a prison sentence.

Vice President Calvin Coolidge became president upon Harding's death. He maintained Republican dominance, calling for limited government and tax cuts for business while campaigning for election in his own right in 1924. Rural and urban Democrats, deeply divided over such issues as prohibition and immigration restriction, deadlocked at their national convention; after 102 ballots, delegates finally nominated John W. Davis, a Wall Street lawyer. Coolidge easily defeated Davis and staved off a challenge from Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, who tried to resuscitate the Progressive Party. The 1924 Progressive platform called for stronger government regulation at home and international efforts to reduce weapons production and prevent war. "Free men of every generation," La Follette had once declared in a speech, "must combat the renewed efforts of organized force and greed." In the end, Coolidge received 15.7 million votes to Davis's 8.4 million and La Follette's 4.9 million.

As the progressive reform ethos faded and a conservative impulse grew stronger, the formative period between 1919 and 1932 revealed important tendencies in national political life. Antiradicalism became more pervasive. Business and government became more cooperative. Lobbying surged as a feature of the legislative process. Each development would remain important throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How and why did the United States take a conservative turn in the 1920s?

To see a longer excerpt of the Progressive Party platform, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

In what ways did business and government become more closely linked following World War I?

Making a Modern Consumer Economy

Spurred by rapid expansion during the war, and benefitting from earlier innovations in mass production such as the assembly line, American business thrived in the 1920s. Corporations expanded more and more into overseas markets, while at home a truly national consumer culture — emphasizing convenience, leisure, and fun — took shape. The years between 1922 and 1929 mark a crucial turning point in the emergence of a mass consumer economy in the United States.

AP® EXAM TIP

The rise of mass-produced consumer culture in the 1920s is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

Postwar Abundance

Productivity proved to be the key. Manufacturing efficiencies accumulated since the turn of the century — the assembly line, mechanization, electrification — made possible enormous increases in productivity. If an American worker who made 6 toasters a day in 1920 fell asleep and woke up in 1929, she or he could now make 10 toasters a day — an incredible 66 percent more. Also, national per capita income rose an impressive 24 percent in that period. Productivity gains and rising incomes, especially among the middle class, meant an explosion of consumer goods. From toasters and radios to telephones, vacuum cleaners, and automobiles, a vast array of consumer products became more affordable. Americans bought them in droves, spurring an economic boom that lasted until the onset of the Great Depression in 1929.

Large-scale corporations continued to replace small business in many sectors of the economy. By 1929, through successive waves of consolidation, the two hundred largest businesses had come to control almost half of the country's nonbanking corporate wealth. The greatest number of mergers occurred in rising industries such as chemicals (with DuPont in the lead) and electrical appliances (General Electric), as well as among

Wall Street banks. Aided by Washington's dollar diplomats, U.S. companies exercised growing global power. Seeking cheaper livestock, giant American meatpackers opened plants in Argentina; the United Fruit Company developed plantations in Costa Rica, Honduras, and Guatemala; General Electric set up production facilities in Latin America, Asia, and Australia.

Despite the boom, the U.S. economy had areas of significant weakness throughout the 1920s. Agriculture, which still employed one-fourth of all American workers, never fully recovered from the postwar recession. Once Europe's economy revived, its farmers flooded world markets with grain and other farm products, causing agricultural prices to fall. Other industries, including coal and textiles, languished for similar reasons. As a consequence, many rural Americans shared little of the decade's prosperity. The bottom 40 percent of American families earned an average annual income of only $725 (about $10,000 today). Many, especially rural tenants and sharecroppers, languished in poverty and malnutrition.

Consumer Culture

In middle-class homes, Americans of the 1920s embraced a consumer ethos. They sat down to a breakfast of Kellogg's corn flakes before getting into Ford Model T's to drive to work or shop at Safeway. On weekends, they might head to the local theater to see the newest Charlie Chaplin film. By 1929, electric refrigerators and vacuum cleaners came into use in affluent homes; 40 percent of American households owned a radio. The advertising industry reached new levels of ambition, entering what one historian calls the era of the "aggressive hard sell." The 1920s gave birth, for example, to fashion modeling and style consulting. "Sell them their dreams," one radio announcer urged advertisers in 1923. "People don't buy things to have things. . . . They buy hope — hope of what your merchandise will do for them."

Many poor and affluent families shared one thing in common: they stretched their incomes, small or large, through new forms of borrowing such as auto loans and installment plans. "Buy now, pay later," said the ads, and millions did. Anyone, no matter how rich, could get into debt, but **consumer credit** was particularly perilous for those living on the economic margins. In Chicago, one Lithuanian man described his neighbor's situation: "She ain't got no money. Sure she buys on credit, clothes for the children and everything." Such borrowing brought consumer merchandise within reach of more and more Americans, but the accumulated debt also turned out to be a factor in the bust of 1929.

Hollywood The American actress Marion Davies, playing a part in which she impersonates her male cousin to defeat a nefarious plot, in the 1926 silent film, *Beverly of Grasustark*. In the decade of the 1920s, Hollywood became the center of moviemaking in the world, and stars like Davies, Charlie Chaplin, Mary Pickford, Rudolph Valentino, and many others achieved both national and global popularity. Sound films were first introduced in the late 1920s and once the technology was perfected, they quickly became standard in the industry.

Hollywood Movies became a centerpiece of consumer culture. In the 1910s, the moviemaking industry had begun relocating to southern California to take advantage of cheap land, sunshine, and varied scenery within easy reach. The large studios — United Artists, Paramount, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer — were run mainly by Eastern European Jewish immigrants like Adolph Zukor, who arrived from Hungary in the 1880s. Starting with fur sales, Zukor and a partner then set up five-cent theaters in Manhattan. "I spent a good deal of time watching the faces of the audience," Zukor recalled. "With a little experience I could see, hear, and 'feel' the reaction to each melodrama and comedy." Founding Paramount Pictures, Zukor signed emerging stars and produced successful feature-length films.

By 1920, **Hollywood** reigned as the world's movie capital, producing nearly 90 percent of all films. Large, ornate movie palaces attracted both middle-class and working-class audiences. Idols such as Rudolph Valentino, Mary Pickford, and Douglas Fairbanks set national trends in style. Thousands of young women followed the lead of actress Clara Bow, Hollywood's famous **flapper**, who flaunted her boyish figure. Decked out in knee-length skirts, flappers shocked the older generation by smoking and wearing makeup. They represented only a tiny minority of women, but thanks to the movies and advertising, flappers became influential symbols of women's sexual and social emancipation. In cities, young immigrant women eagerly bought makeup and the latest flapper fashions.

Hollywood in Europe

European film studios struggled after World War I to reach audiences who had fallen in love with American movies. Working-class Europeans, in particular, preferred Hollywood's offerings to the films produced in Europe. In this 1928 article from a cinematography journal, German expressionist filmmaker Erich Pommer suggested new strategies for expanding an audience for European films. Expressionists, influenced by romanticism and modernism, explored dark themes such as spiritual crisis and insanity. (A famous example of expressionist painting is Edvard Munch's *The Scream*.) Pommer worked for American studios and later fled to the United States after the rise of Hitler.

The towering importance of the American motion picture on the world's markets cannot be safely explained by the unlimited financial resources at the disposal of the American producers. . . . Its main reason is the mentality of the American picture, which, notwithstanding all attacks and claims to the contrary, apparently comes nearest to the taste of international cinema audiences.

. . . The specific and unique element of the American film is the fact of its being absolutely uncomplicated. Being what is called "naïve" it knows no problems. . . .

Universal Appeal. It is really preferable to have a picture too light rather than too heavy, because in the latter case there is a danger that the public will not understand the story. This is the worst thing that can happen with a picture. . . .

Spectacular Appeal. The international appeal of a picture has its foundation in a story. It is totally independent of the capital invested and of the splendor and luxury used in its production. The fact that in most cases the supers and monumental pictures have proved to be such international successes, does not disprove this claim. Such productions always have a simple story of universal appeal, because it is simply impossible to use spiritual thoughts and impressions of the soul in a picture deluxe. The splendour in such production is not merely created for decoration — it is its outstanding purpose. . . . But splendour means show, and a show is always and everywhere easy to understand. . . .

SOURCE: Excerpt from "The International Picture: A Lesson on Simplicity," by Erich Pommer, from *"Film Europe" and "Film America": Cinema, Commerce and Cultural Exchange 1920–1939*, edited by Andrew Higson and Richard Maltby, 1999, ISBN: 978-0-85989-546-0. Used by permission of Exeter University Press.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How does Pommer characterize the attraction of popular American films for European audiences? What does he mean when he calls those films "naïve"?
2. How does Pommer propose to produce German films that will compete with Hollywood? What constraints and challenges did he face?

Jazz stars helped popularize the style among working-class African Americans. Mexican American teenagers joined the trend in major cities such as San Antonio and Los Angeles.

Politicians quickly grasped the publicity value of American radio and film to foreign relations. In 1919, with government support, General Electric spearheaded the creation of Radio Corporation of America (RCA) to expand U.S. presence in foreign radio markets. RCA — which had a federal appointee on its board of directors — emerged as a major provider of radio transmission in Latin America and East Asia. Meanwhile, by 1925, American films made up 95 percent of the movies screened in Britain, 80 percent in Latin America, and 70 percent in France (AP® America in the World). The United States was experimenting with what historians call **soft power** — the exercise of popular cultural influence — as radio and film exported the American standard of consumption to the world.

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the influence of mass media on the rise of a national culture in the 1920s.

The Automobile and Suburbanization

No possession proved more popular than the automobile, a showpiece of modern consumer capitalism that revolutionized American life. The Ford Motor Company introduced the first widely affordable automobile, the Model T, in 1908, but the industry experienced its most dramatic growth in the 1920s. Car sales played a major role in the decade's economic boom: in one year, 1929, Americans spent $2.58 billion on

Automobiles Michigan Boulevard in Chicago in 1930. In a single generation, automobiles transformed American cities and the countryside alike. As more and more Americans made cars their primary form of transportation, auto travel created a booming business in gas stations, roadside motels, campgrounds, and sightseeing destinations. But cars also choked city streets that were once the province of horse-drawn carriages and electric trains. Cities needed new roads, traffic signs, and rules governing traffic, and the booming automobile industry stimulated highway construction across the country. The automobile was a technology but also a consumer item that changed virtually every aspect of American life. ullstein bild/Getty Images.

automobiles. By the end of the decade, they owned 26 million cars—about 80 percent of the world's automobiles—or an average of one for every five people (it was one for every forty in France). The number of cars on American roads tripled in ten years.

The auto industry's exuberant expansion rippled through the economy. It stimulated steel, petroleum, chemical, rubber, and glass production and, directly or indirectly, created 3.7 million jobs. Highway construction became a billion-dollar-a-year enterprise, financed by federal subsidies and state gasoline taxes. Car ownership spurred urban sprawl and, in 1924, the first suburban shopping center: Country Club Plaza outside Kansas City, Missouri. But cars were expensive, and most Americans bought them on credit. Alfred Sloan, the president of General Motors and Henry Ford's primary competitor, founded the first national consumer credit agency to help Americans buy more Chevrolets. Other car companies followed. Amid the boom of the 1920s, few worried whether purchasing such expensive items on credit was a good idea. When asked why her family purchased a car before installing indoor plumbing, one woman replied simply, "Why, you can't go to town in a bathtub."

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the impact of the automobile on American cultural, social, and economic life is critical to success on the AP® exam.

Cars changed the way Americans spent their leisure time, as proud drivers took their machines on the road. An infrastructure of gas stations, motels, and drive-in restaurants soon catered to drivers. Railroad travel faltered. The American Automobile Association, founded in 1902, estimated that by 1929 almost a third of the population took vacations by car. "I had a few days after I got my wheat cut," reported one Kansas farmer, "so I just loaded my family . . . and lit out." An elite Californian complained that automobile travel was no longer "aristocratic." "The clerks and their wives and sweethearts," observed a reporter, "driving through the Wisconsin lake country, camping at Niagara, scattering tin cans and pop bottles over the Rockies, made those places taboo for bankers."

Rising middle-class incomes, new forms of borrowing, and the automobile combined powerfully in the 1920s to produce a major suburban housing boom. Cars were key. The nineteenth-century "streetcar suburbs" allowed the nation's affluent to live outside central cities, but in communities narrowly built along the tracks. After World War I, automobile suburbs grew like the crabgrass of suburban lawns—fast and everywhere. "Cities are spreading out," *National Geographic* announced in a 1923 special feature. Long Island's Nassau County, a major suburb of New York City, tripled in population, and the fifteen fastest-growing towns in Connecticut were all suburbs.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did the radio, Hollywood movies, and the automobile exemplify the opportunities and the risks of 1920s consumer culture?

Spreading out happened everywhere—from New York to Chicago, St. Louis to Seattle—but the growth of Los Angeles epitomized the new role of automobiles in American cities. Housing subdivisions opened monthly across a vast expanse of southern California, and the automobile gave birth to an explosive metropolis. Its population more than doubled in the 1920s alone, and Los Angeles went from the tenth largest American city to the fifth in just ten years. Southern California became identified with what historians call "automobility," and Los Angeles led the way in defining American car culture.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the primary characteristics of the American economy in the 1920s?

The Politics and Culture of a Diversifying Nation

At the dawn of the 1920s, public life in the United States had grown immeasurably more diverse. Women could now vote. More than 24 million immigrants — hailing primarily from Europe but also from Latin America and East Asia — called the country home. They spoke different languages, practiced a variety of religions, and followed unique cultural traditions (AP® Interpreting the Past). The Great Migration brought more than one million African Americans from all parts of the South to northern cities such as Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. Cities grew at the expense of rural areas. Such dramatic changes led to social tensions and pronounced conflict over how the nation would be defined.

Women in a New Age

At the start of the 1920s, many progressives hoped the attainment of women's voting rights would offer new leverage to tackle poverty. They created organizations like the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, a Washington-based advocacy group. The committee's greatest accomplishment was the first federally funded health-care legislation, the **Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act** (1921). Sheppard-Towner provided federal funds for medical clinics, prenatal education programs, and visiting nurses, improving health care for the poor and significantly lowering infant mortality rates. It also marked the first time that Congress designated federal funds for the states to encourage them to administer a social-welfare program. But other reforms stalled, and the decade proved not to be a watershed of welfare legislation.

Other activist women focused on securing legal equality with men. In 1923, Alice Paul, founder of the National Woman's Party, persuaded congressional allies to consider an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution. It stated simply that "men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States." Advocates were hopeful; Wisconsin had passed a similar law two years earlier, and it helped women fight gender discrimination. But opponents pointed out that the ERA would threaten recent labor laws that protected women from workplace abuses. Such laws recognized women's vulnerable place in a heavily sex-segregated labor market. Would a theoretical statement of "equality" help poor and working women more than existing protections did? This question divided women's rights advocates. Introduced repeatedly in Congress over the next five decades, the ERA was debated again and again until the bitter ratification struggle of the 1970s (Chapter 28).

African American Women African American women had distinct priorities. Groups such as the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) fought for suffrage in the 1910s, just as white women had. But the constitutional right of black women to vote was meaningless in the South, where disfranchisement was law. Black women sought racial, not just gender, equality. When Addie Hunton, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and sixty black women from the NACW urged the National Woman's Party to take up their cause, Paul refused, declaring disfranchisement to be a racial not a gender injustice. Hunton countered that "five million women in the United States cannot be denied their rights without all women of

The League of Women Voters The League of Women Voters was the brainchild of Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Formed in 1920, as the Nineteenth Amendment was about to give women the vote, the league undertook to educate Americans in responsible citizenship and to win enactment of legislation favorable to women. The league helped secure passage of the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921, which provided federal aid for maternal and child-care programs. In the 1930s, members campaigned for the enactment of Social Security and other social-welfare legislation.

AP INTERPRETING THE PAST

How Did Immigrants Experience America at the Turn of the Century?

From the half century between the Civil War and World War I, more than 24 million people migrated to the United States. Many of these people came from Europe, but others left Asia, Latin America, and Africa in search of better opportunities or refuge in the United States. This turn-of-the-century migration included people from regions of southern and central Europe who had not previously come to the United States in such large numbers. Their presence in America's urban centers changed those places, but those immigrants were also changed. The extent to which migration from the Old to the New World affected these millions of people has, however, been a topic of debate among historians.

Oscar Handlin's classic history of the immigrant experience, *The Uprooted* (1951), defined the way historians thought about the topic for a generation. John Bodnar, writing three decades later, offered a different interpretation in *The Transplanted*. To what extent do the titles of their books hint at the argument each makes?

OSCAR HANDLIN

SOURCE: Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1951), 144.

Settlement in America had snipped the continuity of the immigrants' work and ideas, of their religious life . . . newcomers pushed their roots into many different soils. Along the city's unyielding asphalt streets, beside the rutted roads of mill or mining towns, amidst the exciting prairie acres, they established the homes of the New World. But . . . nowhere could they transplant the European village. . . . The pressure of that strangeness exerted a deep influence upon the character of resettlement, upon the usual forms of behavior, and upon the modes of communal action that emerged as the immigrants became Americans. . . . The old conditions of living could not survive in the new conditions of space.

JOHN BODNAR

SOURCE: John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), 83–84.

Kin and friends were free to assist each other in entering America by providing access to jobs and homes and supplying important information of labor market conditions. New arrivals were adept at determining where they might enter a very large economy. The immigrant family economy survived and flourished among most newcomers in industrial America because new economic structures actually reinforced traditional ways of ordering life. . . . [I]ndividual inclinations were muted and the household . . . superseded all other goals and objectives. . . . Members of nearly all groups received indoctrination in the need to remain loyal to the familial and household unit. . . . [I]n the movement to a capitalist world and in the initial decades of settlement, familial and communal networks abounded.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How does Handlin's argument about immigrants as "uprooted" people differ from Bodnar's description of them as "transplanted"?
2. According to each author, what role did family and community play in the immigrant experience?
3. Which point of view — Handlin's or Bodnar's — is better supported by the chapter narrative? Give specific examples to support your argument.

the United States feeling the effect of that denial. No women are free until all women are free."

Other challenges remained. Women proved to be effective lobbyists for a variety of causes, but the Republican and Democratic parties endured as largely male domains. Finding that women did not vote as a bloc, politicians in both parties began to accord their votes less weight. New reforms failed to gain support, and others were rolled back. Many congressmen, for example, had supported the Sheppard-Towner Act because they feared the voting power of women, but Congress ended the program in the late 1920s.

New Woman Magazines, advertisements, and Hollywood movies crafted an idealized image of the American "new woman" in the 1920s. She had thrown off Victorian

modesty and claimed a place for herself alongside men in a new culture of consumption and fun. Such images, used primarily to sell products to the middle class, exaggerated reality. But that did not mean women's lives remained unchanged. The nineteenth-century notion of separate spheres for men and women had eroded considerably by 1930. More women attended college than ever before. Female athletes such as the golfer Glenna Collett, adventurers such as the celebrated pilot Amelia Earhart, and performers such as the brilliant jazz singer Josephine Baker carved out new, more liberated roles for women in public life.

Social change takes time, however, and for the majority of American women in the 1920s ordinary life was far less glamorous. In some professions, such as medicine, women actually declined as a percentage of the workforce: only 3 percent of lawyers and 4 percent of physicians were women in the decade. Women's wages lagged far behind those of men, and women remained confined to strictly gendered occupations: sales clerks in the new department stores, secretaries in the growing corporate world, and low-paid assembly-line workers in industry, alongside their traditional roles as domestic servants. African American and Latino women could not even get jobs as clerks and secretaries. Thus although American women in this era, especially the young, left behind the Victorian prescriptions of feminine modesty and confinement to a female-only separate sphere, they had yet to fully transform women's second-class standing.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identify the causes of and reactions to the rise of women as a political and cultural force in the 1920s.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Explain why American women might have been more politically united prior to achieving the vote than afterward.

Culture Wars

By 1929, ninety-three U.S. cities had populations of more than 100,000. New York City's population exceeded 7 million; Los Angeles's had exploded to 1.2 million. The 1920 census marked the first time there were more urban than rural Americans. The lives and beliefs of urban Americans, however, often differed dramatically from those in small towns and farming areas. One sharp critic, the writer Sinclair Lewis, wrote three satirical novels—*Main Street* (1920), *Babbitt* (1922), and *Elmer Gantry* (1927)—that mocked small-town life for its religiosity and, as Lewis saw it, hypocrisy and lack of sophistication (AP® Analyzing Voices).

In a decade of conflict between traditional and modern worldviews, the urban-rural split embodied by Lewis represented one line of conflict among many. Others that came to the fore included Protestant versus Catholic and Jewish; religious versus secular; native born versus immigrant; and white versus black. A series of cultural battles in the 1920s revealed a stark conflict over the kinds of values, beliefs, and even people deemed "American."

AP® EXAM TIP

As you read through this section, compare the cultural controversies prevalent in the 1920s over alcohol, education, and immigration.

Prohibition Rural and native-born Protestants started the decade with the achievement of a longtime goal: national prohibition of liquor (Chapter 17). The two principal antialcohol organizations, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League, had long hailed temperance as good for health and Christian virtue. In the 1910s, some progressives joined the campaign, convinced that alcohol kept immigrant workers in poverty and the saloon was a source of political corruption. World War I, too, spurred the cause. Mobilizing the economy for war, Congress limited brewers' and distillers' use of barley and other scarce grains, causing consumption to decline. Moreover, anti-German hysteria identified the many German breweries in American cities, like Pabst and Anheuser-Busch, with the wartime enemy. The decades-long prohibition campaign culminated with Congress's passage of the **Eighteenth Amendment** in 1917. Ratified over the next two years by nearly every state and taking effect in January 1920, the amendment prohibited "manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors" anywhere in the United States. It was enforced by the federal government under the 1920 **Volstead Act**.

Defenders of prohibition, especially native-born Protestants in small towns, celebrated prohibition as a victory over sin and vice. In urban areas, though, thousands

Urban Writers Describe Small-Town America

In the early twentieth century, the United States was becoming an urban society. By 1920, life outside the metropolis seemed sufficiently remarkable to warrant sociological investigation — or at least, city people thought so. Presented here are three views of rural and small-town America, all published during the 1920s. Though cities had become the wellspring of American intellectual life, urban writers juxtaposed their own experiences with those of people they thought of as living in "Middletown, U.S.A."

SINCLAIR LEWIS
Main Street

In his novel *Main Street* (1920), Sinclair Lewis portrayed the fictional midwestern town of Gopher Prairie. In the excerpts below, Lewis's narrator describes the reactions of young, urban Carol Kennicott, wife of the town's new doctor, and Bea Sorenson, a Swedish American farm girl.

SOURCE: Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1920), 33–40.

"When Carol had walked for thirty-two minutes she had completely covered the town, east and west, north and south; and she stood at the corner of Main Street and Washington Avenue and despaired.

Main Street with its two-story brick shops, its story-and-a-half wooden residences, its muddy expanse from concrete walk to walk, its huddle of Fords and lumber-wagons, was too small to absorb her. The broad, straight, unenticing gashes of the streets let in the grasping prairie on every side. She realized the vastness and the emptiness of the land. The skeleton iron windmill on the farm a few blocks away, at the north end of Main Street, was like the ribs of a dead cow. She thought of the coming of the Northern winter, when the unprotected houses would crouch together in terror of storms galloping out of that wild waste. They were so small and weak, the little brown houses. They were shelters for sparrows. . . .

She wanted to run, fleeing from the encroaching prairie, demanding the security of a great city. Her dreams of creating a beautiful town were ludicrous. Oozing out from every drab wall, she felt a forbidding spirit which she could never conquer.

She trailed down the street on one side, back on the other, glancing into the cross streets. It was a private Seeing Main Street tour. She was within ten minutes beholding not only the heart of a place called Gopher Prairie, but ten thousand towns from Albany to San Diego.

Dyer's Drug Store, a corner building of regular and unreal blocks of artificial stone. Inside the store, a greasy marble soda-fountain with an electric lamp of red and green and curdled-yellow mosaic shade. Pawed-over heaps of toothbrushes and combs and packages of shaving-soap. Shelves of soap-cartons, teething-rings, garden-seeds, and patent medicines in yellow packages — nostrums for consumption, for 'women's diseases' — notorious mixtures of opium and alcohol, in the very shop to which her husband sent patients for the filling of prescriptions.

The train which brought Carol to Gopher Prairie also brought Miss Bea Sorenson.

Miss Bea was a stalwart, corn-colored, laughing young woman, and she was bored by farm-work. She desired the excitements of city-life, and the way to enjoy city-life was, she had decided, to 'go get a yob as a hired girl in Gopher Prairie.' . . .

Bea had never before been in a town larger than Scandia Crossing, which has sixty-seven inhabitants.

As she marched up the street she was meditating that it didn't hardly seem like it was possible there could be so many folks all in one place at the same time. My! It would take years to get acquainted with them all. And swell people, too! A fine big gentleman in a new pink shirt with a diamond, and not no washed-out blue denim working-shirt. A lovely lady in a longery dress (but it must be an awful hard dress to wash). And the stores! . . . A drug store with a soda fountain that was just huge, awful long, and all lovely marble . . . and the soda spouts, they were silver, and they came right out of the bottom of the lamp-stand! Behind the fountain there were glass shelves, and bottles of new kinds of soft drinks, that nobody ever heard of. Suppose a fella took you *there*!"

ANZIA YEZIERSKA
Bread Givers

A child of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, Anzia Yezierska grew up on the Lower East Side of New York City. In her

flagrantly ignored the law, many mocking prohibition as old-fashioned Puritanism. Patrons flocked to urban speakeasies, or illegal drinking sites, which flourished in almost every major city; one raid on a Chicago speakeasy yielded 200,000 gallons of alcohol. Profits from the secret clubs enriched notorious gangsters such as Chicago's Al Capone and New York's Jack Diamond. Immigrants saw prohibition as an attack on the working-class saloon and also resisted the ban, but as the price of alcohol soared on the illegal market it often proved out of reach for the laboring classes. Prohibition's most

autobiographical novel *Bread Givers* (1925), Yezierska described her arrival in the Ohio town where she attended college.

SOURCE: From *Bread Givers* by Anzia Yezierska. Copyright © 1970 by Louise Levitas Henriksen. Reprinted by permission of Persea Books, Inc., New York. All rights reserved.

"Before this, New York was all of America to me. But now I came to a town of quiet streets, shaded with green trees. No crowds, no tenements. No hurrying noise to beat the race of the hours. Only a leisured quietness whispered in the air: Peace. . . .

Each house had its own green grass in front, its own free space all around, and it faced the street with the calm security of being owned for generations, and not rented by the month from a landlord. In the early twilight, it was like a picture out of fairyland to see people sitting on their porches, lazily swinging in their hammocks, or watering their own growing flowers.

So these are the real Americans, I thought, thrilled by the lean, straight bearing of the passers-by. They had none of that terrible fight for bread and rent that I always saw in the New York people's eyes. . . . All the young people I had ever seen were shut up in factories. But here were young girls and young men enjoying life, free from the worry for a living. . . . The spick-and-span cleanliness of these people! It smelled from them, the soap and the bathing. Their fingernails so white and pink. . . . What a feast of happenings each day of college was to those other students. Societies, dances, letters from home, packages of food, midnight spreads and even birthday parties. I never knew that there were people glad enough of life to celebrate the day they were born."

ROBERT S. LYND AND HELEN MERRELL LYND

Middletown

In 1929, sociologists Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd published *Middletown*, a study of life in a small midwestern city. Middletown was not a single community but a composite of several communities studied by the Lynds.

SOURCE: Excerpt from *Middletown: A Study in American Culture*, by Robert S. Lynd and Helen M. Lynd. Copyright © 1929 by Harcourt, Inc. and renewed 1957 by Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd. Reprinted by permission of Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company. All rights reserved.

"The first real automobile appeared in Middletown in 1900. . . . At the close of 1923 there were 6,221 passenger cars in the city, one for every 6.1 persons, or roughly two for every three families. . . . As, at the turn of the century, business class people began to feel apologetic if they did not have a telephone, so ownership of an automobile has now reached the point of being an accepted essential of normal living. . . .

According to an officer of a Middletown automobile financing company, 75 to 90 percent of the cars purchased locally are bought on time payment, and a working man earning $35.00 a week frequently plans to use one week's pay each month as payment for his car. The automobile has apparently unsettled the habit of careful saving for some families. . . . 'I'll go without food before I'll see us give up the car,' said one woman emphatically. . . .

Many families feel that an automobile is justified as an agency holding the family group together. . . . [But] the fact that 348 boys and 382 girls in the three upper years of the high school placed 'use of the automobile' fifth and fourth respectively in a list of twelve possible sources of disagreement between them and their parents suggests that this may be an increasing decentralizing agent. . . .

If the automobile touches the rest of Middletown's living at many points, it has revolutionized its leisure . . . making leisure-time enjoyment a regularly expected part of every day and week rather than an occasional event. . . . The frequency of movie attendance of high school boys and girls is about equal, business class families tend to go more often than do working class families, and children of both groups attend more often without their parents than do all the individuals or combinations of family members put together. . . . It is probable that time formerly spent in lodges, saloons, and unions is now being spent in part at the movies, at least occasionally with other members of the family. Like the automobile and radio, the movies [break] up leisure time into an individual, family, or small group affair."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What attitudes toward the small town and big city does *Main Street* represent? Why do you think Lewis includes views as different as Carol's and Bea's?
2. How does the urban experience of Yezierska's narrator shape her reaction to life in an Ohio town? How might small-town residents have reacted to her description of them as "the real Americans"? How might Lewis have responded to Yezierska's description?
3. How do the two novelists (Lewis and Yezierska) differ from the sociologists (the Lynds) in the issues they emphasize, and in their tone and point of view? What features of small-town life does each text emphasize?

ardent supporters were native-born, small-town Protestants, and its greatest opponents were middle-class urbanites and immigrants.

The national ban on alcohol was a prolonged social experiment that fizzled. Alcohol consumption declined in 1921 and 1922 but then began climbing again — though it did not reach pre-1920 levels until after repeal in 1933. Among the middle class, which could afford higher prices, alcohol consumption declined hardly at all in these years. The fact that only the *sale* and not the *possession* of alcohol was

Wine in the Gutters, Brooklyn This photograph captures America's cultural conflicts over prohibition. When the law went into effect, federal agents seized and destroyed supplies of alcohol, often dumping it in the streets. Here, working-class children in Brooklyn race to scoop it up in buckets before it drains away. In tenement neighborhoods, children eager to earn a nickel often toted buckets of beer, wine, and homemade liquor for their parents or neighbors. How might a rural temperance advocate have responded to this photograph? How about a working-class man in Chicago, Atlanta, Seattle, or New York? N.Y. Daily News / Archive Photos/Getty Images

illegal made prohibition exceedingly difficult to enforce. And yet the Eighteenth Amendment's most important legacy might well have been the growing influence of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the federal agency tasked with enforcing the Volstead Act. Under the shrewd direction of J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI used the Red Scare and prohibition to increase its resources, enlarge its investigative domain, and become a fixture of federal police power. Difficult to enforce, associated with organized crime, and increasingly politically unpopular, prohibition was repealed in 1933.

Evolution in the Schools In another episode of the clash between modern and traditionalist worldviews, controversy erupted as fundamentalist Protestants sought to mandate school curricula based on the biblical account of creation. In 1925, Tennessee's legislature outlawed the teaching of "any theory that denies the story of the Divine creation of man as taught in the Bible, [and teaches] instead that man has descended from a lower order of animals." The **American Civil Liberties Union** (ACLU), formed during the Red Scare to protect free speech rights, challenged the law's constitutionality. The ACLU intervened in the trial of John T. Scopes, a high school biology teacher who taught the theory of evolution to his class and faced a jail sentence for doing so. The case attracted national attention because Clarence Darrow, a famous criminal lawyer, defended Scopes, while William Jennings Bryan, the three-time Democratic presidential candidate, spoke for the prosecution.

Journalists dubbed the **Scopes trial** "the monkey trial." This label referred both to Darwin's argument that human beings and other primates share a common ancestor and to the circus atmosphere at the trial, which was broadcast live over a Chicago radio station. (Proving that urbanites had their own prejudices, **acerbic** critic H. L. Mencken dismissed antievolutionists as "gaping primates of the upland valleys," implying that they had not evolved.) The jury took only eight minutes to deliver its verdict: guilty. Though the Tennessee Supreme Court later overturned Scopes's conviction, the law remained on the books for more than thirty years.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the Scopes trial as an expression of the battle between modernism and fundamentalism in American society.

Nativism Some native-born Protestants pointed to immigration as the primary cause of what they saw as America's moral decline. A nation of 105 million people had added more than 24 million immigrants over the previous four decades; the newcomers included many Catholics and Jews from Southern and Eastern Europe, whom one Maryland congressman referred to as "indigestible lumps" in the "national stomach." Such attitudes recalled hostility toward Irish and Germans in the 1840s and 1850s. In this case, they fueled a momentous shift in immigration policy.

"America must be kept American," President Coolidge declared in 1924. Congress had banned Chinese immigration in 1882, and Theodore Roosevelt had negotiated a so-called gentleman's agreement that limited Japanese immigration in 1907. Now nativists charged that there were also too many European arrivals, some of whom, they claimed, undermined Protestantism and imported anarchism, socialism, and other radical doctrines. Responding to this pressure, Congress passed emergency

immigration restrictions in 1921 and a permanent measure three years later. The **National Origins Act** (1924) used backdated census data to establish a baseline: in the future, annual immigration from each country could not exceed 2 percent of that nationality's percentage of the U.S. population as it had stood in 1890. Since only small numbers of Italians, Greeks, Poles, Russians, and other Southern and Eastern European immigrants had arrived before 1890, the law drastically limited immigration from those places. In 1929, Congress imposed even more restrictive quotas, setting a cap of 150,000 immigrants per year from Europe and continuing to ban most immigrants from Asia.

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to explain the discriminatory nature of immigration restrictions in the 1920s is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

The new law, however, permitted unrestricted immigration from the Western Hemisphere. As a result, Latin Americans arrived in increasing numbers, finding jobs that had gone to other immigrants before exclusion. More than 1 million Mexicans entered the United States between 1900 and 1930, including many fleeing the instability caused by the Mexican Revolution. Nativists lobbied Congress to cut this flow; so did labor leaders, who argued that impoverished migrants lowered wages for other American workers. But Congress heeded the pleas of employers, especially farmers in Texas and California, who wanted cheap labor.

Other anti-immigrant measures emerged at the state level. In 1913, by an overwhelming majority, California's legislature had passed a law declaring that "aliens ineligible to citizenship" could not own "real property." The aim was to prevent Asians, especially Japanese immigrants, from owning land, though some had lived in the state for decades and built up prosperous farms. In the wake of World War I, California tightened these laws, making it increasingly difficult for Asian families to establish themselves. California, Washington, and Hawaii also severely restricted any school that taught Japanese language, history, or culture. Denied both citizenship and land rights, Japanese Americans would be in a vulnerable position at the outbreak of World War II, when anti-Japanese hysteria swept the United States.

The U.S. Border Patrol, Laredo, Texas, 1926 In 1926, San Antonio photographer Eugene O. Goldbeck took this photograph of U.S. Border Patrol officers in Laredo. Since 1917, Mexicans, like other immigrants, had been subject to a head tax and literacy test. The U.S. government had not enforced these provisions, however, because of pressure from southwestern employers eager for cheap Mexican labor. Following passage of the National Origins Act in 1924, the United States established the Border Patrol. Its increasing efforts to police the border slowed the casual movement of Mexican workers in and out of the United States. Why do you think the Border Patrol posed in this way for Goldbeck's picture? Notice that some of the officers depicted here were dressed as civilians. What might this signify? Photography Collection, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the KKK that developed in the 1920s to the KKK that originated in the Reconstruction era.

The National Klan The 1920s brought a nationwide resurgence of the **Ku Klux Klan** (KKK), the white supremacist group formed in the post–Civil War South. Soon after the premiere of *Birth of a Nation* (1915), a popular film glorifying the Reconstruction-era Klan, a group of southerners gathered on Georgia's Stone Mountain to revive the organization. With its blunt motto, "Native, white, Protestant supremacy," the Klan recruited supporters across the country (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). KKK members did not limit their harassment to African Americans but targeted immigrants, Catholics, and Jews as well, with physical intimidation, arson, and economic boycotts.

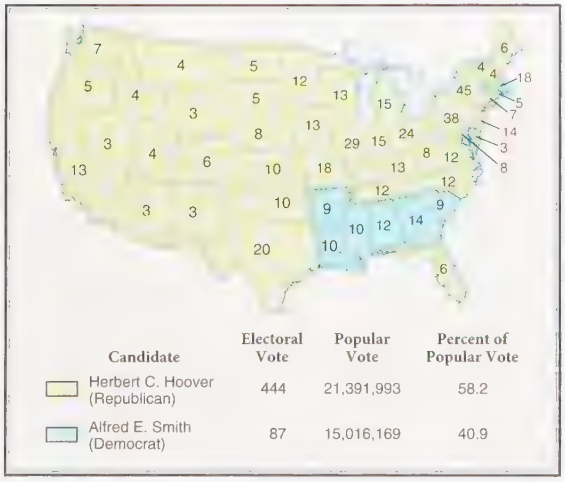
At the height of its influence in the early 1920s, the Klan counted more than 3 million members and wielded considerable political clout, particularly at the local level. A typical example was the small town of Monticello, Arkansas, where in the first half of the decade the mayor, city marshall, half the city council, the sheriff, the county clerk, tax assessor, and treasurer, and eleven of fifteen male teachers were all Klan members. From small-town mayors to President Woodrow Wilson, who effusively praised *Birth of a Nation*, the Klan enjoyed broad support among native-born white Protestant Americans for a decade. Klan activism lent a menacing cast to political issues, as its members defined "one hundred percent Americanism" to include white racial purity, Protestantism, prohibition of alcohol, conservative sexual mores, and immigration restriction—the Klan avidly supported both the Eighteenth Amendment and the Immigration Act of 1924.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How would you describe the view of those Americans who supported prohibition, the teaching of evolution in public schools, and immigration restriction? How would you describe their opponents' views? Can you understand the perspectives of each?

The Klan declined rapidly after 1925, but its rise was part of an ugly trend that began before World War I and extended into subsequent decades. The rise of the national Klan helped prepare the way for white supremacist movements of the 1930s, such as the Los Angeles–based Silver Legion, a fringe paramilitary group aligned with Hitler's Nazis. Far more influential were major figures such as industrialist Henry Ford, whose *Dearborn Independent* railed against immigrants and warned that members of "the proud Gentile race" must arm themselves against a Jewish conspiracy aimed at world domination. Challenged by critics, Ford issued an apology in 1927 and admitted that his allegations had been based on "gross forgeries." But with his paper's editorials widely circulated by the Klan and other groups, considerable long-term damage had been done.

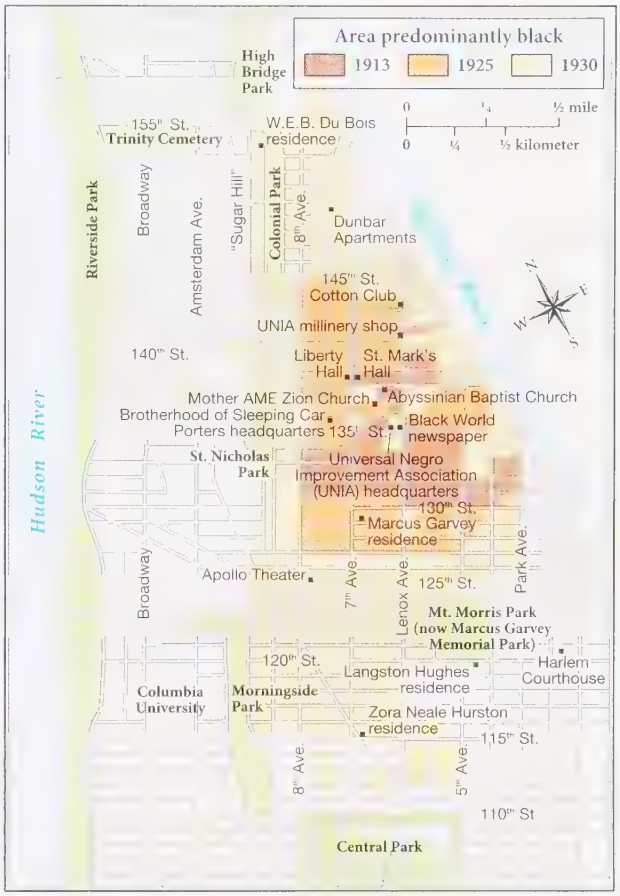


MAP 21.1 The Presidential Election of 1928
Historians still debate the extent to which 1928 was a critical election—an election that produced a significant realignment in voting behavior. Although Republican Herbert Hoover swept the popular and the electoral votes, Democrat Alfred E. Smith won majorities not only in the South, his party's traditional stronghold, but also in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and (although it is not evident on this map) all of the large cities of the North and Midwest. In subsequent elections, the Democrats won even more votes among African Americans and European ethnic groups and, until 1980, were the nation's dominant political party.

The Election of 1928 Conflicts over race, religion, and ethnicity created the climate for a stormy presidential election in 1928. Democrats had traditionally drawn strength from white voters in the South and immigrants in the North: groups that divided over prohibition, immigration restriction, and the Klan. By 1928, the northern urban wing gained firm control. Democrats nominated Governor Al Smith of New York, the first presidential candidate to reflect the aspirations of the urban working class. A grandson of Irish peasants, Smith had risen through New York City's Democratic machine to become a dynamic reformer. But he offended many small-town and rural Americans with his heavy New York accent and brown derby hat, which highlighted his ethnic working-class origins. Middle-class reformers questioned his ties to Tammany Hall; temperance advocates opposed him as a "wet." But the governor's greatest handicap was his religion. Although Smith insisted that his Catholic beliefs would not affect his duties as president, many Protestants opposed him. "No Governor can kiss the papal ring and get within gunshot of the White House," vowed one Methodist bishop.

Smith proved no match for the Republican nominee, Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, who embodied the technological promise of the modern age. An organizational genius and a dedicated public servant, Hoover won fame during World War I for successfully managing huge food relief and refugee projects before energizing and reorganizing the Treasury Department as secretary of commerce

MAP 21.2 Harlem, 1913–1930
African Americans had lived in New York City since its founding in 1624 as part of the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam. A small number lived in Harlem, in the northern part of Manhattan Island until the early 1900s. Then in 1904, a subway line connecting 145th Street in Harlem to lower Manhattan and Brooklyn opened, and black tenants and homeowners began to come in larger numbers. During and after World War I, large numbers of southern migrants joined established black families there, bringing with them the food, music, and folkways of the South, and Harlem increasingly became a center of black life in New York City. By 1930, 165,000 African Americans, almost 75 percent of Manhattan's black population, were concentrated in Harlem.

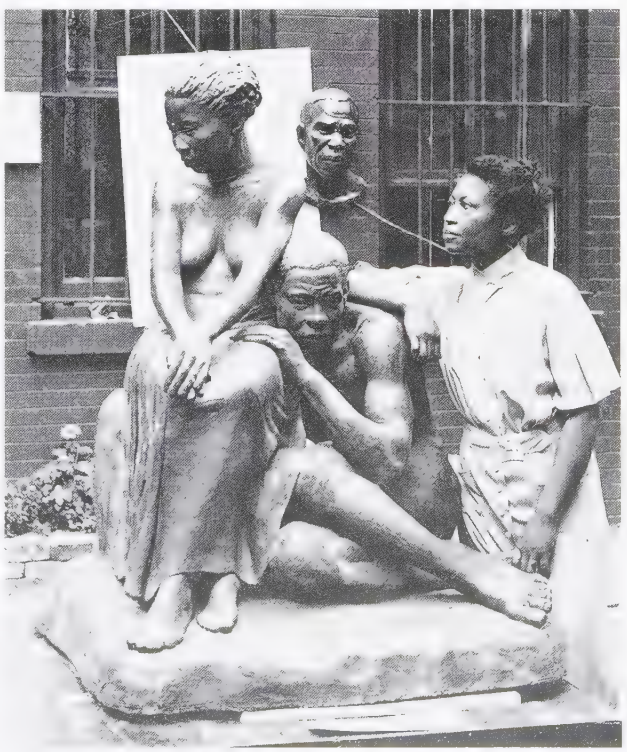


under President Harding. Riding on eight years of Republican prosperity, Hoover credited business with the country's rising affluence and embraced, updated for a more technocratic age, the American tradition of individualism. He won overwhelmingly, with 444 electoral votes to Smith's 87 (Map 21.1). Because many southern Protestants refused to vote for a Catholic, Hoover carried five ex-Confederate states, breaking the Democratic "Solid South" for the first time since Reconstruction. Smith, though, carried industrialized Massachusetts and Rhode Island as well as the nation's twelve largest cities, suggesting that urban voters were moving into the Democrats' camp.

The Harlem Renaissance

Amidst these clashes over religion, morality, and Americanism, black artists and intellectuals claimed a voice for themselves. They questioned long-standing assumptions about civilization, progress, and the alleged superiority of Western cultures over so-called primitive people. Based in New York City, where the Great Migration had tripled the black population in the decade after 1910 (Map 21.2), a vibrant new black cultural movement took shape. Harlem stood as "the symbol of liberty and the Promised Land to Negroes everywhere," as one minister put it. Talented African Americans flocked to the district, where they created bold new art forms and asserted ties to Africa.

Black Writers and Artists Poet Langston Hughes captured the upbeat spirit of the **Harlem Renaissance** when he asserted, "I am a Negro—and beautiful." Other writers and artists also championed race pride. Claude McKay and Jean Toomer represented in fiction what philosopher Alain Locke called, in an influential 1925 book, the "New Negro." Painter Jacob Lawrence, who had grown up in crowded tenement districts of the urban North, used bold shapes and vivid colors to portray the daily life, aspirations, and suppressed anger of African Americans.



Augusta Fells Savage, African American Sculptor Born in Florida in 1892, Augusta Fells Savage arrived in New York in 1921 to study and remained to take part in the Harlem Renaissance. Widowed at a young age and struggling to support her parents and young daughter, Savage faced both racism and poverty. Much of her work has been lost because she sculpted in clay and could not afford to cast in bronze. Savage began to speak out for racial justice after she was denied, on the basis of her race, a fellowship to study in Paris. In 1923, she married a close associate of UNIA leader Marcus Garvey. Augusta Savage with her sculpture *Realization*, c. 1938/Andrew Herman photographer. Federal Art Project, Photographic D vision collection, c. 1920–1965, bulk 1935–1942 Archives of American Art, Smithson an Institut on

Who Joined the Ku Klux Klan?

Asked why a person would join the Klan, you might cite racism and religious bigotry. But the story is complicated: many whites with strong prejudices did not join the Klan in the 1920s, while others did. Why?

1. **Klan wedding in Washington, D.C., 1925.**

FPG/Getty Images

2. **Poem read at a meeting of KKK Grand Dragons, North Carolina, 1923.**

God Give Us Men! The Invisible Empire demands strong
Minds, great hearts, true faith and ready hands . . .
Men who possess opinions and a will;
Men who have honor; men who will not lie;
Men who can stand before a demagogue and damn his treacherous flattering without winking! . . .
Men of dependable character; men of sterling worth;
Then wrongs will be redressed, and right will rule the earth.

3. **"95% of Bootleggers Jews," editorial, *Dearborn Independent*, Michigan, 1922.**

Violation and evasion of the Prohibition laws has had a deep Jewish complexion from the very beginning. . . . This does not mean, of course, that every bootlegger is a Jew. Unless you live in Chicago, New York or other large cities, an actual meeting with the Jew in this minor capacity will not be frequent. The Jew is the possessor of the wholesale stocks; . . . But notwithstanding all this carefulness, the bulk of the arrests made in the United States have been among Jews. . . . The maintenance of *the idea of drink* in the minds of the people is due to Jewish propaganda. . . . *The idea of drink* will be maintained by means of the Jewish stage, Jewish jazz, and the Jewish comics, until somebody comes down hard upon it.

4. **Report on a Klan gathering in Birmingham, Alabama, 1923.**

Edgewood Park was crowded by noon. Klansmen and their wives and families enjoyed a great barbecue, went swimming, dancing, and picknicking. There were airplane stunts during the day with band concerts thrown in for good measure. At night there was a wonderful display of fireworks following the initiation and the address of the Imperial Wizard.

5. **Klansmen in Buffalo, New York, 1924.** *Data based on historical research into a Klan membership list of almost 2,000 men in the Buffalo area.*

TABLE 21.1

Klansmen in Buffalo, New York, 1924

Occupational Group	Percentage of KKK Members	Percentage of Total Native White Male Workers in Buffalo
Professional (predominantly clergy, doctors, engineers, pharmacists)	6.1	4.7
Business (small businessmen, managers, inspectors, accountants)	18.5	10.4
Low nonmanual (salesmen, clerks, foremen)	27.7	22.6
Skilled (machinists, electricians, railroad engineers, construction trades)	30.6	25.3
Semiskilled and service (factory and rail workers, deliverymen, policemen, repairmen)	16.4	30.2
Unskilled (laborers, gardeners)	0.5	14.5

6. **Interviews conducted in the 1980s with Indiana Klanswomen about Klan life in the 1920s.** *Seeking truthful accounts, the interviewer allowed the women to remain anonymous.*

Anonymous

For [the Klan] to say, we want to get rid of the niggers, we want to get rid of the Catholics, it didn't mean a thing to us. . . . I can remember quite well the stories that you hear sitting on the porch. . . . They'd talk about religion, and they'd talk about Catholics. . . . The Catholics were considered horrible people. . . .

Anonymous

Kelly had a grocery store. Well, it hurt their business terribly because people wouldn't go in there, because the Klan would tell you not to. . . . If you had a empty house . . . , why you were told not to rent it to a Catholic.

Some Klan leader said that the Pope was coming to take over the country, and he said he might be on the next train that went through North Manchester. You know, just trying to make it specific. So, about a thousand people went out to the train station and stopped the train. It only had . . . one passenger on it. They took him off, and he finally convinced them that he wasn't the Pope. He was a carpet salesman. And so they put him on the next train and he went on to Chicago.

7. **Editorial by National Imperial Wizard Hiram Wesley Evans in the KKK periodical *Dawn: A Journal for True American Patriots*, November 10, 1923.**

Humanity has become a commodity. For mercenary motives, our importers of it want the most inferior grade. Industry desires cheap labor. Therefore, we have had this recent flood of 5 and 10-cent citizenship. Take any map which shows the concentration of the South and Eastern European type of immigrant and you will see [that] wherever manufacturing and mining and lumbering predominate, there the hordes of unskilled labor have overwhelmingly been assembled. . . .

The present and recent flood of inferior foreigners has vastly increased our illiteracy, vitally lowered the health level and visibly menaced America by inheritable mental and moral deficiencies. . . . [Farms are] the only legitimate and justifiable excuse for cheap labor, yet that class is moving irresistibly cityward to swell the slums and multiply immorality. For example, throughout the south the colored race . . . is migrating to the North — not to its rural districts, but to its industrial centers.

8. **"Program for America," in the KKK newspaper *American Standard*, April 15, 1925.**

- Laws to require the reading of the Holy Bible in every American public school.
- Recognition of the fact . . . that Romanism is working here to undermine Americanism. . . . Since Roman Catholics give first allegiance to an alien political potentate, the pope . . . their claim to citizenship, to the ballot, and to public office in this Protestant country is illegitimate, and must be forbidden by law. . . .
- A law to destroy the alien influence of the foreign language press [by] requiring that the English language be used exclusively.
- . . . Recognition of the tendency toward moral disintegration, resulting from the activities . . . of the anti-Christian Jews, in our theaters, our motion pictures, and in American business circles; the discontinuance of these anti-Christian activities, and the exclusion of Jews of this character from America.
- The return of the Negroes to their homeland of Africa, under the protection and with the help of the United States Government.
- Strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States, including the Prohibition Amendment, by every citizen.

Sources: (2) Kelly J. Baker, *Gospel According to the Klan* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011), 119; (3) *Dearborn Independent* editorial reprinted in *Aspects of Jewish Power in the United States* (Dearborn, MI: Dearborn Publishing, 1922), 34–40; (4) Rory McVeigh, *The Rise of the Ku Klux Klan* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 150; (5) Shawn Lay, *Hooded Knights on the Niagara* (New York: New York University Press, 1995), chapter 4 (esp. 87); (6) Kathleen M. Blee, *Women in the Klan* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 78–79, 149–151; (7) McVeigh, 64–65; (8) *American Standard*, April 15, 1925, 172.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Based on the documents above, identify factors that made the KKK appealing to some Americans in the 1920s.
2. Which groups in source 5 were over- and underrepresented in the Klan? The same historian found that at least 34 percent of local Klan members were German American. Review the Thinking Like a Historian feature in Chapter 20, pages 640–641. Why might Germans have been especially likely to join the Klan in this period?
3. What are the advantages and limitations of source 6?
4. Imagine that Republican president Calvin Coolidge had set up a federal agency to discourage KKK activity (an action he did NOT take). He put you in charge of the effort and gave you a generous budget. How would you have spent the funds? Explain why you believe your strategy might have been effective.

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using your knowledge of Chapter 21, and drawing on evidence from the documents above, write a brief essay explaining how the rise of the KKK in the 1920s reflected larger patterns in American society and politics.

AP® EXAM TIP
Evaluate the Harlem Renaissance as an expression of African American identity.

No one embodied the energy and optimism of the Harlem Renaissance more than Zora Neale Hurston. Born in the prosperous black community of Eatonville, Florida, Hurston had been surrounded as a child by examples of achievement, though she struggled later with poverty and isolation. In contrast to some other black thinkers, Hurston believed African American culture could be understood without heavy emphasis on the impact of white oppression. After enrolling at Barnard College and studying with anthropologist Franz Boas, Hurston traveled through the South and the Caribbean for a decade, documenting folklore, songs, and religious beliefs. She incorporated this material into her short stories and novels, celebrating the humor and spiritual strength of ordinary black men and women. Like other work of the Harlem Renaissance, Hurston's stories and novels sought to articulate what it meant, as black intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois wrote, "to be both a Negro and an American."

Jazz To millions of Americans, the most famous product of the Harlem Renaissance was **jazz**. Though the origins of the word are unclear, many historians believe it was a slang term for sex—an **etymology** that makes sense, given the music's early association with urban vice districts. As a musical form, jazz coalesced in New Orleans and other parts of the South before World War I. Borrowing from blues, ragtime, and other popular forms, jazz musicians developed an ensemble style in which performers,

Archibald Motley, *Blues*, 1929 Painter Archibald Motley (1891–1981) was born in New Orleans but arrived in Chicago as a small child, when his family—like thousands of other African Americans—moved north in search of opportunity. Motley was able to study at the Art Institute of Chicago and by the 1920s also showed his work in New York City. Many of his paintings depicted life in the predominantly African American neighborhood on Chicago's South Side that was widely known as the Black Belt. This piece, *Blues*, was painted when Motley was living in Paris. It shows the powerful impact jazz had on European listeners. Private Collection / Valerie Gerard [illegible] Chicago History Museum

keeping a rapid ragtime beat, improvised around a basic melodic line. The majority of early jazz musicians were black, but white performers, some of whom had more formal training, injected elements of European concert music.

In the 1920s, as jazz spread nationwide, musicians developed its signature mode, the improvised solo. The key figure in this development was trumpeter Louis Armstrong. A native of New Orleans, Armstrong learned his craft playing in the saloons and brothels of the city's vice district. Like tens of thousands of other African Americans, he moved north, settling in Chicago in 1922. Armstrong showed an inexhaustible capacity for melodic invention, and his dazzling solos inspired other musicians. By the late 1920s, soloists became the celebrities of jazz, thrilling audiences with their improvisational skill.

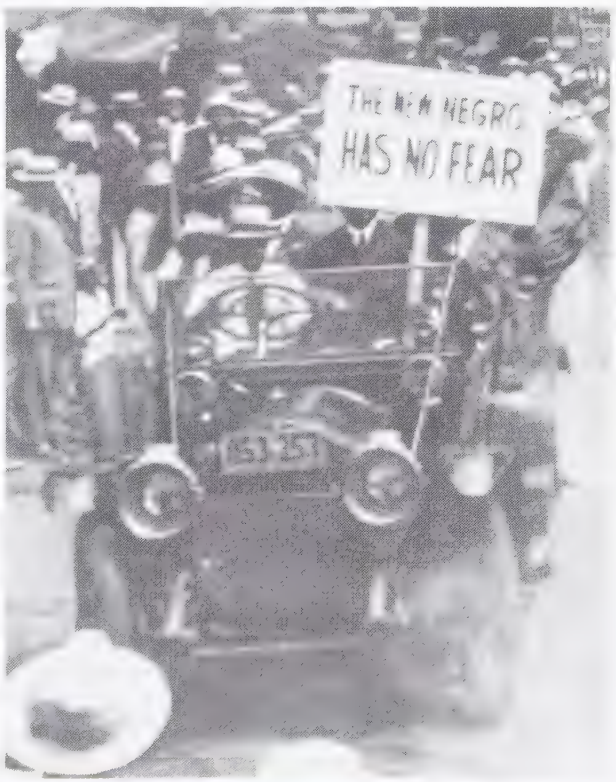
As jazz spread, it followed the routes of the Great Migration from the South to northern and midwestern cities, where it met consumers primed to receive it. Most cities had plentiful dance halls where jazz could be featured. Radio also helped popularize jazz, with the emerging record industry marketing the latest tunes. As white listeners flocked to ballrooms and clubs to hear Duke Ellington and other stars, Harlem became the hub of this commercially lucrative jazz. Those who hailed "primitive" black music, however, rarely suspended their racial condescension: visiting a mixed-race club became known as "slumming."

The recording industry soon developed so-called race records specifically aimed at urban working-class African Americans. The breakthrough came in 1920, when Otto K. E. Heinemann, a producer who sold immigrant records in Yiddish, Swedish, and other languages, recorded singer Mamie Smith performing "Crazy Blues." This smash hit prompted big recording labels like Columbia and Paramount to copy Heinemann's approach. Yet, while its marketing reflected the segregation of American society, jazz brought black music to the center stage of American culture. It became the era's signature music, so much so that novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald dubbed the 1920s the "Jazz Age."

Marcus Garvey and the UNIA Harlem's creative energy generated broad political aspirations. The Harlem-based **Universal Negro Improvement Association** (UNIA), led by charismatic Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, arose in the 1920s to mobilize African American workers and champion black nationalism. Garvey urged followers to move to Africa, arguing that people of African descent would never be treated justly in white-run countries.

The UNIA soon claimed 4 million followers, including many recent migrants to northern cities. It published a newspaper, *Negro World*, and solicited funds for the Black Star steamship company, which Garvey created as an enterprise that would foster trade with the West Indies and carry black Americans to Africa. But the UNIA declined as quickly as it had risen. In 1925, Garvey was imprisoned for mail fraud because of his solicitations for the Black Star Line. President Coolidge commuted his sentence but ordered his deportation to Jamaica. Without Garvey's leadership, the movement collapsed.

However, the UNIA left a legacy of activism, especially among the working class. Garvey and his followers represented an emerging **pan-Africanism**. They argued that people of African descent, in all parts of the world, had a common destiny and should cooperate in political action. Several developments contributed to this ideal: black men's military service in Europe during World War I, the Pan-African Congress that had sought representation at the Versailles treaty table, and protests against U.S. occupation of Haiti. One African American historian



UNIA Parade in Harlem, Early 1920s This photo, taken at 138th Street in Harlem, shows the collective pride fostered by Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association. What types of people do you see in the crowd? How are they dressed? Note the slogan carried by a rider in the automobile: "The New Negro Has No Fear." From The New York Public Library.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the Great Migration lead to flourishing African American culture, politics, and intellectual life, and what form did these activities take?

wrote in 1927, "The grandiose schemes of Marcus Garvey gave to the race a consciousness such as it had never possessed before. The dream of a united Africa, not less than a trip to France, challenged the imagination."

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the main causes of cultural conflict in the 1920s?

The Coming of the Great Depression

By 1927, strains on the economy showed that the mass consumer society that had emerged after World War I was in trouble. Americans of all sorts were **overleveraged**—that is, sinking in debt. Consumer lending had become the tenth largest business in the country, topping $7 billion that year. Millions of farmers were, like their nineteenth-century forebears, trapped in an annual cycle of debt. Increasing numbers of Americans bought into the stock market, often with borrowed money ("on margin") and usually with unrealistic expectations. An investor might, for example, spend $20 of his own money and borrow $80 to buy a $100 share of stock, expecting to pay back the loan as the stock rose quickly in value. This worked as long as the economy grew and the stock market climbed.

But those conditions did not last. Americans who worried over the rapid economic growth and easy credit that fueled the Roaring Twenties proved right: the "Roar" ended in the Great Depression. Taking into account the recession of 1921, the economic boom lasted only a brief seven years, from 1922 to 1929.

From Boom to Bust

AP® EXAM TIP

Connect the causes that led to the Great Depression to the economic and political developments of the 1920s.

When the stock market fell, in a series of plunges between October 25 and November 13, 1929, few onlookers understood the magnitude of the crisis. Cyclical downturns had been a familiar part of the industrializing economy since the panic of the 1830s; they tended to follow periods of rapid growth and speculation. The market rose again in late 1929 and early 1930, and while a great deal of money had been lost, most Americans hoped the aftermath of the crash would be brief. In fact, the nation had entered the Great Depression, the most severe economic downturn to that point in the nation's history. Over the next four years, industrial production fell 37 percent. Construction plunged 78 percent. Prices for crops and other raw materials, already low, fell by half. By 1932, unemployment had reached a staggering 24 percent (Figure 21.1).

A precipitous drop in consumer spending deepened the crisis. Facing hard times and unemployment, Americans cut back dramatically, creating a vicious cycle of falling demand and forfeited loans. If buying homes, cars, and appliances on credit seemed like a good deal in 1925, by 1930 the deal turned sour. That year, several major banks went under, victims of overextended credit and reckless management. The following year, as industrial production slowed, a much larger wave of bank failures occurred, causing an even greater shock. Since the government did not insure bank deposits, accounts in failed banks simply vanished. Some people who had had steady jobs and comfortable savings found themselves broke and out of work.

Early Depression Years

Not all Americans were devastated by the depression; the middle class did not disappear and the rich lived in accustomed luxury. But incomes plummeted even among workers who kept their jobs. Salt Lake City went bankrupt in 1931. Barter systems developed, as barbers traded haircuts for onions and potatoes and laborers worked for payment in eggs or pork. "We do not dare to use even a little soap," reported one jobless Oregonian, "when it will pay for an extra egg, a few more carrots for our children."

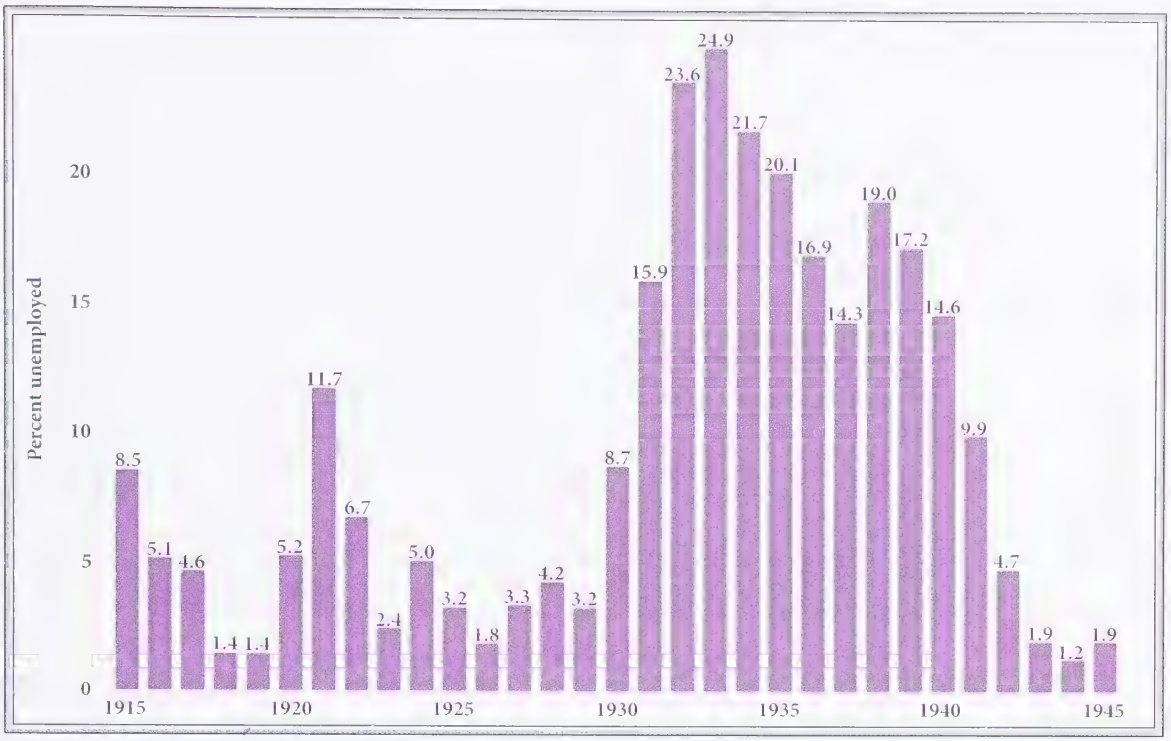


FIGURE 21.1 Unemployment, 1915–1945
During the 1920s, business prosperity and low rates of immigration resulted in historically low unemployment levels. The Great Depression threw millions of people out of work; by 1933, one in four American workers was unemployed, and the rate remained high until 1941, when the nation mobilized for World War II.

"I would be only too glad to dig ditches to keep my family from going hungry," wrote a North Carolina man.

Where did desperate people turn for aid? Their first hope lay in private charity, especially churches and synagogues. But by the winter of 1931, these institutions were overwhelmed, unable to keep pace with the extraordinary need. Only eight states provided even minimal unemployment insurance. There was no public support for the elderly, statistically among the poorest citizens. Few Americans had any retirement savings, and many who had saved watched their accounts erased by failing banks.

Even those who were not wiped out had to adapt to depression conditions. Couples delayed marriage and reduced the number of children they conceived. As a result, the marriage rate fell to a historical low, and by 1933 the birthrate dropped from 97 births per 1,000 women to 75. Often the responsibility for birth control fell to women. It was "one of the worst problems of women whose husbands were out of work," a Californian told a reporter. Campaigns against hiring married women were common, on the theory that available jobs should go to male breadwinners. Three-quarters of the nation's school districts banned married women from working as teachers—ignoring the fact that many husbands were less able to earn than ever before. Despite restrictions, female employment increased, as women expanded their financial contributions to their families in hard times.

The depression crossed regional boundaries, though its severity varied from place to place. Bank failures clustered heavily in the Midwest and plains, while areas dependent on timber, mining, and other extractive industries suffered catastrophic declines. Although southern states endured less unemployment because of their smaller manufacturing base, farm wages plunged. In many parts of the country, unemployment rates among black men stood at double that of white men; joblessness among African American women was triple that of white women.

By 1932, comprehending the magnitude of the crisis, Americans went to the ballot box and decisively rejected the probusiness, antiregulatory policies of the 1920s. A few years earlier, with business booming, politics had been so placid that people chuckled

Minnesota Potato Farmers The prosperity and consumer pleasures of the 1920s hardly extended to all Americans. This Minnesota family had horses, not a tractor; many of the women's clothes were probably made by hand. Rural and working-class Americans, who often struggled in the 1920s, found conditions even harsher after 1929. On the other hand, farmers had resources to fall back on that city folks did not: they could grow their own food, and they had long experience in "making do." Minnesota Historical Society.

when President Coolidge disappeared on extended fishing trips. Now, Americans wanted bold action in Washington. Faced with the **cataclysm** of the Great Depression, Americans would transform their government and create a modern welfare state.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What domestic economic factors helped cause the Great Depression?

SUMMARY

Involvement in World War I strengthened the United States economically and diplomatically, but it left the nation profoundly unsettled. Racial tensions exploded after the war as African Americans pursued new opportunities and asserted their rights. Meanwhile, labor unrest grew as employers cut wages and sought to break unions, while anxieties over radicalism and immigration prompted a nationwide Red Scare.

The politics of the 1920s brought a backlash against prewar progressivism and a series of clashes over religion, morality, and national belonging. The agenda of women reformers met very limited success. Republican administrations pursued probusiness "normalcy" at home and "dollar diplomacy" abroad. Prohibition and the Scopes trial demonstrated the influence religion could exert on public policy, while rising nativism fueled a resurgent Ku Klux Klan and led to sweeping new restrictions on immigration. Meanwhile, black artists and intellectuals of the Harlem Renaissance, including many inspired by pan-African ideas, explored the complexities of African American life.

Business thrived and a booming consumer culture, exemplified by the radio, the automobile, and Hollywood films, created new forms of leisure, influencing daily life and challenging older sexual norms. However, the risky speculation and easy credit of the 1920s undermined the foundations of the economy. After the 1929 crash, these factors, along with a range of interconnected global conditions to be discussed in Chapter 22, plunged the United States into the Great Depression.

CHAPTER 21 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. How and why did the United States take a conservative turn in the 1920s?
2. What were the primary characteristics of the American economy in the 1920s?
3. What caused the cultural conflict of the 1920s?
4. What domestic and global factors helped cause the Great Depression?
5. Between 1917 and 1945, the "Roaring Twenties" were the only years when the United States did not face a major economic or international crisis. Review the categories of "America in the World," "Politics and Power," and "American and National Identity" on the thematic timeline on pages 618–619. In what ways do they suggest that the prosperous 1920s were a politically distinctive era? What continuities do you see in politics and foreign policy?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Red Scare (p. 653)
Palmer raids (p. 653)
Red Summer (p. 654)
American Plan (p. 654)
welfare capitalism (p. 655)
dollar diplomacy (p. 655)
associated state (p. 656)
Teapot Dome (p. 657)
consumer credit (p. 658)
Hollywood (p. 658)
flapper (p. 658)
soft power (p. 659)
Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act (p. 661)
Eighteenth Amendment (p. 663)
Volstead Act (p. 663)
American Civil Liberties Union (p. 666)
Scopes trial (p. 666)
National Origins Act (p. 667)
Ku Klux Klan (p. 668)
Harlem Renaissance (p. 669)
jazz (p. 672)
Universal Negro Improvement Association (p. 673)
pan-Africanism (p. 673)

Key People

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (p. 653)
Henry Ford (p. 655)
Adolph Zukor (p. 658)
Zora Neale Hurston (p. 672)
Louis Armstrong (p. 673)
Marcus Garvey (p. 673)

Key Academic Terms

impunity (p. 656)
adversary (p. 656)
nostrum (p. 656)
acerbic (p. 666)
etymology (p. 672)
overleverage (p. 674)
cataclysm (p. 676)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. The Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction era (Chapter 14) emerged in a specific political and social context; while the Klan of the 1920s built on its predecessor, its goals and scope were different. Using material from Chapters 14 and 21, imagine that you are investigating a series of Klan meetings in each era (1870s and 1920s). Where would you conduct your investigation? How might you explain, to the public, the Klan's membership and activities? How would you compare the two Klans?
2. Along what lines did Americans find themselves divided in the 1920s? How were those conflicts expressed in politics? In culture and intellectual life?
3. What factors contributed to the economic boom of the 1920s and the crash that followed?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chronology on page 652 for helping in answering the questions below.

American politics underwent two shifts in the period covered in this chapter: one in the aftermath of World War I, and another in 1932. What caused each turning point? What factors in American society, economics, and culture help explain each moment of political change?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

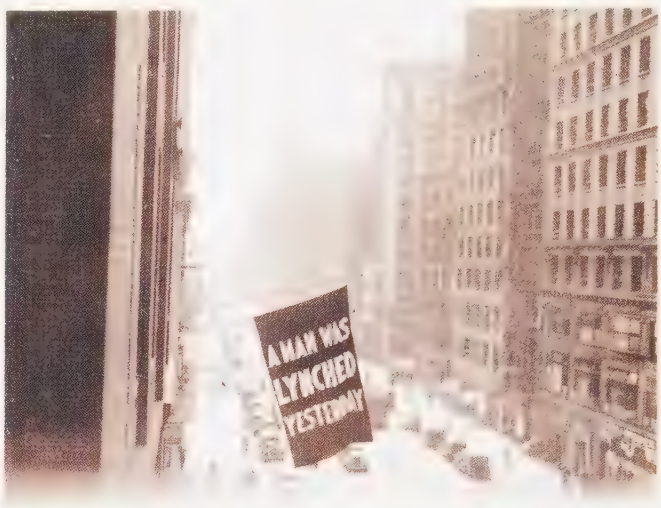
MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–4 refer to the excerpt below.

> "We should stop immigration entirely until such a time as we can amend our immigration laws. . . .
>
> It is time that we act now, because within a few short years the damage will have been done. The endless tide of immigration will have filled our country with a foreign and unsympathetic element. Those who are out of sympathy with our Constitution and the spirit of our Government will be here in large numbers, and the true spirit of Americanism left us by our fathers will gradually become poisoned by this uncertain element."
>
> Representative Lucien Parrish, Congressional Debate, April 1921

1. All of the following factors contributed directly to the views expressed in the excerpt EXCEPT
   a. large-scale immigration before and after World War I.
   b. fears that radical ideas such as socialism or communism might spread.
   c. cultural controversies arising in rapidly growing urban areas.
   d. widespread support for the continuing of an imperialist foreign policy.
2. Which of the following most likely supported similar ideas as those expressed by Parrish in the excerpt?
   a. Democrats in the 1840s and 1850s
   b. Nativists in the 1840s and 1850s
   c. Business leaders in the 1890s and 1900s
   d. Preservationists in the 1890s and 1900s
3. The most direct result from the sentiments expressed in the excerpt was
   a. a shortage of laborers leading to a sustained economic downturn.
   b. a declaration by the Census Bureau that the frontier was "closed."
   c. quotas limiting European immigration.
   d. a ban on immigration from Mexico and South America.
4. Supporters of the views expressed in the excerpt would have been LEAST likely to also support political movements seeking to
   a. promote traditional moral values.
   b. limit the free speech of radicals.
   c. arrest and deport suspected radicals.
   d. repeal Prohibition.

Questions 5–6 refer to the c. 1920 New York City photograph below.



Library of Congress

5. Which of the following developments most directly resulted from the context captured in the image?
   a. Increased migration of African Americans to northern cities
   b. Passage of federal anti-lynching legislation
   c. Growth of militant civil rights movements for black power
   d. Emergence of new groups promoting political violence
6. The African American community resisted segregation and discrimination in the first half of the twentieth century in all of the following ways EXCEPT by
   a. launching a series of legal challenges.
   b. developing new forms of art and literature.
   c. demanding financial reparations.
   d. appealing for greater equality in the military.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Settlement in America had snipped the continuity of the immigrants' work and ideas, of their religious life . . . newcomers pushed their roots into many different soils. Along the city's unyielding asphalt streets, beside the rutted roads of mill or mining towns, amidst the exciting prairie acres, they established the homes of the New World. But . . . nowhere could they transplant the European village. . . . The pressure of that strangeness exerted a deep influence upon the character of resettlement, upon the usual forms of behavior, and upon the modes of communal action that emerged as the immigrants became Americans. . . . The old conditions of living could not survive in the new conditions of space."

Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People*, 1951

"Kin and friends were free to assist each other in entering America by providing access to jobs and homes and supplying important information of labor market conditions. New arrivals were adept at determining where they might enter a very large economy. The immigrant family economy survived and flourished among most newcomers in industrial America because new economic structures actually reinforced traditional ways of ordering life. . . . [I]ndividual inclinations were muted and the household . . . superseded all other goals and objectives. . . . Members of nearly all groups received indoctrination in the need to remain loyal to the familial and household unit. . . . [I]n the movement to a capitalist world and in the initial decades of settlement, familial and communal networks abounded."

John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, 1985

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Handlin's and Bodnar's historical interpretations of immigration to the United States.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1900 to 1930 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Handlin's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1900 to 1930 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Bodnar's interpretation.

Population Change, 1920–1930

2. Using the map above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that caused a population trend illustrated in the map.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that caused a population trend different from what you explained in (a).
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE significant historical result of the change you explained in (a) OR (b).
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between the causes of the Great Depression (1929–1939) and the causes of an earlier economic recession or depression in the United States.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference in the causes of the Great Depression (1929–1939) from the causes of an earlier economic recession or depression in the United States.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development demonstrates a change in the United States caused by the Great Depression (1929–1939).

22 CHAPTER

Managing the Great Depression, Forging the New Deal

1929–1938

Early Responses to the Depression, 1929–1932

Enter Herbert Hoover

Rising Discontent

The 1932 Election

The New Deal Arrives, 1933–1935

Roosevelt and the First Hundred Days

The New Deal Under Attack

The Second New Deal and the Redefining of Liberalism, 1935–1938

The Welfare State Comes into Being

From Reform to Stalemate

The New Deal and American Society

A People's Democracy

Reshaping the Environment

The New Deal and the Arts

The Legacies of the New Deal

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

What new roles did the American government take on during the New Deal, and how did these roles shape the economy and society?

In his inaugural address in March 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt did not hide the country's precarious condition. "A host of unemployed citizens face the grim problem of existence," he said, "and an equally great number toil with little return. Only a foolish optimist can deny the dark realities of the moment." Roosevelt, his demeanor sincere and purposeful, saw both despair and determination in the nation's citizens. "This nation asks for action, and action now." From Congress he would request "broad Executive power to wage a war against the emergency, as great as the power that would be given to me if we were in fact invaded by a foreign foe." With these words, Roosevelt launched a program of federal activism — which he called the New Deal — that would change the nature of American government.

The New Deal represented a new form of liberalism, a fresh interpretation of the ideology of individual rights that had long shaped the character of American society and politics. Classical nineteenth-century liberals believed that, to protect those rights, government should be small and relatively weak. However, the progressives of the early twentieth century believed individual freedom and opportunity were best safeguarded by strengthening state and federal control over large businesses and monopolies. New Deal activists went much further: their social-welfare liberalism expanded individual rights to include economic security. Beginning in the 1930s and continuing through the 1960s, they increased the responsibility of the national government for the welfare of ordinary citizens. Their efforts did not go unchallenged. Conservative critics of the New Deal charged that its "big government" programs were paternalistic and dangerous, undermining individual responsibility and constraining personal freedom. This division between the advocates and the critics of the New Deal shaped American politics for the next half century.

Before Roosevelt was elected president, between the onset of the depression in 1929 and November 1932, the "dark realities of the moment" wore down American society. Rising unemployment, shuttered businesses, failing banks, and home foreclosures tore at the nation's social fabric. As crisis piled upon crisis and the federal government's initiatives under President Hoover proved ineffectual, Americans had to reconsider more than the role of government in economic life: they had to rethink many of the principles of individualism and free enterprise that had guided so much of the nation's history.

ILLINOIS

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION

GIRLS – ARE YOU INTERESTED IN A JOB?

FIND OUT WHAT AN OCCUPATION HAS TO OFFER YOU IN

PAY - EMPLOYMENT - SECURITY AND PROMOTION

FREE CLASSES

IN OCCUPATIONS

The New Deal This Federal Arts Project poster from 1936 captured the spirit of the New Deal under President Franklin Roosevelt. Produced for the Illinois branch of the National Youth Administration, one of the many New Deal agencies of the decade, the poster demonstrates the goal of getting Americans working again. Roosevelt and other "New Dealers" hoped to decrease unemployment, raise people's spirits, and point to a brighter future in the midst of the Great Depression. Library of Congre

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1929
- Stock market crash

1930
- Smoot Hawley Tariff

1931–1937
- Scottsboro case: trials and appeals

1932
- Bonus Army marches on Washington, D.C. (May -July)
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt elected president (November)

1933
- FDR's inaugural address and first fireside chats
- Emergency Banking Act launches the Hundred Days
- FDR takes United States off the gold standard
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) created
- Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)
- National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) established
- Townsend Clubs promote Old Age Revolving Pension Plan

1934
- Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) created
- Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU) founded
- Indian Reorganization Act
- Senator Huey Long promotes Share Our Wealth Society

1935
- Supreme Court voids NIRA in *Schechter v. United States*
- National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act
- Social Security Act creates old-age pension system
- Works Progress Administration (WPA) created
- Rural Electrification Administration (REA) established
- Supreme Court voids Agricultural Adjustment Act
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) formed

1936
- Landslide reelection of FDR marks peak of New Deal

1937
- FDR's Supreme Court plan fails

1937–1938
- "Roosevelt recession" raises unemployment

1938
- Fair Labor Standards Act

Early Responses to the Depression, 1929–1932

To see a longer excerpt of Roosevelt's inaugural address, mentioned in the chapter introduction, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

The American economy collapsed between 1929 and 1932, by virtually any measurement. U.S. gross domestic product fell almost by half, from $103 billion to $58 billion. Consumption dropped by 18 percent, construction by 78 percent, and private investment by 88 percent. Nearly 9,000 banks closed their doors, and 100,000 businesses failed. Corporate profits fell from $10 billion to $1 billion. Unemployment rose to 25 percent. Fifteen million people were out of work by 1933. "Hoover made a souphound outa me!" sang jobless harvest hands in the Southwest.

The depression respected no national boundaries. Germany had preceded the United States into economic contraction in 1928, and its economy, burdened by heavy World War I reparations payments, was brought to its knees by 1929. France, Britain, Argentina, Brazil, Poland, and Canada were hard hit as well. Recovery proved difficult because the international gold standard constrained economic policymaking. The United States and most European nations had tied the value of their currencies to the price of gold, and the amount of gold held in reserves, since the late nineteenth century. This system had worked fairly well for a few decades, but it was vulnerable during economic downturns, when large financiers withdrew their investments and demanded gold payments. The gold standard rendered the international monetary system inflexible at precisely the moment when maximum flexibility was needed.

Enter Herbert Hoover

President Herbert Hoover and Congress responded to the downturn by drawing on two influential American traditions. The first was the belief that economic outcomes were the product of individual character: people's fate was in their own hands, and success went to those who deserved it. The second tradition held that through voluntary action, the business community could right itself and recover from economic downturns without relying on government assistance or, worse, submitting to government regulation. Following these principles, Hoover asked Americans to tighten their belts and work hard. After the stock market crash, he cut federal taxes in an attempt to boost private spending and corporate investment. "Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the strength of business in the United States is foolish,"

Hoover assured the country in late 1929. Treasury secretary Andrew Mellon suggested that the downturn would help Americans "work harder" and "live a more moral life."

While many factors caused the Great Depression, Hoover's adherence to the gold standard was a major reason for its length and severity in the United States. Faced with economic catastrophe, both Britain and Germany abandoned the gold standard in 1931; when they did so, their economies recovered modestly. But the Hoover administration feared that such a move would weaken the value of the dollar. In reality, an inflexible money supply discouraged investment and therefore prevented growth. The Roosevelt administration would ultimately remove the United States from the burdens of the gold standard in 1933. By that time, however, the crisis had achieved catastrophic dimensions. Billions had been lost in business and bank failures, and the economy had stalled completely.

Along with adherence to the gold standard, Hoover and many congressional Republicans believed in another piece of economic orthodoxy that had protected American manufacturing in good economic times but that proved damaging during the downturn: high tariffs (taxes on imported goods designed to stimulate American manufacturing). In 1930, Republicans enacted the **Smoot-Hawley Tariff**. Despite receiving a letter from more than a thousand economists urging him to veto it, Hoover approved the legislation. What served American interests in earlier eras now undermined them. Smoot-Hawley triggered retaliatory tariffs in other countries, which further hindered global trade and worsened economic contraction throughout the industrialized world.

The president recognized that individual initiative, business voluntarism, and high tariffs might not be enough, given the depth of the crisis, so he proposed government action as well. He called on state and local governments to provide jobs by investing in public projects. And in 1931, he secured an unprecedented increase of $700 million in federal spending for public works. Hoover's most innovative program was the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), which provided federal loans to railroads, banks, and other businesses. But the RFC lent money too cautiously, and by the end of 1932 it had loaned out only 20 percent of its $1.5 billion in funds. Like most federal initiatives under Hoover, the RFC was not nearly aggressive enough given the severity of the depression.

Few chief executives could have survived the downward economic spiral of 1929–1932, but Hoover's reluctance to break with the philosophy of limited government and his insistence that recovery was just around the corner contributed to his unpopularity. By 1932, Americans perceived Hoover as insensitive to the depth of economic suffering. The nation had come a long way since the depressions of the 1870s and 1890s, when no one except the most radical figures, such as Jacob Coxey, called for direct federal aid to the unemployed (Chapter 19). Compared with previous chief executives — and in contrast to his popular image as a "do-nothing" president — Hoover had responded to the national emergency with unprecedented government action. But the nation's needs were even more unprecedented, and Hoover's programs failed to meet them (Map 22.1).

AP® EXAM TIP

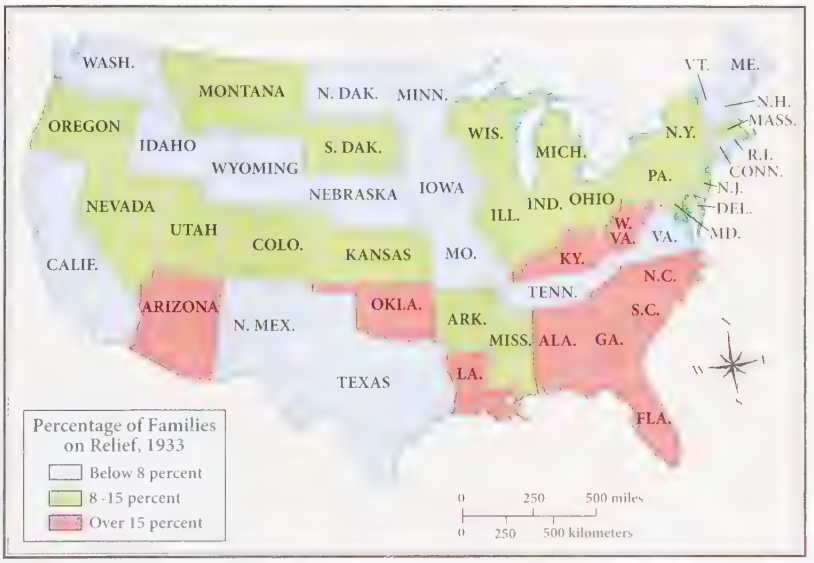
Evaluate the impact of Hoover's economic policies as contributing factors to the Great Depression.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What economic principles guided President Hoover and Congress in their response to the Great Depression?



MAP 22.1 The Great Depression: Families on Relief

Although the Great Depression was a nationwide crisis, some regions were hit harder than others. Economic hardship was widespread in the agricultural South, the rural Appalachian states, and the industrial states of the Northeast and Midwest. As the depression worsened in 1931 and 1932, local and state governments, as well as charitable organizations, could not keep up with the demand for relief. After Franklin D. Roosevelt assumed the presidency in 1933, the national government began a massive program of aid through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA).

Rising Discontent

As the depression deepened, the American vocabulary now included the terms *Hoovervilles* (**shantytowns** where people lived in packing crates) and *Hoover blankets* (newspapers). Bankrupt farmers banded together to resist the bank agents and sheriffs who tried to evict them from their land. To protest low prices for their goods, in the spring of 1932 thousands of midwestern farmers joined the Farmers' Holiday Association, which cut off supplies to urban areas by barricading roads and dumping milk, vegetables, and other foodstuffs onto the roadways. Agricultural prices were so low that the group advocated a government-supported farm program — drawing on Populist ideas from the 1890s (Chapter 19).

In the industrial sector, layoffs and wage cuts led to violent strikes. When coal miners in Harlan County, Kentucky, went on strike over a 10 percent wage cut in 1931, the mine owners called in the state's National Guard, which crushed the union. A 1932 confrontation between workers and security forces at the Ford Motor Company's giant River Rouge factory outside Detroit left five workers dead and fifty with serious injuries. A news photographer had his camera shot from his hands, and fifteen policemen were beaten. Whether on farms or in factories, those who produced the nation's food and goods had begun to agitate, protest, and organize in the face of mounting economic troubles.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the Bonus Army as an expression of popular action in the Great Depression.

Veterans staged the most publicized — and most tragic — protest. In the summer of 1932, the **Bonus Army**, a determined group of between fifteen thousand and twenty thousand unemployed World War I veterans, piled into cars, hitchhiked, and even walked to Washington to demand immediate payment of pension awards that were due

Hooverville The depression cast hundreds of thousands of Americans out of their homes. Most found shelter with relatives, but those with little choice had to make do as they could. Encampments such as this one south of downtown Seattle, Washington — places where the homeless crafted makeshift lodging out of whatever materials were at hand — became known as Hoovervilles. The name reflected Americans' attitudes toward President Hoover, whose popularity plummeted as the depression deepened. AP Photo

to be paid in 1945. "We were heroes in 1917, but we're bums now," one veteran complained bitterly. While their leaders unsuccessfully lobbied Congress, the Bonus Army set up camps near the Capitol building. Hoover deployed regular army troops under the command of General Douglas MacArthur, who forcefully evicted the marchers and burned their encampment to the ground. When newsreel footage showing the U.S. Army attacking and injuring veterans reached movie theaters across the nation, Hoover's popularity plunged even further. In another measure of how the country had changed since the 1890s, what Americans had applauded when done to Coxey in 1894 was condemned in 1932.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What experiences led groups of farmers, industrial workers, and veterans to protest in the early 1930s?

The 1932 Election

Amidst rising discontent as the 1932 election approached, most Americans believed that something altogether new had to be tried—whatever that might be. The Republicans, reluctant to dump an **incumbent** president, unenthusiastically renominated Hoover. The Democrats turned to New York governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose state had initiated innovative relief and unemployment programs.

Roosevelt, born into a wealthy New York family, was a distant cousin to former president Theodore Roosevelt, whose career he emulated. After attending Harvard College and Columbia University, Franklin Roosevelt served as assistant secretary of the navy during World War I (as Theodore Roosevelt had done before the War of 1898). Then, in 1921, a crippling attack of polio left both of his legs permanently paralyzed. Supported by his wife, Eleanor, he slowly returned to public life and campaigned successfully for the governorship of New York in 1928 and again in 1930. Running for the presidency in 1932, Roosevelt pledged vigorous action but gave no indication what that action might be, arguing simply that "the country needs and, unless I mistake its temper, the country demands bold, persistent experimentation." He won easily, receiving 22.8 million votes to Hoover's 15.7 million.

Elected in November, Roosevelt would not begin his presidency until March 1933. (The Twentieth Amendment, ratified in 1933, set subsequent inaugurations for January 20.) Meanwhile, Americans suffered through the worst winter of the depression. Unemployment continued to climb nationwide. In a measure of the depth of woe, in three major industrial cities in Ohio, the jobless rate shot to staggering levels: 50 percent in Cleveland, 60 percent in Akron, and 80 percent in Toledo. Private charities and public relief agencies reached only a fraction of the needy. The nation's banking system was so close to collapse that many state governors closed banks temporarily to avoid further withdrawals. Several states were approaching bankruptcy, their tax revenues too low to pay for basic services. By March 1933, the nation had hit rock bottom.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **How did Americans, from ordinary citizens to political leaders, respond to the Great Depression?**

The New Deal Arrives, 1933–1935

The ideological differences between Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt were not vast. Both leaders wished to maintain the nation's economic institutions and preserve its social structure, to save capitalism while easing its worst downturns. Both believed in a balanced government budget and extolled the values of hard work, cooperation, and sacrifice. But Roosevelt's personal charm, political savvy, and willingness to experiment made him far more effective and popular than Hoover. Most Americans felt a kinship with their new president, calling him simply FDR. His New Deal would put people to work and restore hope in the nation's future.

Ordinary People Respond to the New Deal

Franklin Roosevelt's fireside chats and his relief programs prompted thousands of ordinary Americans to write directly to the president and his wife, Eleanor. Taken together, their letters offer a vivid portrait of depression-era America that includes popular support for, as well as opposition to, the New Deal.

MRS. M. H. A.

Mrs. M. H. A. worked in the County Court House in Eureka, California.

SOURCE: Robert S. McElvaine, *Down & Out in the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 54–55.

"June 14, 1934
Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:
I know you are overburdened with requests for help and if my plea cannot be recognized, I'll understand it is because you have so many others, all of them worthy. . . .

My husband and I are a young couple of very simple, almost poor families. We married eight years ago on the proverbial shoe-string but with a wealth of love. . . . We managed to build our home and furnish it comfortably. . . . Then came the depression. My work has continued and my salary alone has just been sufficient to make our monthly payments on the house and keep our bills paid. . . . But with the exception of two and one-half months work with the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey under the C.W.A. [Civil Works Administration], my husband has not had work since August, 1932.

My salary could continue to keep us going, but I am to have a baby. . . . I can get a leave of absence from my job for a year. But can't you, won't you do something so my husband can have a job, at least during that year? . . .

As I said before, if it were only ourselves, or if there were something we could do about it, we would never ask for help.

We have always stood on our own feet and been proud and happy. But you are a mother and you'll understand this crisis.

Very sincerely yours,
Mrs. M. H. A."

UNSIGNED LETTER

This unsigned letter came from a factory worker in Paris, Texas.

SOURCE: Gerald Markowitz and David Rosner, eds., *"Slaves of the Depression": Worker's Letters About Life on the Job* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 21.

"November 23, 1936
Dear President,

[N]ow that we have had a land Slide [in the election of 1936] and done just what was best for our country . . . I do believe you Will Strain a point to help the ones who helped you mostly & that is the Working Class of People I am not smart or I would be in a different line of work & better up in ever way yet I will know you are the one & only President that ever helped a Working Class of People. . . .

I am a White Man American age, 47 married wife 2children in high School am a Finishing room foreman I mean a Working foreman & am in a furniture Factory here in Paris Texas where thaire is 175 to 200 Working & when the NRA [National Recovery Administration] came in I was Proud to See my fellow workmen Rec 30 Per hour in Place of 8 cents to 20 cents Per hour. . . .

I can't see for my life President why a man must toil &work his life out in Such factories 10 long hours ever day except Sunday for a small sum of 15 cents to 35 cents per hour & pay the high cost of honest & deason living expences. . . .

please see if something can be done to help this one Class of Working People the factories are a man killer not venelated or kept up just a bunch of Republickins Grafters 90/100 of them Please help us some way I Pray to God for relief. I am a Christian . . . and a truthful man & have not told you wrong & am for you to the end.

[not signed]"

R. A.

R. A. was sixty-nine years old and an architect and builder in Lincoln, Nebraska.

SOURCE: Robert S. McElvaine, *Down & Out in the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 97.

"May 19/34
Dear Mrs Roosevelt:
In the Presidents inaugral address delivered from the capitol steps the afternoon of his inaugration he made mention of The Forgotten Man, and I with thousands of others am wondering if the folk who was borned here in America some 60 or 70 years a go are this Forgotten Man, the President had in mind, if we are this Forgotten Man then we are still Forgotten.

AP EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of mass media on the relationship between citizens and government in the 1930s.

Roosevelt and the First Hundred Days

A wealthy **patrician**, Roosevelt was an unlikely figure to inspire millions of ordinary Americans. But his close rapport with the American people was critical to his political success. More than 450,000 letters poured into the White House in the week after his inauguration. The president's masterful use of the new medium of radio, especially his

We who have tried to be diligent in our support of this most wonderful nation of ours boath social and other wise, we in our younger days tried to do our duty without complaining. . . .

And now a great calamity has come upon us and seemingly no cause of our own it has swept away what little savings we had accumulated and we are left in a condition that is imposible for us to correct, for two very prominent reasons if no more.

First we have grown to what is termed Old Age, this befalls every man.

Second, . . . we are confronted on every hand with the young generation, taking our places, this of corse is what we have looked forward to in training our children. But with the extra ordinary crisese which left us helpless and placed us in the position that our fathers did not have to contend with. . . .

We have been honorable citizens all along our journey, calamity and old age has forced its self upon us please do not send us to the Poor Farm but instead allow us the small pension of $40.00 per month. . . .

Mrs. Roosevelt I am asking a personal favor of you as it seems to be the only means through which I may be able to reach the President, some evening very soon, as you and Mr. Roosevelt are having dinner together privately will you ask him to read this. And we American citizens will ever remember your kindness.

Yours very truly.

R. A. ”

M. A.

M. A. was a woman who held a low-level salaried position in a corporation.

SOURCE: Robert S. McElvaine, *Down & Out in the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 147.

“ Jan. 18, 1937

[Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:]

I . . . was simply astounded to think that anyone could be nitwit enough to wish to be included in the so called social security act if they could possibly avoid it. Call it by any name you wish it, in my opinion, (and that of many people I know) [it] is nothing but downright stealing. . . .

I am not an 'economic royalist,' just an ordinary white collar worker at $1600 per [year — about $23,600 in 2009]. Please show this to the president and ask him to remember the wishes of the forgotten man, that is, the one who dared to vote against him. We expect to be tramped on but we do wish the stepping would be a little less hard.

Security at the price of freedom is never desired by intelligent people.

M. A. ”

M. A. H.

M. A. H. was a widow who ran a small farm in Columbus, Indiana.

SOURCE: Robert S. McElvaine, *Down & Out in the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 143.

“ December 14, 1937

Mrs. Roosevelt:

I suppose from your point of view the work relief, old age pensions, slum clearance and all the rest seems like a perfect remedy for all the ills of this country, but I would like for you to see the results, as the other half see them.

We have always had a shiftless, never-do-well class of people whose one and only aim in life is to live without work. I have been rubbing elbows with this class for nearly sixty years and have tried to help some of the most promising and have seen others try to help them, but it can't be done. We cannot help those who will not try to help themselves and if they do try a square deal is all they need, . . . let each one paddle their own canoe, or sink. . . .

I live alone on a farm and have not raised any crops for the last two years as there was no help to be had. I am feeding the stock and have been cutting the wood to keep my home fires burning. There are several reliefers around here now who have been kicked off relief but they refuse to work unless they can get relief hours and wages, but they are so worthless no one can afford to hire them. . . . They are just a fair sample of the class of people on whom so much of our hard earned tax-money is being squandered and on whom so much sympathy is being wasted. . . .

You people who have plenty of this worlds goods and whose money comes easy have no idea of the heart-breaking toil and self-denial which is the lot of the working people who are trying to make an honest living, and then to have to shoulder all these unjust burdens seems like the last straw. . . . No one should have the right to vote theirself a living at the expense of the tax payers. . . .

M. A. H. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How do you explain the personal, almost intimate, tone of these letters to the Roosevelts?
2. How have specific New Deal programs helped or hurt the authors of these letters?
3. What are the basic values of the authors? Do the values of those who support the New Deal differ from the values of those who oppose it?

evening radio addresses to the American public known as **fireside chats**, made him an intimate presence in people's lives. Thousands of citizens felt a personal relationship with FDR, saying, "He gave me a job" or "He saved my home" (AP® Analyzing Voices).

Citing the national economic emergency, Roosevelt further expanded the presidential powers that Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson had increased previously.

To draft legislation and policy, he relied heavily on financier Bernard Baruch and a "Brains Trust" of professors from Columbia, Harvard, and other leading universities. Roosevelt also turned to his talented cabinet, which included Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior; Frances Perkins at the Labor Department; Henry A. Wallace at Agriculture; and Henry Morgenthau Jr., secretary of the treasury. These intellectuals and administrators attracted hundreds of highly qualified recruits to Washington. Inspired by New Deal idealism, many of them would devote their lives to public service and the principles of social-welfare liberalism.

Roosevelt could have done little, however, without a sympathetic Congress. The 1932 election had swept Democratic majorities into both the House and Senate, giving the new president the lawmaking allies he needed. The first months of FDR's administration produced a whirlwind of activity on Capitol Hill. In a legendary session, known as the **Hundred Days**, Congress enacted fifteen major bills that focused primarily on four problems: banking failures, agricultural overproduction, the business slump, and soaring unemployment. Derided by some as an "alphabet soup" because of their many abbreviations (CCC, WPA, AAA, etc.), the new policies and agencies represented the emergence of a new American state.

AP® EXAM TIP
Compare the goals and effectiveness of New Deal programs established in the first "Hundred Days."

Banking Reform

The collapsing banking system hobbled the entire economy, curtailing consumer spending and business investment. Widespread bank failures had reduced the savings of nearly nine million families, and panicked account holders raced to withdraw their funds. On March 5, 1933, the day after his inauguration, FDR declared a national "bank holiday" — closing all the banks — and called Congress into special session. Four days later, Congress passed the Emergency Banking Act, which permitted banks to reopen if a Treasury Department inspection showed they had sufficient cash reserves.

AP® EXAM TIP
Explain the expansion of the federal government's regulatory role as a result of the Great Depression.

In his first Sunday night fireside chat, to a radio audience of sixty million, the president reassured citizens that their money was safe. When the banks reopened on March 13, calm prevailed and deposits exceeded withdrawals, restoring stability to the nation's basic financial institutions. "Capitalism was saved in eight days," quipped Roosevelt's advisor Raymond Moley. Four thousand banks had failed in the months prior to Roosevelt's inauguration; only sixty-one closed their doors in all of 1934 (Table 22.1). A second banking law, the **Glass-Steagall Act**, further restored public confidence by creating the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which insured deposits up to $2,500 (and now insures them up to $250,000). The act also prohibited banks from making risky, unsecured investments with the deposits of ordinary people. And in a profoundly important economic and symbolic gesture, Roosevelt removed the U.S. Treasury from the gold standard in June 1933, which allowed the

TABLE 22.1

American Banks and Bank Failures, 1920–1940

Year	Total Number of Banks	Total Assets ($ billion)	Bank Failures
1920	30,909	53.1	168
1929	25,568	72.3	659
1931	22,242	70.1	2,294
1933	14,771	51.4	4,004
1934	15,913	55.9	61
1940	15,076	79.7	48

SOURCE: *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 1019, 1038–1039.

Federal Reserve to lower interest rates; since 1931, it had been raising rates, which had only deepened the downturn.

Agriculture and Manufacturing Roosevelt and the New Deal Congress next turned to agriculture and manufacturing. In those sectors, a seeming paradox was evident: the depression led to overproduction in agriculture and underproduction in manufacturing. Reversing both problematic trends was critical. The **Agricultural Adjustment Act** (AAA) began direct governmental regulation of the farm economy for the first time. To solve the problem of overproduction, which lowered prices, the AAA provided cash subsidies to farmers who cut production of seven major commodities: wheat, cotton, corn, hogs, rice, tobacco, and dairy products. Policymakers hoped that farm prices would rise as production fell.

By dumping cash in farmers' hands, the AAA briefly stabilized the farm economy. But the act's benefits were not evenly distributed. Subsidies went primarily to the owners of large and medium-sized farms, who often cut production by reducing the amount of land they rented to tenants and sharecroppers. In Mississippi, one plantation owner received $26,000 from the federal government, while thousands of black sharecroppers living in the same county received only a few dollars in relief payments.

In manufacturing, the New Deal attacked declining production with the National Industrial Recovery Act. A new government agency, the **National Recovery Administration** (NRA), set up separate self-governing private associations in six hundred industries. Each industry — ranging from large corporations producing coal, cotton textiles, and steel to small businesses making pet food and costume jewelry — regulated itself by agreeing on prices and production quotas.

The AAA and the NRA were designed to rescue the nation's productive industries and stabilize the economy. The measures had positive effects in some regions, but most historians agree that, overall, they did little to end the depression.

Unemployment Relief The Roosevelt administration next addressed the massive unemployment problem. By 1933, local governments and private charities had exhausted their resources and were looking to Washington for assistance. Although Roosevelt wanted to avoid a budget deficit, he asked Congress to provide relief for millions of unemployed Americans. In May, Congress established the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). Directed by Harry Hopkins, a hard-driving social worker from New York, the FERA provided federal funds for state relief programs.

Roosevelt and Hopkins had strong reservations about the "dole," the nickname for government welfare payments. As Hopkins put it, "I don't think anybody can go year after year, month after month, accepting relief without affecting his character." To support the traditional values of individualism, the New Deal put people to work. Early in 1933, Congress established the **Public Works Administration** (PWA), a construction program, and several months later, Roosevelt created the Civil Works Administration (CWA) and named Hopkins its head. At its peak in 1934, the CWA provided jobs for 4 million Americans, repairing bridges, building highways, and constructing public buildings. A stopgap measure to get the country through the winter of 1933–1934, the CWA lapsed in the spring, when Republican opposition compelled New Dealers to abandon it. A longer-term program, the **Civilian Conservation Corps** (CCC), mobilized 250,000 young men to do **reforestation**

Selling the NRA in Chinatown To mobilize support for its program, the National Recovery Administration (NRA) distributed millions of posters to businesses and families, urging them to display its symbol, the Blue Eagle, in shops, factories, and homes. Here Constance King and Mae Chinn of the Chinese YMCA affix a poster (and a Chinese translation) to a shop in San Francisco that is complying with the NRA codes. Bettmann/Getty Images

and conservation work. Over the course of the 1930s, the "CCC boys" built thousands of bridges, roads, trails, and other structures in state and national parks, bolstering the national infrastructure (Map 22.2).

Housing Crisis Millions of Americans also faced the devastating prospect of losing their homes. The economic expansion of the 1920s had produced the largest inflationary housing bubble in American history to that point, a scenario in which home prices rose rapidly, fueled by widespread borrowing. In the early 1930s, home prices collapsed, banks closed, and the jobless could not afford mortgage payments. More than half a million Americans lost their homes between 1930 and 1932. In response, Congress created the Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) to refinance home mortgages. In just two years, the HOLC helped more than a million Americans retain their homes. The Federal Housing Act of 1934 would extend this program under a new agency, the **Federal Housing Administration** (FHA). Together, the HOLC, the FHA, and the subsequent Housing Act of 1937 permanently changed the mortgage system and set the foundation for the broad expansion of home ownership in the post-World War II decades (Chapter 24).

When an exhausted Congress recessed in June 1933, at the end of the Hundred Days, it had enacted Roosevelt's agenda: banking reform, recovery programs for agriculture and industry, public works, and unemployment relief. Few presidents had won the passage of so many measures in so short a time. The new federal agencies were far

MAP 22.2 Civilian Conservation Corps Camps
The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) gave hope to unemployed young men during the Great Depression. The first camp opened in Big Meadows, Virginia, in July 1933, and by the end of the decade CCC camps had appeared across the length of the country, located in rural, mountainous, and forested regions alike. Young men constructed bridges and roads, built hiking trails, erected public campgrounds, and performed other improvements. By the early 1940s, the CCC had planted three billion trees, among its many other contributions to the national infrastructure.

from perfect and had their critics on both the radical left and the conservative right. But the vigorous actions taken by Roosevelt and Congress had halted the downward economic spiral of the Hoover years, stabilized the financial sector, and sent a message of hope from the nation's political leaders. For all that, however, the New Deal did not break the grip of the depression.

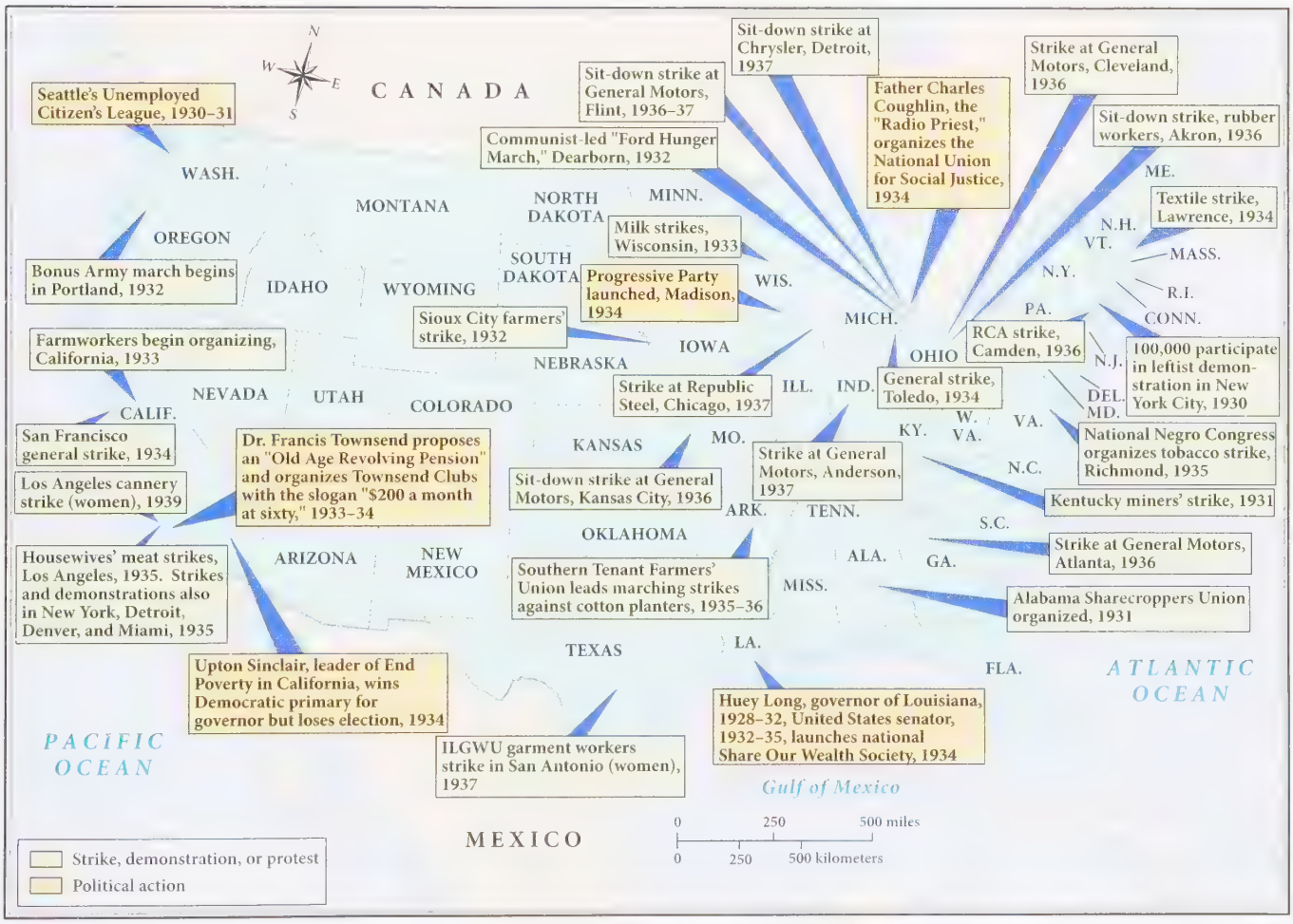
AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What specific new roles did the American government take up as a result of the legislation passed during the first Hundred Days?

The New Deal Under Attack

As New Dealers waited anxiously for the economy to revive, Roosevelt turned his attention to the reform of Wall Street, where reckless speculation and overleveraged buying of stocks had helped trigger the financial panic of 1929. In 1934, Congress established the **Securities and Exchange Commission** (SEC) to regulate the stock market. The commission had broad powers to determine how stocks and bonds were sold to the public, to set rules for margin (credit) transactions, and to prevent stock sales by those with inside information about corporate plans. The Banking Act of 1935



MAP 22.3 Popular Protest in the Great Depression, 1933–1939

The depression forced Americans to look closely at their society, and many of them did not like what they saw. Some citizens expressed their discontent through popular movements, and this map suggests the geography of discontent. The industrial Midwest witnessed union movements, strikes, and "Radio Priest" Charles Coughlin's demands for social reform. Simultaneously, farmers' movements — tenants in the South, smallholders in the agricultural Midwest — engaged in strikes and dumping campaigns and rallied behind the ideas of progressives in Wisconsin and Huey Long in the South. Protests took diverse forms in California, which was home to strikes by farmworkers, women, and — in San Francisco — all wageworkers. The West was also the seedbed of two important reform proposals: Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California (EPIC) movement and Francis Townsend's Old Age Revolving Pension clubs.

authorized the president to appoint a new Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, placing control of interest rates and other money-market policies in a federal agency based in Washington rather than in the hands of private bankers around the country.

AP® EXAM TIP
Evaluate the impact of criticism from the right and the left on New Deal programs.

Critics on the Right Such measures exposed the New Deal to attack from economic conservatives—also known as the political right. A man of wealth, Roosevelt saw himself as the savior of American capitalism, declaring simply, "To preserve we had to reform." Many bankers and business executives disagreed. To them, FDR became "That Man," a traitor to his class. In 1934, Republican business leaders joined with conservative Democrats in the **American Liberty League** to fight what they called the "reckless spending" and "socialist" reforms of the New Deal. Herbert Hoover condemned the NRA as "tyranny, not liberalism."

The **National Association of Manufacturers** (NAM) was a more lasting opponent of the New Deal—its influence stretched far into the post–World War II decades. Sparked by a new generation of corporate leaders who launched a probusiness publicity campaign to "serve the purposes of business salvation," the NAM promoted free enterprise and unfettered capitalism. In response to what many conservatives perceived as Roosevelt's antibusiness policies, the NAM produced radio programs, motion pictures, billboards, and direct mail campaigns carrying its message. After World War II, the NAM emerged as a staunch critic of liberalism and forged alliances with influential conservative politicians such as Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan.

Based on conservative legal doctrine dating to the late nineteenth century, the Supreme Court repudiated several cornerstones of the early New Deal. In May 1935, in *Schechter v. United States*, the Court unanimously ruled the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional because it delegated Congress's lawmaking power to the executive branch and extended federal authority to intrastate (in contrast to interstate) commerce. Roosevelt protested but watched helplessly as the Court struck down more New Deal legislation: the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Railroad Retirement Act, and a debt-relief law known as the Frazier-Lemke Act.

Father Coughlin One of the foremost critics of the New Deal was the "Radio Priest," Father Charles E. Coughlin. Coughlin believed that Roosevelt and the Democratic Party had not gone far enough in their efforts to ensure the social welfare of all citizens. For instance, he and his organization, the National Union for Social Justice, urged Roosevelt to nationalize the banks. Coughlin's radio audience reached 30 million, and he was one of the most recognizable religious leaders in the country. Unfortunately, his remarks in the early 1930s were often laced with anti-Semitism (anti-Jewish sentiment), a common feature of that era. Bettmann/Getty Image

Critics on the Populist Left If business leaders and the Supreme Court thought that the New Deal had gone too far, other Americans believed it had not gone far enough. Among these were public figures who, in the tradition of American populism, sought to place government on the side of ordinary citizens against corporations and the wealthy. Francis Townsend, a doctor from Long Beach, California, spoke for the nation's elderly, most of whom had no pensions and feared poverty. In 1933, Townsend proposed the Old Age Revolving Pension Plan, which would give $200 a month (about $3,600 today) to citizens over the age of sixty. To receive payments, the elderly would have to retire and open their positions to younger workers. Townsend Clubs sprang up across the country in support of the **Townsend Plan**, mobilizing mass support for old-age pensions.

The most direct political threat to Roosevelt came from Louisiana senator Huey Long. As the Democratic governor of

Louisiana from 1928 to 1932, the flamboyant Long had achieved stunning popularity. He increased taxes on corporations, lowered the utility bills of consumers, and built new highways, hospitals, and schools. To push through these measures, Long seized almost dictatorial control of the state government. A U.S. senator by 1934, Long broke with the New Deal and, like Townsend, established a national movement. According to his Share Our Wealth Society, inequalities in the distribution of wealth prohibited millions of ordinary families from buying the goods that kept factories humming. Long's society advocated a tax of 100 percent on all income over $1 million and on all inheritances over $5 million. He hoped that this populist program would carry him into the White House. Roosevelt himself feared that Long and Townsend, along with the popular "Radio Priest," Father Charles Coughlin, might join forces to form a third party. He had to respond or risk the political unity of the country's liberal forces (Map 22.3).

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the major components of the Hundred Days, and what was their purpose?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did critics on the right and left represent different kinds of challenges to Roosevelt and the New Deal?

The Second New Deal and the Redefining of Liberalism, 1935–1938

As attacks on the New Deal proliferated, Roosevelt and his advisors moved politically to the left. Historians have labeled this shift in policy the Second New Deal. Roosevelt now openly criticized the "money classes," proudly stating, "We have earned the hatred of entrenched greed." He also decisively countered the rising popularity of Townsend, Long, and Coughlin by adopting parts of their programs. The administration's Revenue Act of 1935 proposed a substantial tax increase on corporate profits and higher income and estate taxes on the wealthy. When conservatives attacked this legislation as an attempt to "soak the rich," Congress moderated its taxation rates. But FDR was satisfied. He had met the Share Our Wealth Society's proposal with a tax plan of his own.

The Welfare State Comes into Being

The Revenue Act symbolized the administration's new outlook. Unlike the First New Deal, which focused on economic recovery, the Second New Deal emphasized social justice and the creation of a safety net: the use of the federal government to assist working people and to provide economic security for the old, the disabled, and the unemployed. The resulting **welfare state**—a term applied to industrial democracies that adopted various government-guaranteed social-welfare programs—fundamentally changed American society.

The Wagner Act and Social Security The first beneficiary of Roosevelt's Second New Deal was the labor movement. Section 7(a) of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA) had given workers the right to organize unions, producing a dramatic growth in rank-and-file militancy and leading to a strike wave in 1934. When the Supreme Court voided the NIRA in 1935, labor unions called for new legislation that would allow workers to organize and bargain collectively with employers. Named for its sponsor, Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, the **Wagner Act** (1935) established the right of industrial workers to join unions. The act outlawed many practices that employers had used to suppress unions, such as firing workers for organizing activities. A new federal agency, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), had the authority to protect workers from employer coercion and would guarantee collective bargaining.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the significance of the Social Security system as the foundation of the American welfare system.

A second initiative, the **Social Security Act** of 1935, had an equally widespread impact. Other industrialized societies, such as Germany and Britain, had created national old-age pension systems at the turn of the century, but American reformers had failed to secure a similar program. The Townsend and Long movements now pressed Roosevelt to act, giving political leverage to pension **proponents** within the administration. Children's welfare advocates, concerned about the fate of fatherless families, also pressured the president. The resulting Social Security Act had three main provisions: old-age pensions for workers; a joint federal-state system of compensation for unemployed workers; and a program of payments to widowed mothers and the blind, deaf, and disabled. Roosevelt, however, limited the reach of the legislation. Knowing that compulsory pension and unemployment legislation alone would be controversial, he dropped a provision for national health insurance, fearing it would doom the entire bill.

The Social Security Act was a milestone in the creation of an American welfare state. Never before had the federal government assumed such responsibility for the well-being of so many citizens. Social Security, as old-age pensions were known, became one of the most popular government programs in American history. On the other hand, the assistance program for widows and children known as Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) became one of its most controversial measures. ADC covered only 700,000 youngsters in 1939; by 1994, its successor, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), enrolled 14.1 million Americans. A minor program during the New Deal, AFDC grew enormously in the 1960s and remained an often maligned cornerstone of the welfare state until it was eliminated under President Bill Clinton in 1996.

New Deal Liberalism The Second New Deal created what historians call New Deal liberalism. **Classical liberalism** held individual liberty to be the foundation of a democratic society, and the word *liberal* had traditionally denoted support for free-market policies and weak government. Roosevelt and his advisors, along with intellectuals such as British economist John Maynard Keynes, disagreed. They countered that, to preserve individual liberty, government must assist the needy and guarantee the basic welfare of citizens. This liberal welfare state was opposed by inheritors of the nineteenth-century ideology of *laissez faire* capitalism, who gradually became known as conservatives. These two visions of liberty and government — with liberals on one side and conservatives on the other — would shape American politics for the remainder of the twentieth century.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did the Second New Deal differ from the first?

From Reform to Stalemate

Roosevelt's first term had seen an extraordinary expansion of the federal state. The great burst of government action between 1933 and 1935 was unequaled in the nation's history, though Congress and President Lyndon Johnson nearly matched it in 1965 and 1966 (Chapter 27). Roosevelt's second term, however, was characterized by a series of political entanglements and economic bad news that stifled further reform.

The 1936 Election FDR was never enthusiastic about public relief programs. But with the election of 1936 on the horizon and 10 million Americans still out of work, he won funding for the **Works Progress Administration** (WPA). Under the energetic direction of Harry Hopkins, the WPA employed 8.5 million Americans between 1935, when it was established, and 1943. The agency's workers constructed or repaired 651,087 miles of road, 124,087 bridges, 125,110 public buildings, 8,192 parks, and 853 airports. The WPA was an extravagant operation by 1930s standards, yet it reached only about one-third of the nation's unemployed.

As the 1936 election approached, new voters joined the Democratic Party. Many had personally benefitted from New Deal programs such as the WPA or knew people

who had (Table 22.2). One was Jack Reagan, a down-on-his-luck shoe salesman (and the father of future president Ronald Reagan), who took a job as a federal relief administrator in Dixon, Illinois, and became a strong supporter of the New Deal. In addition to voters such as Reagan, Roosevelt could count on a powerful coalition of organized labor, midwestern farmers, white ethnic groups, northern African Americans, and middle-class families concerned about unemployment and old-age security. He also commanded the support of intellectuals and progressive Republicans. With difficulty, the Democrats held on to the votes of their white southern constituency as well.

Republicans recognized that the New Deal was too popular to oppose directly, so they chose as their candidate the progressive governor of Kansas, Alfred M. Landon. Landon accepted the legitimacy of many New Deal programs but criticized their inefficiency and expense. He also pointed to authoritarian regimes in Italy and Germany and hinted that FDR harbored similar dictatorial ambitions. These charges fell on deaf ears. Roosevelt's victory in 1936 was one of the most lopsided in American history. The assassination of Huey Long by a Louisiana political rival in September 1935 had eliminated the threat of a serious third-party challenge. Roosevelt received 60 percent of the popular vote and carried every state except Maine and Vermont. The *New Republic*, a liberal publication, boasted that "it was the greatest revolution in our political history."

"I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished," the president declared in his second inaugural address in January 1937, pointing to the depression's persistent social costs. But any hopes that FDR had for expanding the liberal welfare state were quickly dashed. Within a year, staunch opposition to Roosevelt's initiatives arose in Congress, and a sharp recession undermined confidence in his economic leadership.

TABLE 22.2

Major New Deal Legislation

Agriculture	
1933	Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA)
1935	Resettlement Administration (RA) Rural Electrification Administration (REA)
1937	Farm Security Administration (FSA)
1938	Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938
Finance and Industry	
1933	Emergency Banking Act Glass-Steagall Act (created the FDIC) National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)
1934	Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC)
1935	Banking Act of 1935 Revenue Act (wealth tax)
Conservation and the Environment	
1933	Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act
Labor and Social Welfare	
1933	Section 7(a) of NIRA
1935	National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) Social Security Act
1937	National Housing Act
1938	Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)
Relief and Reconstruction	
1933	Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) Civil Works Administration (CWA) Public Works Administration (PWA)
1935	Works Progress Administration (WPA) National Youth Administration (NYA)

Court Battle and Economic Recession Roosevelt's first setback in 1937 came when he surprised the nation by seeking fundamental changes to the Supreme Court. In 1935, the Court had struck down a series of New Deal measures by the narrow margin of 5 to 4. With the Wagner Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and Social Security all slated to come before the Court, the future of the New Deal rested in the hands of a few elderly, conservative-minded judges. To diminish their influence, the president proposed adding a new justice to the Court for every member over the age of seventy, a scheme that would have brought six new judges to the bench at the time the legislation was proposed. Roosevelt's opponents protested that he was trying to "pack" the Court. After a bitter, months-long debate, Congress rejected this blatant attempt to alter the judiciary to the president's advantage.

If Roosevelt lost the battle, he went on to win the war. Swayed in part by the president's overwhelming electoral victory in the 1936 election, the Court upheld the Wagner and Social Security Acts. Moreover, a series of timely resignations allowed Roosevelt to reshape the Supreme Court after all. His new appointees — who included the liberal-leaning and generally pro–New Deal Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and William O. Douglas — viewed the Constitution as a "living document" that had to be interpreted in the light of present conditions.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the causes and effects of FDR's Court-packing plan.

The so-called **Roosevelt recession** of 1937–1938 dealt another blow to the president. From 1933 to 1937, gross domestic product had grown at a yearly rate of about

Was the New Deal a Reform or a Revolution?

The 1930s Great Depression left a deep imprint on the lives of the millions of Americans who suffered the economic consequences of financial collapse. The familiar images of farm foreclosures, soup lines, and dusty migrants heading west with only a fading faith in the future to keep them moving tell a story of personal and national despair. Many of these disheartened Americans brightened at the 1932 election of President Franklin Roosevelt, whose New Deal programs gave them hope that, as his campaign said, "happy days are here again."

Happier days dawned for some, but not for others. The New Deal did not solve every problem. Commentators at the time and historians ever since have tried to understand exactly what the New Deal accomplished. Did Roosevelt's New Deal reform the relationship between the federal government and the economy, or revolutionize it? Two historians, Carl Degler and Alan Brinkley, pick up this theme and offer competing interpretations of the New Deal and its legacy.

CARL N. DEGLER

SOURCE: Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), 414–415.

[T]he guarantor state . . . under the New Deal was . . . a vigorous and dynamic force in the society, energizing and . . . supplanting private enterprise when the general welfare required it. . . . When social and economic problems . . . were ignored or shirked by private enterprise, then the federal government undertook to do the job. [If] private enterprise failed to provide adequate and sufficient housing for a minimum standard of welfare for the people, then the government would build houses. . . . Few areas of American life were beyond the touch of the experimenting fingers of the New Deal. . . . The New Deal Revolution has become so much a part of the American Way that no political party which aspires to high office dares now to repudiate it.

ALAN BRINKLEY

SOURCE: Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 6–7.

The critique of modern capitalism that had been so important in the early 1930s . . . was largely gone. . . . In its place was a set of liberal ideas essentially reconciled to the existing structure of the economy and committed to using the state to compensate for capitalism's inevitable flaws. . . . When liberals spoke now of government's responsibility to protect the health of the industrial world, they defined that responsibility less as a commitment to restructure the economy than as an effort to stabilize it and help it to grow. They were no longer much concerned about controlling or punishing "plutocrats" and "economic royalists," an impulse central to New Deal rhetoric in the mid-1930s. Instead, they spoke of their commitment to providing a healthy environment in which the corporate world could flourish and in which the economy could sustain "full employment."

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify the major difference in the interpretations of the New Deal offered by Degler and Brinkley.
2. What does each historian see as the impact of New Deal policies on America's system of capitalism and private enterprise?
3. What two pieces of evidence from the chapter can you identify to make an argument for or against the revolutionary impact of the New Deal?

10 percent, bringing industrial output back to 1929 levels. Unemployment had declined from 25 percent to 14 percent. "The emergency has passed," declared Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina. Acting on this assumption, Roosevelt slashed the federal budget. Following the president's lead, Congress cut the WPA's funding in half, causing layoffs of about 1.5 million workers, and the Federal Reserve, fearing inflation, raised interest rates. These measures halted recovery. The stock market dropped sharply, and unemployment jumped to 19 percent. Quickly reversing course, Roosevelt began once again to spend his way out of the recession by boosting funding for the WPA and resuming public works projects.

Although improvised, this spending program accorded with the theories of John Maynard Keynes, a visionary British economist. Keynes transformed economic

Economic Nationalism in the United States and Mexico

President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal sought to regulate the economy and provide a degree of economic security to American citizens while maintaining the structures of capitalism. In Mexico, President Lázaro Cárdenas (1934–1940) also hoped to achieve economic security for his country's citizens, but he took different steps than Roosevelt. His most famous action was to *nationalize* the oil industry — that is, the government took ownership of the industry away from private companies, most of which were based in Europe and the United States. In what follows, compare how each leader describes his new policies.

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT

"Annual Message to Congress," 1936

SOURCE: Deborah Kalb, Gerhard D. Peters, and John Turner Woolley, eds., *State of the Union: Presidential Rhetoric from Woodrow Wilson to George W. Bush* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2007), 267.

In March, 1933, I appealed to the Congress of the United States and to the people of the United States in a new effort to restore power to those to whom it rightfully belonged. The response to that appeal resulted in the writing of a new chapter in the history of popular government. You, the members of the Legislative branch, and I, the Executive, contended for and established a new relationship between Government and people.

What were the terms of that new relationship? They were an appeal from the clamor of many private and selfish interests, yes, an appeal from the clamor of partisan interest, to the ideal of the public interest. Government became the representative and the trustee of the public interest. Our aim was to build upon essentially democratic institutions, seeking all the while the adjustment of burdens, the help of the needy, the protection of the weak, the liberation of the exploited and the genuine protection of the people's property. . . .

To be sure, in so doing, we have invited battle. We have earned the hatred of entrenched greed.

LÁZARO CÁRDENAS

"Speech to the Nation," 1938

SOURCE: Nora E. Jaffary, Edward Osowski, and Susie S. Porter, eds., *Mexican History: A Primary Source Reader* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2010), 348–349.

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* that the oil industry has brought additional capital for the development and progress of the country. This assertion is an exaggeration. For many years throughout the major period of their existence, oil companies have enjoyed great privileges for development and expansion, including customs and tax exemptions and innumerable prerogatives; it is these factors of special privilege, together with the prodigious productivity of the oil deposits granted them by the Nation often against public will and law, that represent almost the total amount of this so-called capital.

Potential wealth of the Nation; miserably underpaid Native labor; tax exemptions; economic privileges; governmental tolerance — these are the factors of the boom of the Mexican oil industry.

. . . it was therefore necessary to adopt a definite and legal measure to end this permanent state of affairs in which the country sees its industrial progress held back by those who hold in their hands the power to erect obstacles as well as the motive power of all activity and who, instead of using it to high and worthy purposes, abuse their economic strength to the point of jeopardizing the very life of a Nation endeavoring to bring about the elevation of its people through its own laws, its own resources, and the free management of its own destinies.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What does Roosevelt mean by "a new relationship between Government and people"?
2. What were the "economic privileges" that Cárdenas opposes? How did his goal differ from Roosevelt's?

thinking in capitalist societies in the 1920s by arguing that government intervention could smooth out the highs and lows of the business cycle through deficit spending and the manipulation of interest rates, which determined the money supply. This view was sharply criticized by Republicans and conservative Democrats in the 1930s, who opposed government management of the economy. But **Keynesian economics** gradually won wider acceptance as World War II defense spending finally ended the Great Depression.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare classical liberalism and Keynesian economics.

In the midst of boosting WPA spending, Roosevelt achieved a final legislative victory for the New Deal. In 1938, Congress passed the **Fair Labor Standards Act**, which outlawed child labor, made the 40-hour workweek the national standard, mandated overtime pay, and established a federal minimum wage. FDR considered it nearly as important as the Social Security Act because of its implications for how Americans worked and what they earned. But it would be the last major reform of his presidency.

A reformer rather than a revolutionary, Roosevelt had preserved capitalism and liberal individualism—even as he transformed them in significant ways (AP® Interpreting the Past). But the president stopped well short of more radical measures, such as the seizure of private property, that some world leaders considered (AP® America in the World). At the same time, conservatives had reclaimed a measure of power in Congress, and those who believed the New Deal had created an intrusive federal bureaucracy kept reform in check after 1938. Throughout Roosevelt's second term, a conservative coalition of southern Democrats, rural Republicans, and industrial interests in both parties worked to block or impede social legislation. By 1938, the era of change was over.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did the Second New Deal reshape American government, and what political differences did it highlight?

The New Deal and American Society

Whatever its limits, the New Deal had a tremendous impact on American society. Its ideology of social-welfare liberalism fundamentally altered Americans' relationship to their government and provided assistance to a wide range of ordinary people: the unemployed, the elderly, workers, and the poor. In doing so, New Dealers created a sizable federal bureaucracy: the number of civilian federal employees increased by 80 percent between 1929 and 1940, reaching a total of 1 million. The expenditures—and deficits—of the federal government grew at an even faster rate. In 1930, the Hoover administration spent $3.1 billion and had a surplus of almost $1 billion; in 1939, New Dealers expended $9.4 billion and ran a deficit of nearly $3 billion (still small by later standards). But the New Deal represented more than figures on a balance sheet. Across the country, it inspired new visions of democracy among ordinary citizens (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

A People's Democracy

In 1939, writer John La Touche and musician Earl Robinson produced the patriotic song "Ballad for Americans." The lyrics called for uniting "everybody who's nobody . . . Irish, Negro, Jewish, Italian, French, and English, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Polish, Scotch, Hungarian, Litvak, Swedish, Finnish, Canadian, Greek, and Turk, and Czech and double Czech American." The song captured the democratic aspirations that the New Deal had awakened. Millions of ordinary people believed that the nation could, and should, become more egalitarian, and Americans from all walks of life seized the chance to work toward that goal.

Organized Labor Demoralized and shrinking during the 1920s, labor unions increased their numbers and clout during the New Deal, thanks to the Wagner Act. "The era of privilege and predatory individuals is over," the fiery and outspoken labor leader John L. Lewis declared. By the end of the decade, the number of unionized workers had more than doubled to an unprecedented 23 percent of the nonagricultural workforce. A new union movement, led by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), promoted "industrial unionism"—organizing all the workers in an industry, from skilled machinists to unskilled janitors, into a single union. The American

Federation of Labor (AFL), representing the other major group of unions, favored organizing workers on a craft-by-craft basis. Both federations dramatically increased their membership in the second half of the 1930s.

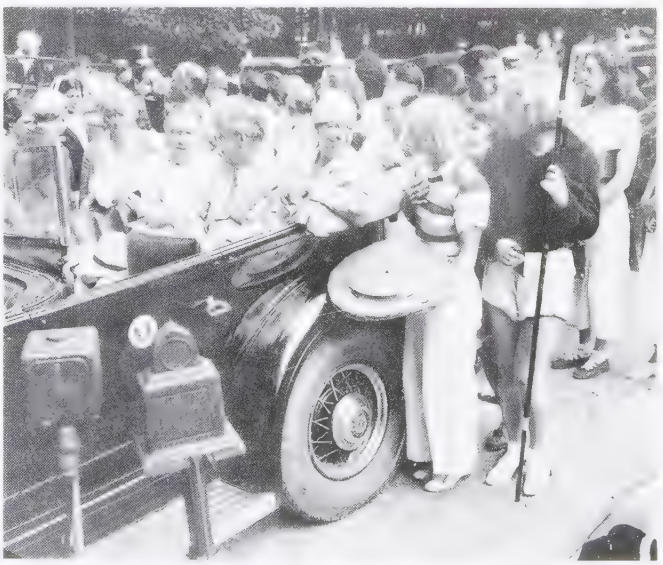
Labor's new vitality translated into political action and a long-lasting alliance with the Democratic Party. The CIO backed Democratic candidates in 1936, and its political action committee became a major Democratic ally during the 1940s. These successes were real but limited. Unions never enrolled a majority of American wageworkers, and antiunion employer groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce remained powerful forces in American business life. After a decade of gains, organized labor remained an important, but still secondary, force in American industry.

United Auto Workers Strike Trade unions were among the most active and vocal organizations of the 1930s. Organized labor led a number of major strikes between 1934 and 1937 in various industries. None was more important to the future of trade unions than the sit-down strikes at major automobile plants, including General Motors and Chevrolet in Flint, Michigan, in 1936 and 1937. These strikes, in which workers stopped the assembly lines but refused to leave the factories, compelled GM to recognize the United Auto Workers (UAW), which became one of the strongest trade unions in American history. Bettmann/Getty Images

Women and the New Deal Because policymakers saw the depression primarily as a crisis of male breadwinners, the New Deal did not directly challenge gender inequities. New Deal measures generally enhanced women's welfare, but few addressed their specific needs and concerns. However, Roosevelt welcomed women into the ranks of government in greater numbers than any previous president. Frances Perkins, the first woman named to a cabinet post, served as secretary of labor throughout Roosevelt's presidency. Josephine Roche was FDR's assistant secretary of the treasury, and the president appointed female ambassadors and the first women to the U.S. Court of Appeals. While still relatively few, female appointees often worked to open up other opportunities in government for other talented women.

The most prominent woman in American politics was the president's wife, Eleanor Roosevelt. In the 1920s, she had worked to expand positions for women in political parties, labor unions, and education. A tireless advocate for women's rights, during her years in the White House Mrs. Roosevelt emerged as an independent public figure and the most influential First Lady in the nation's history. Descending into coal mines to view working conditions, meeting with African Americans seeking antilynching laws, and talking to people on breadlines, she became the conscience of the New Deal, pushing her husband to do more for the disadvantaged. "I sometimes acted as a spur," Mrs. Roosevelt later reflected, "even though the spurring was not always wanted or welcome."

Without the intervention of Eleanor Roosevelt, Frances Perkins, and other prominent women, New Deal policymakers



Roosevelts Visit Camp Tara Franklin Roosevelt was a wealthy patrician, but one of his great political skills was the ability to connect with ordinary Americans. His wife, Eleanor, shared a similar gift, perhaps to an even greater degree. In an era when staged photographs had become an important part of a politician's image-making, Roosevelt made certain to appear frequently in settings in which he mingled with the public. Here, he and Eleanor visit a vocational training camp for jobless women in 1934; FDR is seated on the far left while Eleanor greets two women standing beside the car. AP Photo

The New Deal and Public Works

More than half a dozen New Deal programs were devoted to building up the physical and cultural infrastructure of the country. The former included roads, bridges, dams, trails, and national parks. The latter included artwork, murals, plays, and other forms of literary expression. Examine the following documents and use them collectively to analyze the New Deal's relationship to infrastructure, art, culture, and politics.

1. Harold L. Ickes, secretary of the interior, *The New Democracy*, 1934.

Our Government is no longer a laissez-faire Government, exercising traditional and more or less impersonal powers. There exists in Washington a sense of responsibility for the health, safety, and well-being of the people. . . . I believe that we are at the dawn of a day when the average man, woman, and child in the United States will have an opportunity for a happier and richer life. And it is just and desirable that this should be so. . . . We are not here merely to endure a purgatorial existence in anticipation of a beatific eternity after the grave closes on us. We are here with hopes and aspirations and legitimate desires that we are entitled to have satisfied to at least a reasonable degree. Nor will such a social program as we are discussing cause a strain on our economic system.

2. Herbert Johnson cartoon, *Saturday Evening Post*, 1935.

urce: The Granger Collection, New York

3. Federal Writers' Project interview with a WPA draftsman, Newburyport, Massachusetts, June 25, 1939.

One reason people here don't like the WPA is because they don't understand it's not all bums and drunks and aliens! Nobody ever explains to them that they'd never have had the new High School they're so [. . .] proud of if it hadn't been for the WPA. They don't stop to figure that new brick sidewalks wouldn't be there, the shade trees wouldn't be all dressed up to look at along High Street and all around town, if it weren't for WPA projects. To most in this town, and I guess it's not much different in this, than any other New England place, WPA's just a racket, set up to give a bunch of loafers and drunks steady pay to indulge in their vices! They don't stop to consider that on WPA are men and women who have traveled places and seen things, been educated and found their jobs folded up and nothing to replace them with.

4. Ben Shahn, WPA mural, 1938. *This is part of a three-panel mural commissioned by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and painted at a public school in Roosevelt, New Jersey, by the well-known artist Ben Shahn.*

SOURCE: Picture Research Consultants & Archives

5. David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March*, 1944. *Written by the former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority.*

I believe men may learn to work in harmony with the forces of nature, neither despoiling what God has given nor helpless to put them to use. I believe in the great potentialities for well-being of the machine and technology and science; and though they do hold a real threat of enslavement and frustration for the human spirit, I believe those dangers can be averted. I believe that through the practice of democracy the world of technology holds out the greatest opportunity in all history for the development of the individual, according to his own talents, aspirations, and willingness to carry the responsibilities of a free man. . . .

Such are the things that have happened in the Tennessee Valley. Here men and science and organizational skills applied to the resources of waters, land, forests, and minerals have yielded great benefits for the people. And it is just such fruits of technology and resources that people all over the world will, more and more, demand for themselves. That people believe these things can be theirs — this it is that constitutes the real revolution of our time, the dominant political fact of the generation that lies ahead.

SOURCES: (1) Harold L. Ickes, *The New Democracy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1934), 60–61; (3) Federal Writers' Project Life Histories, Library of Congress, lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/wpaintro/wpahome.html; (5) David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1944), xxii, 3.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. What sorts of reasons do the authors of sources 1 and 5 give for supporting New Deal programs? What does the "good life" look like in their view, and how is it connected to the New Deal?
2. What do sources 2 and 3 suggest about possible opposition to New Deal programs? What sorts of public burdens do New Deal opponents envision?
3. Consider source 4. What can we learn from a mural about the spirit of the New Deal? Identity specific elements of the mural and think about what they might signify about the society the muralist envisioned. What kind of faith in the federal government does the mural reveal?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using evidence from the sources in this feature, alongside material from the chapter and from your knowledge of the period, write an essay in which you analyze Americans' attitudes toward New Deal public works projects. If they were positive or optimistic, what was the basis of their optimism? If they were critical, what was the basis of their criticism? From these sources, can you identify a governing spirit of New Deal reform?

would have largely ignored the needs of women. A fourth of the National Recovery Act's employment rules set a lower minimum wage for women than for men performing the same jobs, and only 7 percent of the workers hired by the Civil Works Administration were female. The Civilian Conservation Corps excluded women entirely. Women fared better under the Works Progress Administration; at its peak, 440,000 women were on the payroll. Most Americans agreed with such policies. When Gallup pollsters in 1936 asked people whether wives should work outside the home when their husbands had jobs, 82 percent said no. Such sentiment reflected a persistent belief in women's subordinate status in American economic life.

African Americans and the New Deal Across the nation, but especially in the South, African Americans held the lowest-paying jobs and faced harsh social and political discrimination. Though FDR did not fundamentally change this fact, he was the most popular president among African Americans since Abraham Lincoln. African Americans held 18 percent of WPA jobs, although they constituted 10 percent of the population. The Resettlement Administration, established in 1935 to help small farmers and tenants buy land, actively protected the rights of black tenant farmers. Black involvement in the New Deal, however, could not undo centuries of racial subordination, nor could it change the disproportionate power of segregationist southern whites in the Democratic Party.

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to explain the political realignment of African Americans to the Democratic Party is critical to success on the AP® exam.

Nevertheless, black Americans received significant benefits from New Deal relief programs and believed that the White House cared about their plight, which caused a momentous shift in their political allegiance. Since the Civil War, black voters had staunchly supported the Republican Party, the party of Lincoln, who was known as the Great Emancipator. Even in the depression year of 1932, they overwhelmingly supported Republican candidates. But in 1936, as part of the tidal wave of national support for FDR, northern African Americans gave Roosevelt 71 percent of their votes and have remained solidly Democratic ever since.

African Americans supported the New Deal partly because the Roosevelt administration appointed a number of black people to federal office, and an informal "black cabinet" of prominent black intellectuals advised New Deal agencies. Among the most important appointees was Mary McLeod Bethune. Born in 1875 in South Carolina to former slaves, Bethune founded Bethune-Cookman College and served during the 1920s as president of the National Association of Colored Women. She joined the New Deal in 1935, confiding to a friend that she "believed in the democratic and humane program" of FDR. Americans, Bethune observed, had to become "accustomed to seeing Negroes in high places." Bethune had access to the White House and pushed continually for New Deal programs to help African Americans.

But the New Deal was limited in its approach to race. Roosevelt did not go further in support of black rights, because of both his own racial conservatism and his need for the votes of the white southern Democrats in Congress — including powerful southern senators, many of whom held influential committee posts in Congress. Most New Deal programs reflected prevailing racial attitudes. Civilian Conservation Corps camps segregated blacks, and most NRA rules did not protect black workers from discrimination. Both Social Security and the Wagner Act explicitly excluded the domestic and agricultural jobs held by most African Americans in the 1930s. Roosevelt also refused to support legislation making lynching a federal crime, which was one of the most pressing demands of African Americans in the 1930s. Between 1882 and 1930, more than 2,500 African Americans were lynched by white mobs in the southern states, which means that statistically, one man, woman, or child was murdered every week for fifty years. But despite pleas from black leaders, and from Mrs. Roosevelt herself, FDR feared that southern white Democrats would block his other reforms in retaliation for such legislation.

If lynching embodied southern lawlessness, southern law was often not much better. In an infamous 1931 case in Scottsboro, Alabama, nine young black men were accused of rape by two white women hitching a ride on a freight train. The women's stories contained many inconsistencies, but within weeks a white jury had convicted all

nine defendants; eight received the death sentence. After the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the sentences because the defendants had been denied adequate legal counsel, five of the men were again convicted and sentenced to long prison terms. Across the country, the Scottsboro Boys, as they were known, inspired solidarity within African American communities. Among whites, the Communist Party took the lead in publicizing the case — and was one of the only white organizations to do so — helping to support the Scottsboro Defense Committee, which raised money for legal efforts on the defendants' behalf.

In southern agriculture, where many sharecroppers were black while landowners and government administrators were white, the Agricultural Adjustment Act hurt rather than helped the poorest African Americans. White landowners collected government subsidy checks but refused to distribute payments to their sharecroppers. Such practices forced 200,000 black families off the land. Some black farmers tried to protect themselves by joining the Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), a biracial organization founded in 1934. "The same chain that holds you holds my people, too," an elderly black farmer reminded his white neighbors. But landowners had such economic power and such support from local sheriffs that the STFU could do little.

African Americans and the New Deal A Federal Theater Project production of *Battle Hymn* in New York City in the mid-1930s. *Battle Hymn* dramatized the life of the radical abolitionist John Brown, who led a bloody and ill-fated insurrection against slavery in 1859. The New Deal's record of improving the lives of African Americans was mixed, but many artists, writers, and playwrights, such as those behind *Battle Hymn*, wrote about racial injustice alongside economic injustice during the Great Depression. New Deal programs like the Federal Theater Project fostered socially conscious artistic expression in which the improvement of society was an explicit objective.

A generation of African American leaders came of age inspired by the New Deal's democratic promise. But it remained just a promise. From the outset, New Dealers wrestled with potentially fatal racial politics. Roosevelt and the Democratic Party depended heavily on white voters in the South, who wished to maintain racial segregation and white supremacy. But many Democrats in the North and West — centers of New Deal liberalism — would come to oppose racial discrimination. This meant, ironically, that the nation's most liberal political forces and some of its most conservative political forces existed side by side in the same political party. Another thirty years would pass before black Americans would gain an opportunity to reform U.S. racial laws and practices.

Indian Policy New Deal reformers seized the opportunity to implement their vision for the future of Native Americans, with mixed results. Indian peoples had long been one of the nation's most disadvantaged and powerless groups. In 1934, the average individual Indian income was only $48 per year, and the Native American unemployment rate was three times the national average. The plight of Native Americans won the attention of the progressive commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), John Collier, a critic of past BIA practices. Collier understood what Native Americans had long known: that the government's decades-long policy of forced assimilation, prohibition of Indian religions, and confiscation of Indian lands had left most tribes poor, isolated, and without basic self-determination.

Collier helped to write and push through Congress the **Indian Reorganization Act** of 1934, sometimes called the Indian New Deal. On the positive side, the law reversed the Dawes Act of 1887 (Chapter 15) by promoting Indian self-government through formal constitutions and democratically elected tribal councils. A majority of Indian peoples — some 181 tribes — accepted the reorganization policy, but 77 declined to participate, primarily because they preferred the traditional way of making decisions by

AP EXAM TIP

Evaluate changes in federal policy toward Native Americans during the New Deal.

consensus rather than by majority vote. Through the new law, Indians won a degree of religious freedom, and tribal governments regained their status as semisovereign dependent nations. When the latter policy was upheld by the courts, Indian people gained a measure of leverage that would have major implications for Native rights in the second half of the twentieth century.

Like so many other federal Indian policies, however, the "Indian New Deal" was a mixed blessing. For some peoples, the act imposed a model of self-government that proved incompatible with tribal traditions and languages. The Papagos of southern Arizona, for instance, had no words for *budget* or *representative*, and they made no linguistic distinctions among *law*, *rule*, *charter*, and *constitution*. In another case, the nation's largest tribe, the Navajos, rejected the BIA's new policy, largely because the government was simultaneously reducing Navajo livestock to make room for the Boulder Dam project. In theory, the new policy gave Indians a much greater degree of self-determination. In practice, however, although some tribes did benefit, the BIA and Congress continued to interfere in internal Indian affairs and retained financial control over reservation governments.

Struggles in the West By the 1920s, agriculture in California had become a big business — intensive, diversified, and export-oriented. Large-scale corporate-owned farms produced specialty crops — lettuce, tomatoes, peaches, grapes, and cotton — whose staggered harvests allowed the use of transient laborers. Thousands of workers, immigrants from Mexico and Asia and white migrants from the midwestern states, trooped from farm to farm and from crop to crop during the long picking season. Some migrants settled in the rapidly growing cities along the West Coast, especially the sprawling metropolis of Los Angeles. Under both Hoover and FDR, the federal government

Indian New Deal Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier poses with chiefs of the Blackfoot Indian tribe in 1934. Collier helped reform the way the U.S. federal government treated Native Americans. As part of what many called the Indian New Deal, Collier lobbied Congress to pass the Indian Reorganization Act. The act gave Indian tribes greater control over their own affairs and ended many of the most atrocious federal practices, such as forcing Indian children into white-run boarding schools and dividing up and selling reservation land. The legislation's long-term results were mixed, but it signaled the beginning of greater autonomy for Indian tribes across the country. Bettmann/Getty Image

promoted the "repatriation" of Mexican citizens—their deportation to Mexico. Between 1929 and 1937, approximately half a million people of Mexican descent were deported. But historians estimate that more than 60 percent of these were legal U.S. citizens, making the government's actions constitutionally questionable.

Despite the deportations, many Mexican Americans benefitted from the New Deal and generally held Roosevelt and the Democratic Party in high regard. People of Mexican descent, like other Americans, took jobs with the WPA and the CCC, or received relief in the worst years of the depression. The National Youth Administration (NYA), which employed young people from families on relief and sponsored a variety of school programs, was especially important among Mexican Americans in southwestern cities. Even though New Deal programs did not fundamentally improve the migrant farm labor system under which so many people of Mexican descent labored, the New Deal coalition attracted Mexican Americans in large numbers because of the Democrats' commitment to ordinary people. "Franklin D. Roosevelt's name was the spark that started thousands of Spanish-speaking persons to the polls," noted one Los Angeles activist.

Men and women of Asian descent—mostly from China, Japan, and the Philippines—formed a small minority of the American population but were a significant presence in some West Coast cities. Immigrants from Japan and China had long faced discrimination. A 1913 California law prohibited them from owning land. Japanese farmers, who specialized in fruit and vegetable crops, circumvented this restriction by putting land titles in the names of their American-born children. As the depression cut farm prices and racial discrimination excluded young Japanese Americans from nonfarm jobs, about 20 percent of the immigrants returned to Japan.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identify the role of the New Deal in realigning ethnic groups with the Democratic Party.

Mexican American Farm Workers Among the most hard-pressed workers during the Great Depression were those who labored in the nation's agricultural field, orchards, and processing plants. Agriculture was a big-time corporate business by the 1930s, and in California and other parts of the Southwest it employed hundreds of thousands of poor Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. Seizing on the spirit of social protest sweeping the country in the early 1930s, many of these workers went on strike for better wages and working conditions. Here, women from Mexican American communities are heading to the cotton fields near Corcoran, California, to urge workers to join a major strike of cotton pickers. Though the workers in Corcoran won some wage improvements in this 1933 strike, the fierce battle between employers and workers in American agriculture was far from over and continues to this day. Photo12/UIG via Getty Images

Chinese Americans were less prosperous than their Japanese American counterparts. Only 3 percent of Chinese Americans worked in professional and technical positions, and discrimination barred them from most industrial jobs. In San Francisco, the majority of Chinese worked in small businesses: restaurants, laundries, and firms that imported textiles and ceramics. During the depression, they turned for assistance to Chinese social organizations such as *huiguan* (district associations) and to the city government; in 1931, about one-sixth of San Francisco's Chinese population was receiving public aid. But few Chinese benefitted from the New Deal. Until the repeal of the Exclusion Act in 1943, Chinese immigrants were classified as "aliens ineligible for citizenship" and therefore were excluded from most federal programs.

Because Filipino immigrants came from a U.S. territory, they were not affected by the ban on Asian immigration enacted in 1924. During the 1920s, their numbers swelled to about 50,000, many of whom worked as laborers on large corporate-owned farms. As the depression cut wages, Filipino immigration slowed to a trickle, and it was virtually cut off by the **Tydings-McDuffie Act** of 1934. The act granted independence to the Philippines (which since 1898 had been an American colony), classified all Filipinos in the United States as aliens, and restricted immigration from the Philippines to fifty people per year.

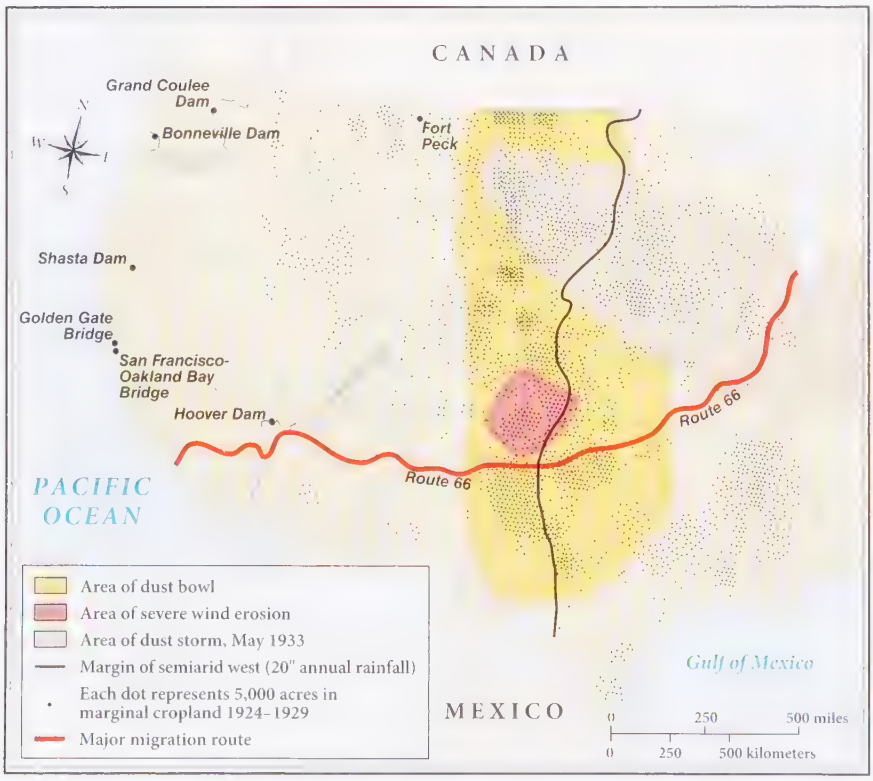
AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

In what ways did the New Deal assist nonwhite Americans, and in what ways did it hinder their equal standing?

Reshaping the Environment

Attention to natural resources was a consistent theme of the New Deal, and the shaping of the landscape was among its most visible legacies. Franklin Roosevelt and Interior Secretary Harold Ickes saw themselves as conservationists in the tradition of FDR's cousin, Theodore Roosevelt. In an era before environmentalism, FDR practiced what he called the "gospel of conservation." The president cared primarily about making the land—and other natural resources, such as trees and water—better serve human needs. National policy stressed scientific land management and ecological balance. Under Roosevelt, the federal government both responded to environmental crises and reshaped the use of natural resources, especially water, in the United States.

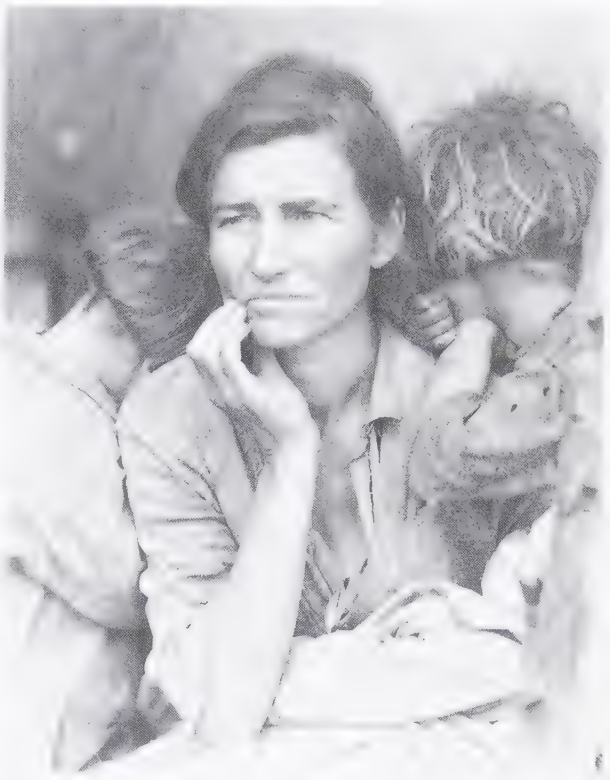


MAP 22.4 The Dust Bowl and Federal Building Projects in the West, 1930–1941
A U.S. Weather Bureau scientist called the drought of the 1930s "the worst in the climatological history of the country." Conditions were especially severe in the southern plains, where farming on marginal land threatened the environment even before the drought struck. As farm families migrated west on U.S. Route 66, the federal government began a series of massive building projects that provided flood control, irrigation, electric power, and transportation facilities to residents of the states of the Far West.

The Dust Bowl Among the most hard-pressed citizens during the depression were farmers fleeing the "**dust bowl**" of the Great Plains. Between 1930 and 1941, a severe drought afflicted the semiarid states of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arkansas, and Kansas. Farmers in these areas had stripped the land of its native vegetation, which destroyed the delicate ecology of the plains. To grow wheat and other crops, they had pushed agriculture beyond the natural limits of the soil, making their land vulnerable, in times of drought, to wind erosion of the topsoil (Map 22.4). When the winds came, huge clouds of thick dust rolled over the

land, turning the day into night. This ecological disaster prompted a mass exodus. At least 350,000 "Okies" (so called whether or not they were from Oklahoma) loaded their belongings into cars and trucks and headed to California. John Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) immortalized them, and New Deal photographer Dorothea Lange's haunting images of California migrant camps made them the public face of the depression's human toll.

Roosevelt and Ickes believed that poor land practices made for poor people. Under their direction, government agencies tackled the dust bowl's human causes. Agents from the newly created Soil Conservation Service, for instance, taught farmers to prevent soil erosion by tilling hillsides along the contours of the land. They also encouraged (and sometimes paid) farmers to take certain commercial crops out of production and plant soil-preserving grasses instead. One of the U.S. Forest Service's most widely publicized programs was the Shelterbelts, the planting of 220 million trees running north along the 99th meridian from Abilene, Texas, to the Canadian border. Planted as a windbreak, the trees also prevented soil erosion. A variety of government agencies, from the CCC to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, lent their expertise to establishing sound farming practices in the plains.



The Human Face of the Great Depression *Migrant Mother* by Dorothea Lange is one of the most famous documentary photographs of the 1930s. On assignment for the Resettlement Administration, Lange spent only ten minutes in a pea-pickers' camp in Nipomo, California. There she captured this image (though not the name) of the woman whose despair and resignation she so powerfully recorded. In the 1970s the woman was identified as Florence Thompson, a native Cherokee from Oklahoma, who disagreed with Lange's recollections of the circumstances of the taking of the photograph. Thompson and her family had left Nipomo, however, by the time the publication of this image sparked a large relief effort directed at the camp's migrant workers. Library of Congress

Tennessee Valley Authority The most extensive New Deal environmental undertaking was the **Tennessee Valley Authority** (TVA), which Roosevelt saw as the first step in modernizing the South. Funded by Congress in 1933, the TVA integrated flood control, reforestation, electricity generation, and agricultural and industrial development. The dams and their hydroelectric plants provided cheap electric power for homes and factories as well as ample recreational opportunities for the valley's residents. The massive project won praise around the world (Map 22.5).

The TVA was an integral part of the Roosevelt administration's effort to keep farmers on the land by enhancing the quality of rural life. The **Rural Electrification Administration** (REA), established in 1935, was also central to that goal. Fewer than one-tenth of the nation's 6.8 million farms had electricity. The REA addressed this problem by promoting nonprofit farm cooperatives that offered loans to farmers to install power lines. By 1940, 40 percent of the nation's farms had electricity; a decade later, 90 percent did. Electricity brought relief from the drudgery and isolation of farm life. Electric irons, vacuum cleaners, and washing machines eased women's burdens, and radios brightened the lives of the entire family. Along with the automobile and the movies, electricity broke down the barriers between urban and rural life.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the environmental policies of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Theodore Roosevelt's Square Deal.

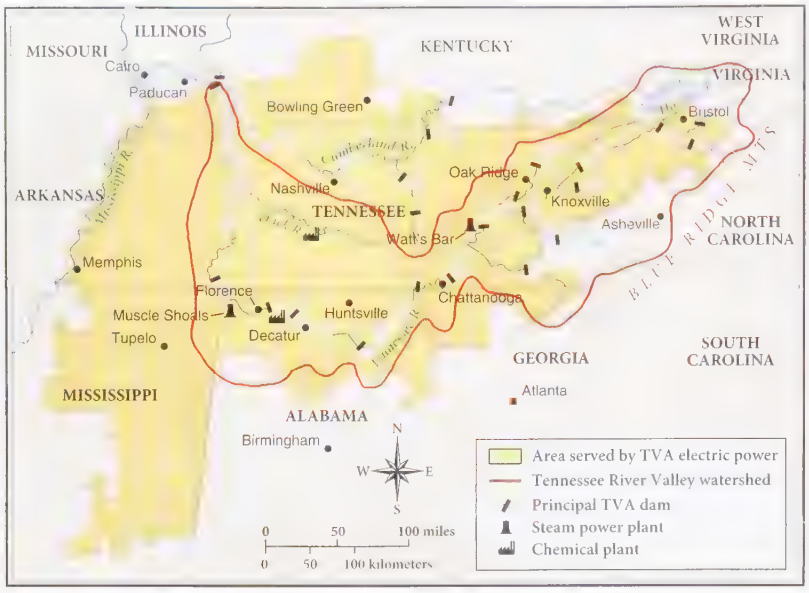
Grand Coulee As the nation's least populated but fastest-growing region, the West benefitted enormously from the New Deal's attention to the environment. With the largest number of state and federal parks in the country, the West gained countless trails, bridges, cabins, and other recreational facilities, laying the groundwork for the post–World War II expansion of western tourism. On the Colorado River, Boulder Dam (later renamed Hoover Dam) was completed in 1935 with Public Works Administration funds; the dam generated power for the region's growing cities such as Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and Phoenix.

The largest project in the West, however, took shape in an obscure corner of Washington State, where the PWA and the Bureau of Reclamation built the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River. When it was completed in 1941, Grand Coulee was the largest electricity-producing structure in the world, and its 150-mile lake

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why did the natural environment receive so much attention under New Deal programs, and with what result?



MAP 22.5 The Tennessee Valley Authority, 1933–1952
The Tennessee Valley Authority was one of the New Deal's most far-reaching environmental projects. Between 1933 and 1952, the TVA built twenty dams and improved five others, taming the flood-prone Tennessee River and its main tributaries. The cheap hydroelectric power generated by the dams brought electricity to industries as well as hundreds of thousands of area residents, and artificial lakes provided extensive recreational facilities. Widely praised at the time, the TVA came under attack in the 1970s for its practice of strip mining and the pollution caused by its power plants and chemical factories.

provided irrigation for the state's major crops: apples, cherries, pears, potatoes, and wheat. Inspired by the dam and the modernizing spirit of the New Deal, folk singer Woody Guthrie wrote a song about the Columbia. "Your power is turning our darkness to dawn," he sang, "so roll on, Columbia, roll on!"

New Deal projects that enhanced people's enjoyment of the natural environment can be seen today throughout the country. CCC and WPA workers built the famous Blue Ridge Parkway, which connects the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia with the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in North Carolina. In the West, government workers built the San Francisco Zoo, Berkeley's Tilden Park, and the canals of San Antonio. The Civilian Conservation Corps helped to complete the East Coast's Appalachian Trail and the West Coast's Pacific Crest Trail through the Sierra Nevada. In state parks across the country, cabins, shelters, picnic areas, lodges, and observation towers stand as monuments to the New Deal ethos of recreation coexisting with nature.

The New Deal and the Arts

In response to the Great Depression, many American writers and artists redefined their relationship to society. Never had there been a decade, critic Malcolm Cowley suggested in 1939, "when literary events followed so closely on the flying coat-tails of social events." New Deal administrators encouraged artists to create projects that would be of interest to the entire community, not just the cultured elite. Encouraged by the popular New Deal slogan "art for the millions," artists painted murals in hundreds of public buildings. The WPA's Federal Art Project gave work to many young artists who would become the twentieth century's leading painters, muralists, and sculptors. Jackson Pollock, Alice Neel, Willem de Kooning, and Louise Nevelson all received support. The Federal Music Project and **Federal Writers' Project** (FWP) employed 15,000 musicians and 5,000 writers, respectively. Among the latter were Saul Bellow, Ralph Ellison, and John Cheever, who became great American writers. The FWP also collected oral histories, including two thousand narratives by former slaves. The black folklorist and novelist Zora Neale Hurston finished three novels while in the Florida FWP, among them her best-known work, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). Richard Wright won the 1938 *Story* magazine prize for the best tale by a WPA writer and went on to complete *Native Son* (1940), a searing novel about white racism. Similarly, the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) nurtured such talented directors, actors, and playwrights as Orson Welles, John Huston, and Arthur Miller.

The Legacies of the New Deal

The New Deal addressed the Great Depression by restoring hope and promising security. FDR and Congress created a powerful social-welfare state that took unprecedented responsibility for the well-being of American citizens. During the 1930s, millions of people began to pay taxes directly to the Social Security Administration, and more than

one-third of the population received direct government assistance from federal programs. New legislation regulated the stock market, reformed the Federal Reserve System, and subjected business corporations to federal regulation. The New Deal's pattern of government involvement in social life would persist for the rest of the twentieth century. In the 1960s, Lyndon Johnson and the "Great Society" Congress dramatically expanded social-welfare programs—by creating Medicare and Medicaid, for instance—most of which remained intact in the wake of the "Reagan Revolution" of the 1980s (Chapter 29).

Like all other major social transformations, the New Deal was criticized both by those who thought it did too much and by those who believed it did too little. Conservatives, who prioritized limited government and individual freedom, pointed out that the New Deal state intruded deeply into the personal and financial lives of citizens and the affairs of business. Conversely, advocates of social-welfare liberalism complained that the New Deal's safety net had too many holes: no national health-care system, welfare programs that excluded domestic workers and farm laborers, and state governments that often limited the benefits distributed under New Deal programs.

Whatever the merits of its critics, the New Deal unquestionably transformed the American political landscape. From 1896 to 1932, the Republican Party had commanded the votes of a majority of Americans. That changed as Franklin Roosevelt's magnetic personality and innovative programs brought millions of voters into the Democratic fold. Democratic recruits included first- and second-generation immigrants from southern and central Europe—Italians, Poles, Russians, and Slavs, among others, most of them Catholic or Jewish—as well as African American migrants to northern cities. Organized labor aligned itself with a Democratic administration that had recognized unions as a legitimate force in modern industrial life. The elderly and the unemployed, assisted by the Social Security Act, likewise supported FDR. This New Deal coalition of ethnic groups, city dwellers, organized labor, African Americans, and a cross section of the middle class formed the nucleus of the northern Democratic Party and supported additional liberal reforms in the decades to come.

Grand Coulee Dam This extraordinary photo from a *Life* magazine essay shows workers hitching a ride on a 13-ton conduit as it is lowered into place on the Grand Coulee Dam in Washington State. Dozens of dams were constructed across the country under the auspices of various New Deal programs, but none were more majestic than two in the West: Boulder Dam (renamed Hoover Dam in 1947) and Grand Coulee. Built to harness the awesome power of the Columbia River as it rushed to the Pacific, Grand Coulee would ultimately provide electric power to Seattle, Portland, and other West Coast cities and new irrigation waters for Washington's apple and cherry orchards, among many other crops. Library of Congre

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What was the New Deal's long-term legacy?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS In what ways did the New Deal promote change in American society? In what ways did it not?

SUMMARY

We have seen how Franklin Delano Roosevelt's First New Deal focused on stimulating recovery, providing relief to the unemployed, and regulating banks and other financial institutions. The Second New Deal was different. Influenced by the persistence of the depression and the growing popularity of Huey Long's Share Our Wealth proposals,

Roosevelt promoted social-welfare legislation that provided Americans with economic security.

We also explored the impact of the New Deal on various groups of citizens, especially African Americans, women, and unionized workers. Our survey paid particular attention to the lives of the Mexicans, Asians, and Okies who worked in the farms and factories of California. Because of New Deal assistance, the members of those groups gravitated toward the Democratic Party. The party's coalition of ethnic workers, African Americans, farmers, parts of the middle classes, and white southerners gave FDR and other Democrats a landslide victory in 1936.

Finally, we examined the accomplishments of the New Deal. In 1933, New Deal programs resolved the banking crisis while preserving capitalist institutions. Subsequently, these programs expanded the federal government and, through the Social Security system, farm subsidy programs, and public works projects, launched federal policies that were important to nearly every American. Great dams and electricity projects sponsored by the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Works Progress Administration in the West, and the Rural Electrification Administration permanently improved the quality of life for the nation's citizens.

CHAPTER 22 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. How did Americans, from ordinary citizens to political leaders, respond to the Great Depression?
2. What were the major components of the Hundred Days, and what was their purpose?
3. How did the Second New Deal reshape American government, and what political differences did it highlight?
4. In what ways did the New Deal promote change in American society? In what ways did it not?
5. Review the events listed under "American and National Identity," "Politics and Power," and "Culture and Society" on the thematic timeline on pages 618–619. Some historians have seen the New Deal as a natural evolution of progressive reforms from earlier in the century. Others have argued that it represented a revolution in social values and government institutions. Do you view the New Deal as an extension of progressivism, or a radical break with the past? Provide evidence for your argument.

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Smoot-Hawley Tariff (p. 681)
Bonus Army (p. 682)
fireside chats (p. 685)
Hundred Days (p. 686)
Glass-Steagall Act (p. 686)
Agricultural Adjustment Act (p. 687)
National Recovery Administration (p. 687)
Public Works Administration (p. 687)
Civilian Conservation Corps (p. 687)
Federal Housing Administration (p. 688)
Securities and Exchange Commission (p. 689)
American Liberty League (p. 690)
National Association of Manufacturers (p. 690)
Townsend Plan (p. 690)
welfare state (p. 691)
Wagner Act (p. 691)
Social Security Act (p. 692)
classical liberalism (p. 692)
Works Progress Administration (p. 692)
Roosevelt recession (p. 693)
Keynesian economics (p. 695)
Fair Labor Standards Act (p. 696)
Indian Reorganization Act (p. 701)
Tydings-McDuffie Act (p. 704)
dust bowl (p. 704)
Tennessee Valley Authority (p. 705)
Rural Electrification Administration (p. 705)
Federal Writers' Project (p. 706)

Key People

Herbert Hoover (p. 680)
Franklin Delano Roosevelt (p. 683)
Huey Long (p. 690)
Frances Perkins (p. 697)
Eleanor Roosevelt (p. 697)
Mary McLeod Bethune (p. 700)
John Collier (p. 701)

Key Academic Terms

shantytown (p. 682)
incumbent (p. 683)
patrician (p. 684)
reforestation (p. 687)
proponent (p. 692)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. People often view the New Deal as a set of government programs and policies enacted by President Roosevelt and Congress. In this version, change comes from above. Yet there is also evidence that ordinary Americans played an important role in inspiring and championing aspects of the New Deal. Find several specific examples of this, and think about the possible connections between the struggles, protests, and actions of ordinary people and the programs of the New Deal.
2. How did the lives of women, workers, and historically underrepresented racial and ethnic groups change during the Great Depression? What role did the New Deal play in helping those groups of Americans?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 680 for help in answering the question below.

Identify two critical turning points between 1934 and 1937 when the New Deal faced specific challenges.

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "We have to limit fortunes. . . . It may be necessary, in working out of the plans, that no man's fortune would be more than $10,000,000 or $15,000,000. But be that as it may, it will still be more than any one man, or any one man and his children and their children, will be able to spend in their lifetimes; and it is not necessary or reasonable to have wealth piled up beyond that point where we cannot prevent poverty among the masses. . . . .
>
> Those are the things we propose to do. "Every Man a King." Every man to eat when there is something to eat; all to wear something when there is something to wear. That makes us all a sovereign.
>
> You cannot solve these things through these various and sundry alphabetical codes. . . . You know what the trouble is. . . . Now my friends, we have got to hit the root with the ax. Centralized power in the hands of a few, with centralized credit in the hands of a few, is the trouble."
>
> Huey Long, United States Senator, "Every Man a King" speech, 1934

1. Huey Long's ideas expressed in the excerpt participate in the 1930s trend in the United States of increasing
   a. conservative attempts to limit the scope of the economic change.
   b. populist-style political movements seeking change in the United States economic system.
   c. calls for totalitarianism to solve economic crises.
   d. state and local efforts aimed at ending the Great Depression.
2. In highlighting "these various and sundry alphabetical codes," Long referred most directly to
   a. New Deal programs.
   b. United States espionage against Japan.
   c. efforts for industrial efficiency emphasized by Progressive reformers.
   d. union movements pushing for more extensive economic change.
3. The ideas of Huey Long, as expressed in the excerpt, had most in common with the ideas of the
   a. Social Darwinists of the 1880s.
   b. critics of the status quo in the 1890s.
   c. government reformers after 1900.
   d. advocates of civil rights in the 1950s.

Questions 4–5 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Sec. 2. It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress—
>
> 1) To establish and maintain such balance between the production and consumption of agricultural commodities . . . as will reestablish prices to farmers at a level that will give agricultural commodities a purchasing power with respect to articles that farmers buy, equivalent to the purchasing power of agricultural commodities in the base period. The base period in the case of all commodities . . . shall be the prewar period. . . .
>
> 2) To approach such equality of purchasing power by gradual correction of the present inequalities therein at as rapid a rate as is deemed feasible in view of the current consumptive demand in domestic and foreign markets."
>
> The Agricultural Adjustment Act, 1933

4. The challenges faced by the agricultural sector of the economy in the 1930s were driven primarily by
   a. federal deregulation of agricultural markets.
   b. improvements in mechanization increasing productivity.
   c. changes in regional cultures.
   d. patterns of mass migration.
5. The legislation in the excerpt emerged most directly from the context of
   a. Franklin Roosevelt's attempts to stimulate the economy.
   b. debates over the best means to maintain traditional cultural values.
   c. movement of the majority of the United States population to urban centers.
   d. the expansion of popular participation in government.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "The guarantor state . . . under the New Deal was . . . a vigorous and dynamic force in society, energizing and . . . supplanting private enterprise when the general welfare required it. . . . When social and economic problems . . . were ignored or shirked by private enterprise, then the federal government undertook to do the job. [If] private enterprise failed to provide adequate and sufficient housing for a minimum standard of welfare for the people, then the government would build houses. . . . Few areas of American life were beyond the touch of the experimenting fingers of the New Deal. . . . The New Deal Revolution has become so much a part of the American Way that no political party which aspires to high office dares now to repudiate it."
>
> Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*, 1959
>
> "The critique of modern capitalism that had been so important in the early 1930s . . . was largely gone. . . . In its place was a set of liberal ideas essentially reconciled to the existing structure of the economy and committed to using the state to compensate for capitalism's inevitable flaws. . . . When liberals spoke now of government's responsibility to protect the health of the industrial world, they defined that responsibility less as a commitment to restructure the economy than as an effort to stabilize it and help it grow. They were no longer much concerned about controlling or punishing 'plutocrats' and 'economic royalists,' an impulse central to New Deal rhetoric in the mid 1930s. Instead, they spoke of their commitment to providing a healthy environment in which the corporate world could flourish and in which the economy could sustain 'full employment.'"
>
> Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*, 1995

1. Using the two excerpts at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Degler's and Brinkley's historical interpretations of the New Deal.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Degler's argument.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Brinkley's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE important difference between the goals of the First and Second New Deals.
   b. Briefly explain ONE important similarity between the goals of the First and Second New Deals.
   c. Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for the similarity or difference between the goals of the First and Second New Deals.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly present an argument why ONE of the following developments was the most significant factor contributing to greater environmental conservation in the United States in the 1930s.
      - The establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps
      - The creation of the Tennessee Valley Authority
      - The onset of the Dust Bowl
   b. Explain ONE specific historical event or development to support your argument in (a).
   c. Explain why ONE of the other options is less convincing as the most significant factor contributing to greater environmental conservationism.

CHAPTER 23

The World at War

1937–1945

The Road to War

The Rise of Fascism

War Approaches

The Attack on Pearl Harbor

Organizing for a Global War

Financing the War

Mobilizing the American Fighting Force

Workers and the War Effort

Politics in Wartime

Life on the Home Front

"For the Duration"

Migration and the Wartime City

Japanese Removal

Fighting and Winning the War

Wartime Aims and Tensions

The War in Europe

The War in the Pacific

The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War

The Toll of the War

AP LEARNING FOCUS

How did World War II transform the United States domestically and change its relationship with the world?

The Second World War was the defining international event of the twentieth century. Battles raged across three continents and all of the world's oceans. It killed between 50 and 80 million people and wounded hundreds of millions more. When it was over, the industrial economies and much of the infrastructure of Europe and East Asia lay in ruins. Waged with both technologically advanced weapons and massive armies, the war involved every industrialized power in Europe, North America, and Asia, as well as dozens of other nations, many of them colonies of the industrialized countries.

The military conflict began on two continents: in Asia with Japan's 1937 invasion of China across the Sea of Japan, and in Europe with the 1939 blitzkrieg (lightning war) by Germany against Poland. It ended in 1945 after American planes dropped two atomic bombs, the product of stunning yet ominous scientific breakthroughs, on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In between these demonstrations of technological prowess and devastating power, huge armies confronted and destroyed one another in the fields of France, the forests and steppes of Russia, the river valleys of China, the volcanic islands of the Pacific, and the deserts of North Africa.

"Armed defense of democratic existence is now being gallantly waged in four continents," President Franklin Delano Roosevelt told the nation in January 1941. After remaining neutral for several years, the United States would commit to that "armed defense." Both FDR and British prime minister Winston Churchill came to see the war as a defense of democratic values from the threat posed by German, Italian, and Japanese fascism. For them, the brutal conflict was the "good war." When the grim reality of the Jewish Holocaust came to light, U.S. participation in the war seemed even more just. But as much as it represented a struggle between democracy and fascism, it was also inescapably a war to maintain British, French, and Dutch control of colonies in Africa, India, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. By 1945, democracy in the industrialized world had been preserved, and a new alliance between Western Europe and the United States had taken hold; the future of the vast European colonial empires, however, remained unresolved.

On the U.S. domestic front, World War II ended the Great Depression, hastened profound social changes, and expanded the scope and authority of the federal government. Racial politics and gender roles shifted under the weight of wartime migration and labor shortages. The pace of urbanization increased as millions of Americans uprooted themselves and moved hundreds or thousands of miles to join the military or to take a war job. A stronger, more robust federal government, the product of a long, hard-fought war, would remain in place to fight an even longer, more expensive, and potentially more dangerous Cold War in the ensuing years. These developments, which accelerated transformations already under way, would have **repercussions** far into the postwar decades.

Black Pilots in Tuskegee, Alabama World War II was a "total war," fought on three continents by hundreds of millions of people and massive national armies. Though a late arrival to the conflict, the United States played a critical role in defeating the Axis powers. Here, African American pilots in Tuskegee, Alabama, read a map in preparation for a training flight. Afro American Newspapers/Gado/Getty Images

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1933** ▸ Adolf Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany
- **1935** ▸ Italy invades Ethiopia
- **1935–1939** ▸ U.S. Neutrality Acts
- **1936** ▸ Germany reoccupies Rhineland demilitarized zone
  ▸ Rome-Berlin Axis established
- **1937** ▸ Japan invades China
- **1938** ▸ Munich Conference
- **1939** ▸ German-Soviet nonaggression pact
  ▸ Germany invades Poland
  ▸ Britain and France declare war on Germany
- **1940** ▸ Germany, Italy, and Japan form alliance
- **1941** ▸ Germany invades Soviet Union
  ▸ Lend-Lease Act and Atlantic Charter established
  ▸ Japanese attack Pearl Harbor (December 7)
- **1942** ▸ Executive Order 9066 imprisons Japanese and Japanese Americans
  ▸ Battles of Coral Sea and Midway halt Japanese advance
- **1942–1945** ▸ Rationing of scarce goods
- **1943** ▸ Race riots in Detroit and Los Angeles
- **1944** ▸ D-Day: Allied landing in France (June 6)
- **1945** ▸ Yalta Conference (February)
  ▸ Germany surrenders (May 7)
  ▸ United Nations founded
  ▸ Potsdam Conference (July–August)
  ▸ United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 6 and 9)
  ▸ Japan surrenders (August 10)

The Road to War

The Great Depression disrupted economic life around the world and led to the collapse of traditional political institutions. In response, an antidemocratic movement known as fascism, which had originated in Italy during the 1920s, developed in Germany, Spain, and Japan. By the mid-1930s, these nations had instituted authoritarian, militaristic governments led by powerful dictators: Benito Mussolini in Italy, Adolf Hitler in Nazi Germany, Francisco Franco in Spain, and, after 1940, Hideki Tojo in Japan. As early as 1936, President Roosevelt warned that other nations had "sold their heritage of freedom" and urged Americans to work for "the survival of democracy" both at home and abroad. Constrained by strong isolationist sentiment, by 1940 FDR was cautiously leading the nation toward war against the fascist powers.

The Rise of Fascism

World War II had its roots in the settlement of World War I. Germany struggled under the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and Japan and Italy had their desire for overseas empires thwarted by the treaty makers. Faced with the expansive ambitions and nationalist resentments of those countries, the League of Nations, the collective security system established at Versailles, proved unable to maintain the existing international order.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the reasons why the rise of fascism concerned Americans in the 1930s.

Fascism, as instituted in Germany by Hitler, combined a centralized, authoritarian state, a doctrine of Aryan racial supremacy, and fervent nationalism in a call for the spiritual reawakening of the German people. Fascist leaders worldwide disparaged parliamentary government, independent labor movements, and individual rights. They opposed both the economic collectivism of the Soviet Union—where, in theory, the state managed the economy to ensure social equality—and the competitive capitalist economies of the United States and Western Europe. Fascist movements arose around the world in the 1930s but managed to achieve power in only a handful of countries. Those countries were at the center of global war making in that decade.

Japan and Italy The first challenge came from Japan. To become an industrial power, Japan required raw materials and overseas markets. Like the Western European

powers and the United States before it, Japan embraced an expansionary foreign policy in pursuit of colonial possessions and overseas influence. In 1931, its troops occupied Manchuria, an industrialized province in northern China, and in 1937 the Japanese launched a full-scale invasion of China. In both instances, the League of Nations condemned Japan's actions but did nothing to stop them.

Japan's defiance of the League encouraged a fascist leader half a world away: Italy's Benito Mussolini, who had come to power in 1922. Il Duce (The Leader), as Mussolini was known, had long denounced the Versailles treaty, which denied Italy's colonial claims in Africa and the Middle East after World War I. As in Japan, the Italian fascists desired overseas colonies for raw materials, markets, and national prestige. In 1935, Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, one of the few remaining independent countries in Africa. Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League of Nations, but the League's verbal condemnation and limited sanctions, its only real leverage, did not stop Italy from taking control of Ethiopia in 1936.

Hitler's Germany Germany, however, posed the gravest threat to the existing world order. Huge World War I reparation payments, economic depression, fear of communism, labor unrest, and rising unemployment fueled the ascent of Adolf Hitler and his **National Socialist (Nazi) Party**. When Hitler became chancellor of Germany in 1933, the Reichstag (the German legislature) granted him dictatorial powers to deal with the economic crisis. Hitler promptly outlawed other political parties, arrested many of his political rivals, and declared himself führer (leader). Under Nazi control, the Reichstag invested all legislative power in Hitler's hands.

Hitler's goal was nothing short of European domination and world power, as he had made clear in his 1925 book *Mein Kampf* (*My Struggle*). The book outlined his plans to overturn the territorial settlements of the Versailles treaty, unite Germans living throughout central Europe in a great German fatherland, and annex large areas of Eastern Europe. The "inferior races" who lived in these regions — Jews, Gypsies, and Slavs — would be removed or subordinated to the German "master race." These territories would provide Germany with what Hitler called "lebensraum" (living space) — a new region of settlement and farming and a source of natural resources. A virulent anti-Semite, Hitler had long blamed Jews for Germany's problems. Once in power, he began a sustained and brutal persecution of Jews, which expanded into a campaign of extermination in the early 1940s.

In 1935, Hitler began to rearm Germany, in violation of the Versailles treaty. No nation stopped him. In 1936, he sent troops into the Rhineland, a demilitarized zone under the terms of Versailles. Again, France and Britain took no action. Later that year, Hitler and Mussolini formed the **Rome-Berlin Axis**, a political and military alliance between the two fascist nations. Also in 1936, Germany signed a pact to create a military alliance with Japan against the Soviet Union. With these alliances in place, and with France and Great Britain reluctant to oppose him, Hitler had seized the military advantage in Europe by 1937.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What motivated Japanese, Italian, and German expansionism?

War Approaches

As Hitler pushed his initiatives in Europe, which was as deeply mired in economic depression as the United States, the Roosevelt administration faced widespread isolationist sentiment among Americans. In part, this desire to avoid European entanglements reflected disillusion with American participation in World War I. In 1934, Gerald P. Nye, a progressive Republican senator from North Dakota, launched an investigation into the profits of munitions makers during that war. Nye's committee alleged that arms manufacturers (popularly labeled "merchants of death") had maneuvered President Wilson into World War I.

Although Nye's committee failed to prove its charge against weapon makers, its factual findings prompted an isolationist-minded Congress to pass a series of acts to

Charles Lindbergh Cartoon Charles Lindbergh, the first person to fly solo nonstop across the Atlantic Ocean, was an American hero in the 1930s. In 1941, he had become the public face of the America First Committee, which was determined to keep the United States from entering the wars raging in Europe and Asia. In this political cartoon from October 1941, Lindbergh is shown standing on a soapbox labeled "Fascism," looking up at the figure of "Democracy." The implication is that Lindbergh had been fooled by German propaganda into taking its side. Less than two months after the cartoon appeared, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and isolationist sentiment all but disappeared in the United States. Library [illegible]

prevent the nation from being drawn into another overseas war. The **Neutrality Act of 1935** imposed an embargo on selling arms to warring countries and declared that Americans traveling on the ships of belligerent nations did so at their own risk. In two subsequent Neutrality Acts, Congress banned loans to belligerents (1936), and then, in 1937, imposed a "cash-and-carry" requirement: if a warring country wanted to purchase nonmilitary goods from the United States, it had to pay cash and carry them in its own ships, keeping the United States out of potentially dangerous naval warfare (a fourth Neutrality Act, in 1939, permitted military goods to be purchased under the same terms).

Americans for the most part had little enthusiasm for war, and a wide variety of groups and individuals espoused isolationism. Many isolationists looked to Republican Ohio senator Robert Taft, who distrusted both Roosevelt and European nations with equal conviction, or to the aviator hero Charles A. Lindbergh, who delivered impassioned speeches against intervention in Europe. Some isolationists, such as the conservative National Legion of Mothers of America, combined anticommunism, Christian morality, and even anti-Semitism. Isolationists were primarily conservatives, but a contingent of progressives (or liberals) opposed America's involvement in the war on pacifist or moral grounds. Whatever their philosophies, ardent isolationists forced Roosevelt to approach the brewing war cautiously.

The Popular Front Other Americans responded to the rise of European fascism by advocating U.S. intervention. Some of the most prominent Americans pushing for greater involvement in Europe, even if it meant war, were affiliated with the **Popular Front**. Wary of German and Japanese aggression, the Soviet Union instructed Communists in Western Europe and the United States to join with liberals in a broad coalition opposing fascism. In the United States, the Popular Front drew from a wide range of social groups, including the American Communist Party (which had increased its membership to between fifty and seventy thousand), African American civil rights activists, trade unionists, left-wing writers and intellectuals, and even a few New Deal administrators. Many supporters in the United States grew uneasy with the Popular Front because of the brutal political repression in the Soviet Union under Joseph Stalin. Nevertheless, Popular Front activists were among a small but vocal group of Americans encouraging Roosevelt to take a stronger stand against European fascism.

The Failure of Appeasement Encouraged by the weak worldwide response to the invasions of China, Ethiopia, and the Rhineland, and emboldened by British and French neutrality during the Spanish Civil War, Hitler grew more aggressive in 1938. He sent troops to annex German-speaking Austria while making clear his intention to seize part of Czechoslovakia. Because Czechoslovakia had an alliance with France, war seemed imminent. But at the **Munich Conference** in September 1938, Britain and France capitulated, agreeing to let Germany annex the Sudetenland — a German-speaking border area of Czechoslovakia — in return for Hitler's pledge to seek no more territory. The agreement, declared British prime minister Neville Chamberlain, guaranteed "peace for our time." Hitler drew a different conclusion, telling his generals: "Our enemies are small fry. I saw them in Munich."

Within six months, Hitler's forces had overrun the rest of Czechoslovakia and were threatening to march into Poland. Realizing that their policy of appeasement — capitulating to Hitler's demands — had been disastrous, Britain and France warned Hitler that further aggression meant war. Then, in August 1939, Hitler and Stalin shocked the world by signing a mutual nonaggression pact. For Hitler, this pact was crucial, as it meant that Germany would not have to wage a two-front war against Britain and France in the west and the Soviet Union in the east. On September 1, 1939, Hitler launched a blitzkrieg against Poland. Two days later, Britain and France declared war on Germany. World War II had officially begun.

Two days after the European war started, the United States declared its neutrality. But President Roosevelt made no secret of his sympathies. When war broke out in 1914, Woodrow Wilson had told Americans to be neutral "in thought as well as in action." FDR, by contrast, now said: "This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well." The overwhelming majority of Americans — some 84 percent, according to a poll in 1939 — supported Britain and France rather than Germany, but most wanted America to avoid another European war.

At first, the need for U.S. intervention seemed remote. After Germany conquered Poland in September 1939, calm settled over Europe. Then, on April 9, 1940, German forces invaded Denmark and Norway. In May, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg fell to the swift German army. The final shock came in mid-June, when France too surrendered. Britain now stood alone against Hitler's plans for domination of Europe.

Isolationists and Interventionists What *Time* magazine would later call America's "thousand-step road to war" had already begun. After a bitter battle in Congress in 1939, Roosevelt won a change in the neutrality laws to allow the Allies to buy arms as well as nonmilitary goods on a cash-and-carry basis. Interventionists, led by journalist William Allen White and his **Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies**, became increasingly vocal in 1940 as war escalated in Europe. In response, isolationists formed the **America First Committee** (AFC), with well-respected figures such as Lindbergh and Senator Nye urging the nation to stay out of the war. The AFC held rallies across the United States, and its posters, brochures, and broadsides warning against American involvement in Europe suffused many parts of the country, especially the Midwest.

Because of the America Firsters' efforts, Roosevelt proceeded cautiously in 1940 as he moved the United States closer to involvement. The president did not want war, but he believed that most Americans "greatly underestimate the serious implications to our own future," as he confided to White. In May, Roosevelt created the National Defense Advisory Commission and brought two prominent Republicans, Henry Stimson and Frank Knox, into his cabinet as secretaries of war and the navy, respectively. During the summer, the president traded fifty World War I destroyers to Great Britain in exchange for the right to build military bases on British possessions in the Atlantic, circumventing neutrality laws by using an executive order to complete the deal. In October 1940, a bipartisan vote in Congress approved a large increase in defense spending and instituted the first peacetime draft in American history. "We must be the great arsenal of democracy," FDR declared.

As the war in Europe and the Pacific expanded, the United States was preparing for the 1940 presidential election. The crisis had convinced Roosevelt to seek an unprecedented third term. The Republicans nominated Wendell Willkie of Indiana, a former Democrat who supported many New Deal policies. The two parties' platforms differed only slightly. Both pledged aid to the Allies, and both candidates promised not to "send an American boy into the shambles of a European war," as Willkie put it. Willkie's spirited campaign resulted in a closer election than that of 1932 or 1936. Nonetheless, Roosevelt won 55 percent of the popular vote.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the impact of FDR's interventionist philosophy in outlining America's role in the war.

Having been reelected, Roosevelt now undertook to persuade Congress to increase aid to Britain, whose survival he viewed as key to American security. In January 1941, he delivered one of the most important speeches of his career. Defining "four essential human freedoms" — freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear — Roosevelt cast the war as a noble defense of democratic societies. He then linked the fate of democracy in Western Europe with the new welfare state at home. Sounding a decidedly New Deal note, Roosevelt pledged to end "special privileges for the few" and to preserve "civil liberties for all." Like President Wilson's speech championing national self-determination at the close of World War I, Roosevelt's "**Four Freedoms**" speech outlined a liberal international order with appeal well beyond its intended European and American audiences.

Two months later, in March 1941, with Britain no longer able to pay cash for arms, Roosevelt persuaded Congress to pass the **Lend-Lease Act**. The legislation authorized the president to "lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" arms and equipment to Britain or any other country whose defense was considered vital to the security of the United States. When Hitler abandoned his nonaggression pact with Stalin and invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, the United States extended lend-lease to the Soviets. The implementation of lend-lease marked the unofficial entrance of the United States into the European war.

To see a longer excerpt of the "Four Freedoms" speech, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Roosevelt underlined his support for the Allied cause by meeting in August 1941 with British prime minister Winston Churchill (who had succeeded Chamberlain in 1940). Their joint press release, which became known as the **Atlantic Charter**, provided the ideological foundation of the Western cause. Drawing from Wilson's Fourteen Points and Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, the charter called for economic cooperation, national self-determination, and guarantees of political stability after the war to ensure "that all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." It would become the basis for a new American-led transatlantic alliance after the war's conclusion. Its promise of national self-determination, however, set up potential conflict in Asia and Africa, where European powers would be reluctant to abandon their colonial holdings.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How did Roosevelt use the Four Freedoms speech and the Atlantic Charter to define the war for Americans?

In the fall of 1941, the reality of U.S. involvement in the war drew closer. By September, Nazi U-boats and the American navy were exchanging fire in the Atlantic. With isolationists still a potent force, Roosevelt hesitated to declare war and insisted that the United States would defend itself only against a direct attack. But behind the scenes, the president and his close advisors considered war inevitable.

The Attack on Pearl Harbor

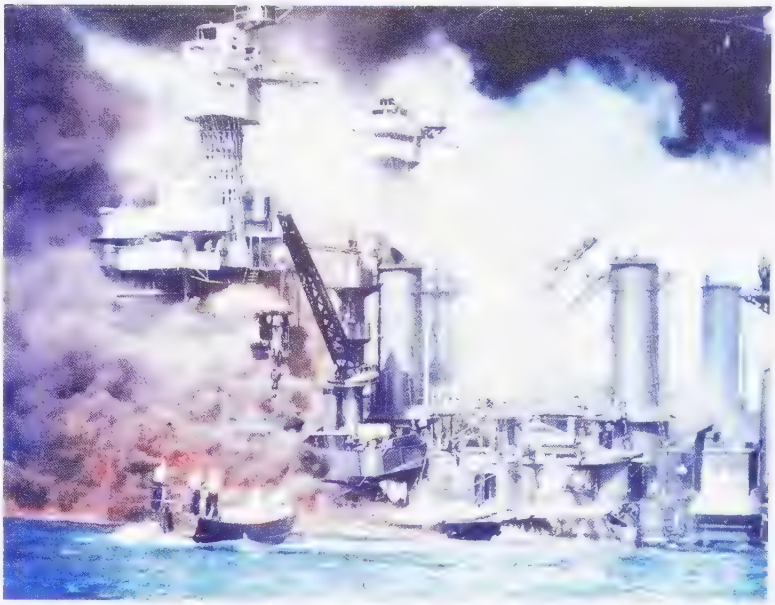
The crucial provocation came not from Germany but from Japan. After Japan invaded China in 1937, Roosevelt had denounced "the present reign of terror and international lawlessness" and suggested that aggressors be "quarantined" by peaceful nations. Despite such rhetoric, the United States refused to intervene later that year when Japanese troops sacked the city of Nanjing, massacred 300,000 Chinese residents, and raped thousands of women.

With China weakened as a counterweight, Japan's military and imperial ambitions expanded. In 1940, General Hideki Tojo became war minister. After concluding a formal military alliance with Germany and Italy that year, Tojo dispatched Japanese troops to occupy the northern part of the French colony of Indochina (present-day Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). Tojo's goal, supported by Emperor Hirohito, was to create a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" under Japan's control, stretching from the Korean Peninsula south to Indonesia. Like Germany and Italy, Japan sought to match the overseas empires of Britain, France, Holland, and the United States.

When Japanese troops staged a full-scale invasion of Indochina in July 1941, Roosevelt froze Japanese assets in the United States and stopped all trade with Japan. This included vital oil shipments that accounted for almost 80 percent of Japanese consumption. In October 1941, General Tojo became prime minister and accelerated

secret preparations for war against the United States. By November, American military intelligence knew that Japan was planning an attack but did not know where it would occur.

Early on Sunday morning, December 7, 1941, Japanese bombers attacked **Pearl Harbor** in Hawaii, killing more than 2,400 Americans. They destroyed or heavily damaged eight battleships, three cruisers, three destroyers, and almost two hundred airplanes. Although the assault was devastating, it united the American people. Calling December 7th "a date which will live in infamy," President Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. The Senate voted unanimously for war, and the House concurred by a vote of 388 to 1. The lone dissenter was Jeannette Rankin of Montana, a committed pacifist — she also voted against entry into World War I — and the first female member of Congress. Three days later, Germany and Italy declared war on the United States, which in turn declared war on the Axis powers. The long shadows of two wars, one in Europe and one in Asia, had at long last converged over the United States.



Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941 On the morning of December 7, 1941, a surprise Japanese attack on the U.S. naval fleet in Pearl Harbor (Hawaii Territory) produced destruction and chaos. Having significantly damaged American forces in the Pacific, Japan quickly overtook virtually all of Southeast Asia. But within sixteen months, the United States had turned the tide and begun to drive the Japanese back toward their home islands. National Archives photo no. 12009

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **Explain the steps by which the United States became involved in World War II.**

Organizing for a Global War

The task of fighting on a global scale dramatically increased the power of the federal government. Shifting from civilian to military production, raising an army, and assembling the necessary workforce required a massive expansion in government authority. When Congress passed the **War Powers Act** in December 1941, it gave President Roosevelt unprecedented control over all aspects of the war effort. Necessary to fight the war, this act marked the beginning of what some historians call the imperial presidency: the far-reaching use (and sometimes abuse) of executive authority during the second half of the twentieth century.

Financing the War

Defense mobilization, not the New Deal of the 1930s, ended the Great Depression. Between 1940 and 1945, the annual gross national product doubled, and after-tax profits of American businesses nearly doubled (AP® America in the World). Federal spending on war production powered this advance. By late 1943, two-thirds of the economy was directly involved in the war effort, and war-related production jumped from just 2 percent of GNP to 40 percent (Figure 23.1). The government paid for these military expenditures by raising taxes and borrowing money. The **Revenue Act** of 1942 expanded the number of people paying income taxes from 3.9 million to 42.6 million. Taxes on personal incomes and business profits paid half the cost of the war. The government borrowed the rest, both from wealthy Americans and from ordinary citizens, who invested in treasury bonds (war bonds).

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the role of World War II in ending the Great Depression is essential for the AP® exam.

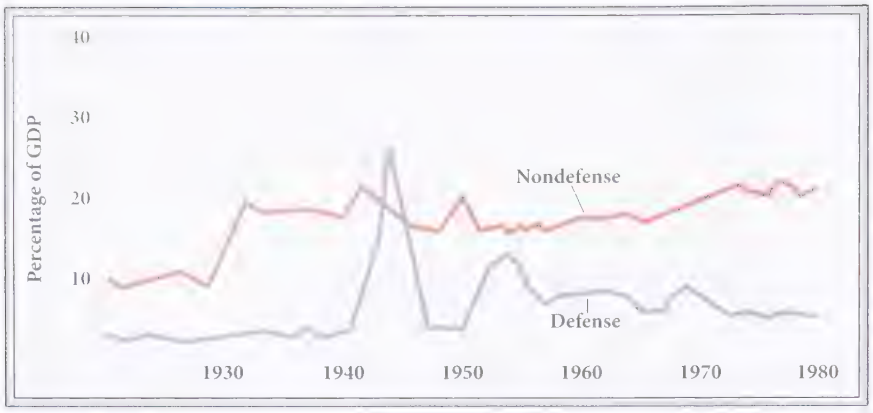


FIGURE 23.1 Government Military and Civilian Spending as a Percentage of GDP, 1920–1980

Government military spending was about 3 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in the 1920s and 1930s, but it ballooned to more than 25 percent during World War II, to 13 percent during the Korean War, and to nearly 10 percent during the Vietnam War. Federal government spending for civilian purposes doubled during the New Deal and has remained at about 17 to 20 percent of GDP ever since.

Financing and coordinating the war effort required far-reaching cooperation between government and private business. The number of civilians employed by the government increased almost fourfold, to 3.8 million — a far higher rate of growth than that during the New Deal. The powerful War Production Board (WPB) awarded defense contracts, allocated scarce resources — such as rubber, copper, and oil — for military uses, and persuaded businesses to convert to military production. For example, it encouraged Ford and General Motors to build tanks rather than cars by granting generous tax advantages for re-equipping existing factories and building new ones. In other instances, the board approved "cost-plus" contracts, which guaranteed corporations a profit and allowed them to keep new steel mills, factories, and shipyards after the war. Such government subsidies of defense industries would intensify during the Cold War and continue to this day. These corporations would form the core of what became known as the nation's "military-industrial complex" during the Cold War (Chapter 24).

To secure maximum production, the WPB preferred to deal with major enterprises rather than with small businesses. The nation's fifty-six largest corporations received three-fourths of the war contracts; the top ten received one-third. The best-known contractor was Henry J. Kaiser. Already highly successful from building roads in California and the Hoover and Grand Coulee dams, Kaiser went from government construction work to navy shipbuilding. At his shipyard in Richmond, California, he revolutionized ship construction by applying Henry Ford's techniques of mass production. To meet wartime production schedules, Kaiser broke the work process down into small, specialized tasks that newly trained workers could do easily. Soon, each of his work crews was building a "Liberty Ship," a large vessel to carry cargo and troops to the war zone, every two weeks. The press dubbed him the Miracle Man.

Central to Kaiser's success were his close ties to federal agencies. The government financed the great dams that he built during the depression, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation lent him $300 million to build shipyards and manufacturing plants during the war. Working together in this way, American business and government turned out a prodigious supply of military hardware: 86,000 tanks; 296,000 airplanes; 15 million rifles and machine guns; 64,000 landing craft; and 6,500 cargo ships and naval vessels. The American way of war, wrote the Scottish historian D. W. Brogan in 1944, was "mechanized like the American farm and kitchen." America's industrial might, as much as or more than its troops, proved the decisive factor in winning World War II.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the war affect the relationship between private corporations and the federal government?

Mobilizing the American Fighting Force

The expanding federal bureaucracy also had a human face. To fight the war, the government mobilized tens of millions of soldiers, civilians, and workers — coordinated on a scale unprecedented in U.S. history. During World War II, the armed forces of the United States enlisted more than sixteen million men and women. In no other military conflict have so many American citizens served in the armed services. They came from every region and economic station: black sharecroppers from Alabama; white farmers from the Midwest; the sons and daughters of European, Mexican, and Caribbean

The Scales of War: Losses and Gains During World War II

World War II saw an extraordinary loss of life. Worldwide, at least 50 million people perished between 1939 and 1945 from war-related causes. The majority of those who died were civilians, though many millions of soldiers perished in battle as well. For most countries, we have reasonable estimates rather than precise figures. The chart below compares the United States with other major combatants and nations caught in this global struggle.

On the other side of the scale, the war fueled tremendous economic growth, at least in the United States, which was spared the physical devastation of Europe and East Asia. Military production for World War II lifted the United States out of the Great Depression. Gross domestic product (GDP) nearly doubled between 1938 and 1945. Economic production in other combatant nations, as shown in the second figure, grew little if at all.

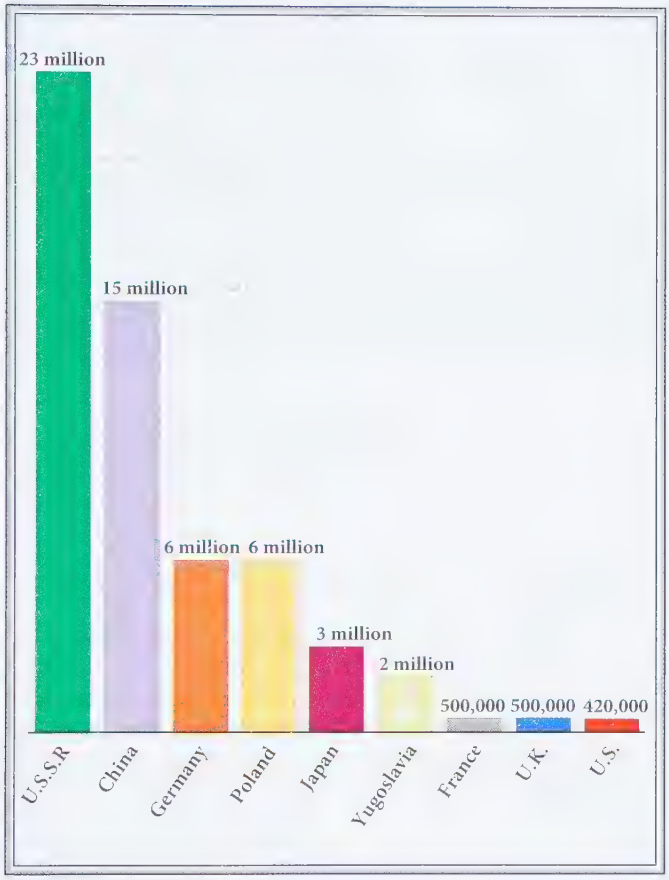


FIGURE 23.2 World War II Military and Civilian Deaths, 1939–1945

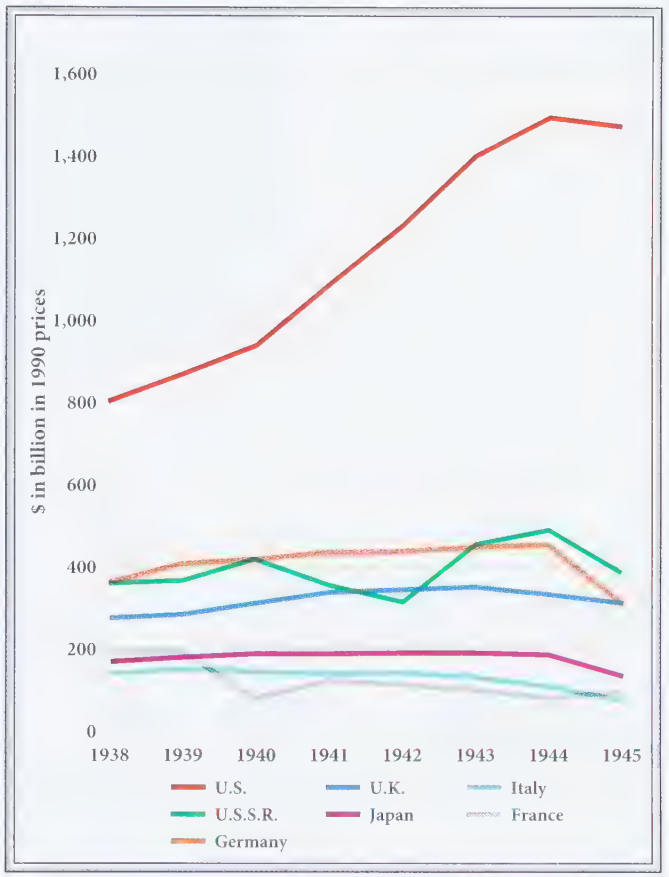


FIGURE 23.3 Gross Domestic Product Rates Worldwide, 1938–1945

SOURCE: GDP data adapted from Mark Harrison, "The Economics of World War II: Six Great Powers" in *International Comparison* (1998), 11. Copyright © 1998 Cambridge University Press. Reprinted by permission of Cambridge University Press.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did the United States experience so many fewer deaths than other nations? Why were there so many deaths in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union?
2. Note the relative position of U.S. GDP to other industrial nations in 1938 and in 1945. How were some of the key domestic changes discussed in the chapter, such as rural-urban migration, racial conflict, and women's employment, linked to this economic growth?
3. How might you use these comparisons to add to your understanding of key wartime developments, such as the Holocaust, Stalin's demand for a second front, or the entry of the United States into the war?

Shipyards in Wartime The shipyard workers shown here are laying the keel of the *Joseph N. Teal*, a 10,500-ton "Liberty" freighter bound for the war in the Pacific in 1942. Amidst scaffolding, tools, and wires, these workers at Henry J. Kaiser's shipyard in Portland, Oregon, constructed the entire ship in just ten days after the keel was laid, to shatter all previous shipbuilding records. Kaiser was the king of shipbuilding on the West Coast, with massive yards in Portland and the San Francisco Bay area. In all, Kaiser's workers built nearly 1,500 ships in three years, one-quarter of the total constructed during the war. Bettmann/Getty Images

AP® EXAM TIP

Identifying the opportunities and challenges faced by women and minorities who served in World War II is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

immigrants; Native men from Navajo and Choctaw reservations and other tribal communities; women from every state in the nation; even Hollywood celebrities. From urban, rural, and suburban areas, from working-class and middle-class backgrounds — they all served in the military.

In contrast to its otherwise democratic character, the American army segregated the nearly one million African Americans in uniform. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other civil rights groups reprimanded the government, saying, "A Jim Crow army cannot fight for a free world," but the military continued to separate black soldiers and assign them menial duties. The poet Langston Hughes observed the irony: "We are elevator boys, janitors, red caps, maids — a race in uniform." The military uniform, Hughes implied, was not assigned to African Americans so readily. Native Americans and Mexican Americans, on the other hand, were never officially segregated; they rubbed elbows with the sons of European immigrants and native-born soldiers from all regions of the country.

Among the most instrumental soldiers were the Native American "**code talkers**." In the Pacific theater, native Navajo speakers communicated orders to fleet commanders. Japanese intelligence could not decipher the code because it was based on the Navajo language, which fewer than fifty non-Navajos in the world understood. At the battle of Iwo Jima, for instance — one of the war's fiercest — Navajo code talkers, working around the clock, sent and received more than eight hundred messages without error. In the European theater, army commanders used Comanche, Choctaw, and Cherokee speakers to thwart the Nazis and exchange crucial military commands on the battlefield. No Axis nation ever broke these Native American codes.

Approximately 350,000 American women enlisted in the military. About 140,000 served in the Women's Army Corps (WAC), and 100,000 served in the navy's Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES). One-third of the nation's registered nurses, almost 75,000 overall, volunteered for military duty. In addition, about 1,000 Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) ferried planes and supplies in noncombat areas. The armed forces limited the duties assigned to women, however. Female officers could not command men, and WACs and WAVES were barred from combat duty, although nurses of both sexes served close to the front lines, risking capture or death. Most of the jobs that women did in the military — clerical work, communications, and health care — resembled women's jobs in civilian life.

Historians still debate how to characterize the World War II American military. As an army of "citizen-soldiers," it represented a wide stratum of society. Military service gave a generation of men a noble purpose, following a decade of economic depression. And its ethic of patriotism further advanced the children of immigrants into mainstream American life. Yet the military embodied the tensions and contradictions of American society as well. The draft revealed appalling levels of health, fitness, and education among millions of Americans, spurring reformers to call for improved literacy and nutrition. Women's integration into the military was marked by deep anxieties about the threat to "womanhood" allegedly posed by service. The American army was like the nation itself. United in wartime purpose, the military reflected the strengths and weaknesses of a diverse, fractious society.

Workers and the War Effort

As millions of working-age citizens joined the military, the nation faced a critical labor shortage. Consequently, many women and African Americans joined the industrial workforce, taking jobs unavailable to them before the conflict. Unions, benefitting from the demand for labor, negotiated higher wages and improved conditions for America's workers. By 1943, with the economy operating at full capacity, the breadlines and double-digit unemployment of the 1930s were a memory.

Rosie the Riveter Government officials and corporate recruiters urged women to take jobs in defense industries, creating a new image of working women. "Longing won't bring him back sooner . . . GET A WAR JOB!" one poster urged, while artist Norman Rockwell's famous "Rosie the Riveter" illustration beckoned to women from the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*. The government directed its publicity at housewives, but many working women gladly abandoned low-paying "women's jobs" as domestic servants or secretaries for higher-paying work in the defense industry. Suddenly, the nation's factories were full of women working as airplane riveters, ship welders, and drill-press operators (AP® Analyzing Voices). Women made up 36 percent of the labor force in 1945,

Rosie the Riveter Women workers install fixtures and assemblies to a tail fuselage section of a B-17 bomber at the Douglas Aircraft Company plant in Long Beach, California. To entice women to become war workers, the War Manpower Commission created the image of "Rosie the Riveter," later immortalized in posters and by a Norman Rockwell illustration on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post*. A popular 1942 song celebrating Rosie went: "Rosie's got a boyfriend, Charlie / Charlie, he's a marine / Rosie is protecting Charlie / Working overtime on the riveting machine." Even as women joined the industrial workforce in huge numbers (half a million in the aircraft industry alone), they were understood as fulfilling a nurturing, protective role.

Women in the Wartime Workplace

During World War II, millions of men served in the armed forces and millions of women worked in war-related industries. A generation later, some of these women workers recounted their wartime experiences to historians in oral interviews.

EVELYN GOTZION

Becoming a Union Activist

Evelyn Gotzion went to work at Rayovac, a battery company in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1935; she retired in 1978. While at Rayovac, Gotzion and her working husband raised three children.

SOURCE: *Women Remember the War, 1941–1945*, edited by Michael E. Stevens and Ellen D. Goldlust (State Historical Society of Wisconsin Press, 1993). Reprinted with permission of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

"I had all kinds of jobs. [During the war] we had one line, a big line, where you'd work ten hours and you'd stand in one spot or sit in one spot. It got terrible, all day long. So I suggested to my foreman, the general foreman, that we take turns of learning everybody's job and switching every half hour. Well, they [the management] didn't like it, but we were on the side, every once in a while, learning each other's job and learning how to do it, so eventually most all of us got so we could do all the jobs, [of] which there were probably fifteen or twenty on the line. We could do every job so we could go up and down the line and rotate. And then they found out that that was really a pretty good thing to do because it made the people happier. . . .

One day I was the steward, and they wouldn't listen to me. They cut our rates, so I shut off the line, and the boss came up and he said, 'What are you doing?' I said, 'Well, I have asked everybody that I know why we have gotten a cut in pay and why we're doing exactly the same amount of work as we did.' . . . So, anyhow, we wrote up a big grievance and they all signed it and then I called the president of the union and then we had a meeting. . . . At that point the president decided that I should be added to the bargaining committee so that I would go in and argue our case, because I could do it better than any of the rest of them because I knew what it was. . . . We finally got it straightened out, and we got our back pay, too. From then on I was on the bargaining committee all the years that I worked at Rayovac."

DONNA JEAN HARVEY

Wartime Challenges and New Experiences

During the war Harvey raised her first child while working as a riveter and radio installer at a plant in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

SOURCE: National Park Service, *Rosie the Riveter: Women Working During World War II*, nps. gov/pwro/collection/website/donna.htm.

"I graduated from Cheyenne High School in 1940. I married Lewis Early Harvey in January 1941. He was drafted when the war broke out and was sent to the Aleutian Islands, and from there he transferred to the Paratroopers. In October I gave birth to my first son, Lewis Early Jr.

Labor force was critical at that time so I went to United Modification Plant and learned how to rivet, do installations of various kinds and etc. When the 'new' radar system was implemented, I asked to be put on that crew. The F.B.I. investigated me and found me to be worthy and I proceeded to install radar along with my riveting duties, while waiting for the next shipment of planes to come in. . . . I was awarded the Army-Navy E Award and was presented with a pin. I've always been very proud of that!!! I certainly got educated in more ways than I ever expected, being a very young girl. But looking back I wouldn't trade my experiences for anything.

My feeling about the war in most instances was a conglomerate of mixed emotions. I had lived a fairly sheltered life, but I listened and learned and managed to survive, but I must admit, it left a scar on my memory that can never be erased.

I was living in one of my parent's apartments during the war and since they were both retired, they baby-sat my young son. My mother decided after a while that she too would like to do something in some little way to help. So she applied for maintenance and between my father and the girl next door, I managed to have a baby-sitter available at all times. The government was asking for rubber donations so

AP EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of mass mobilization in World War II on women who served in the military or entered the workforce.

compared with 24 percent at the beginning of the war. War work did not free women from traditional expectations and limitations, however. Women often faced sexual harassment on the job and usually received lower wages than men did. In shipyards, women with the most seniority and responsibility earned $6.95 a day, whereas the top men made as much as $22.

Wartime work was thus bittersweet for women, because it combined new opportunities with old constraints. The majority labored in low-wage service jobs. Child care was often unavailable, despite the largest government-sponsored child-care program in history. When the men returned from war, Rosie the Riveter was usually out of a job. Government propaganda now encouraged women back into the home — where, it was

my mother and I gave them our rubber girdles!! We liked to think that our girdles helped win the war!!!

My life took on a totally new perspective the longer I worked there. I saw many tragic accidents, none of which I care to talk about which haunt me to this day.

I couldn't do much socializing as I had a small infant at home to care for when off work and besides I was really pooped. Those midnight shifts were 'killers.' I hope I never have to do that again!! I tried to write weekly letters to my husband in between my other duties. . . .

Our community gathered together and collected scrap metals and such to help in the war effort and thanks to a good neighbor, who was growing a victory garden; we managed to get gifts of potatoes and lettuce etc. The government issued coupon books that allowed us two bananas a week, one pound of sugar and so many gallons of gas. We traded back and forth depending on our individual needs. I had a 1934 Ford and fortunately, it wasn't a gas eater and it managed to get me where I was going when I needed it. . . .

There were no unions there at that time and no baby sitting service provided. The single people formed a club and they entertained themselves after work but I was a married person with a child and so I didn't participate in any of their activities. . . .

After the war was over, most people went back to their previous jobs. I opened a beauty salon and when my husband returned home from the service he got a job with the Frontier Refinery. ❞

FANNY CHRISTINA (TINA) HILL

War Work: Social and Racial Mobility

After migrating to California from Texas and working as a domestic servant, Tina Hill, an African American, got a wartime job at North American Aircraft. After time off for a pregnancy in 1945, Hill worked there until 1980.

SOURCE: *Rosie the Riveter Revisited*, by Sherna B. Gluck (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1987). Used by permission of Susan Berger Gluck.

❝ Most of the men was gone, and . . . most of the women was in my bracket, five or six years younger or older. I was twenty-four. There was a black girl that hired in with me. I went to work the next day, sixty cents an hour. . . . I could see where they made a difference in placing you in certain jobs. They had fifteen or twenty departments, but all the Negroes went to Department 17 because there was nothing but shooting and bucking rivets. You stood on one side of the panel and your partner stood on this side and he would shoot the rivets with a gun and you'd buck them with the bar. That was about the size of it. I just didn't like it . . . went over to the union and they told me what to do. I went back inside and they sent me to another department where you did bench work and I liked that much better. . . .

Some weeks I brought home twenty-six dollars . . . then it gradually went up to thirty dollars [about $420 in 2010]. . . . Whatever you make you're supposed to save some. I was also getting that fifty dollars a month from my husband and that was just saved right away. I was planning on buying a home and a car. . . . My husband came back [from the war, and] . . . looked for a job in the cleaning and pressing place, which was just plentiful. . . . That's why he didn't bother to go out to North American. But what we both weren't thinking about was that they [North American] have better benefits because they did have an insurance plan and a union to back you up. Later he did come to work there, in 1951 or 1952. . . .

When North American called me back [after I left to have a baby,] was I a happy soul! . . . It made me live better. It really did.We always say that Lincoln took the bale off of the Negroes. I think there is a statue up there in Washington, D.C., where he's lifting something off the Negro. Well, my sister always said — that's why you can't interview her because she's so radical — 'Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchen.' ❞

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. How did the war change the lives of these women?
2. Consider how the themes of identity and work, technology, and economic change connect to the lives of these two women. How was their experience of the wartime industrial workplace tied to their class and gender identities? How did labor unions affect their conditions of employment?
3. These interviews occurred long after the events they describe. How might that long interval have affected the women's accounts of those years?

implied, their true calling lay in raising families. But many married women refused, or could not afford, to put on aprons and stay home. Women's participation in the paid labor force rebounded by the late 1940s and continued to rise over the rest of the twentieth century, bringing major changes in family life (Chapter 25).

Wartime Civil Rights Among African Americans, a new militancy emerged during the war. Pointing to parallels between anti-Semitism in Germany and racial discrimination in the United States, black leaders waged the Double V campaign: calling for victory over Nazism abroad and racism at home. "This is a war for freedom. Whose freedom?" the renowned black leader W. E. B. Du Bois asked. If it meant "the freedom

AP® EXAM TIP

Explaining the role of World War II in generating debates over civil rights in the U.S. is essential for the AP® exam.

of Negroes in the Southern United States," Du Bois answered, "my gun is on my shoulder."

Even before Pearl Harbor, black activism was on the rise. In 1940, only 240 of the nation's 100,000 aircraft workers were black, and most of them were janitors. African American leaders demanded that the government require defense contractors to hire more black workers. When the Roosevelt administration took no action, A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the largest black labor union in the country, announced plans for a march on Washington in the summer of 1941.

Roosevelt was not a strong supporter of African American equality, but he wanted to avoid public protest and a disruption of the nation's war preparations. So the president made a deal: he issued **Executive Order 8802**, and in June 1941 Randolph canceled the march. The order prohibited "discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin" and established the Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC). Mary McLeod Bethune called the wartime FEPC "a refreshing shower in a thirsty land." This federal commitment to black employment rights was unprecedented but limited: it did not affect segregation in the armed forces, and the FEPC could not enforce compliance with its orders.

Nevertheless, wartime developments laid the groundwork for the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s. The NAACP grew ninefold, to 450,000 members, by 1945. In Chicago, James Farmer helped to found the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in 1942, a group that would become known nationwide in the 1960s for its direct action protests such as sit-ins. The FEPC inspired black organizing against employment discrimination in hundreds of cities and workplaces. Behind this combination of government action and black militancy, the civil rights movement would advance on multiple fronts in the postwar years.

Wartime Civil Rights Fighting fascism abroad while battling racism at home was the approach taken by black communities across the country during World War II. Securing democracy in Europe and Asia while not enjoying it in the United States did not seem just. Jobs were plentiful as the wartime economy hummed along at a fevered pitch. But when employers and unions kept Jim Crow hiring policies in place, African Americans did not hesitate to protest. Here picketers rally for defense jobs outside the Glenn Martin Plant in Omaha, Nebraska, in the early 1940s. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library/Art Resource, NY

Mexican Americans, too, challenged long-standing practices of discrimination and exclusion. Throughout much of the Southwest, it was still common for signs to read "No Mexicans Allowed," and Mexican American workers were confined to menial, low-paying jobs. Several organizations, including the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Spanish-Speaking People's Congress, pressed the government and private employers to end anti-Mexican discrimination. Mexican American workers themselves, often in Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions such as the Cannery Workers and Shipyard Workers, also led efforts to enforce the FEPC's equal employment mandate.

Exploitation persisted, however. To meet wartime labor demands, the U.S. government brought tens of thousands of Mexican contract laborers into the United States under the **Bracero Program**. Paid little and treated poorly, the braceros (who took their name from the Spanish *brazo*, "arm") highlighted the oppressive conditions of farm labor in the United States. After the war, the federal government continued to participate in labor exploitation, bringing hundreds of thousands of Mexicans into the country to perform low-wage agricultural work. Future Mexican American civil rights leaders Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez began to fight this labor system in the 1950s.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How does the slogan "A Jim Crow army cannot fight for a free world" connect the war abroad with the civil rights struggle at home?

Organized Labor During the war, unions solidified their position as the most powerful national voice for American workers and extended gains made during the New Deal. By 1945, almost 15 million workers belonged to a union, up from 9 million in 1939. Representatives of the major unions made a no-strike pledge for the duration of the war, and Roosevelt rewarded them by creating the National War Labor Board (NWLB), composed of representatives of labor, management, and the public. The NWLB established wages, hours, and working conditions and had the authority to seize manufacturing plants that did not comply.

Despite these arrangements, unions faced a sometimes hostile Congress. Frustrated with limits on wage increases and the no-strike pledge, in 1943 more than half a million United Mine Workers went out on strike, demanding a higher wage increase than that recommended by the NWLB. Congress responded by passing (over Roosevelt's veto) the Smith-Connally Labor Act of 1943, which allowed the president to prohibit strikes in defense industries and forbade political contributions by unions. Although organized labor would emerge from World War II more powerful than at any time in U.S. history, its business and corporate opponents, too, would emerge from the war with new strength.

Politics in Wartime

In his 1944 State of the Union address, FDR called for a second Bill of Rights, one that would guarantee all Americans access to education and jobs, adequate food and clothing, and decent housing and medical care. Like his Four Freedoms speech, this was a call to extend the New Deal by broadening the rights to individual security and welfare guaranteed by the government. The answer to his call, however, would have to wait for the war's conclusion. Congress created new government benefits only for military veterans, known as GIs (short for "government issue"). The **Servicemen's Readjustment Act** (1944), an extraordinarily influential program popularly known as the "GI Bill of Rights," provided education, job training, medical care, pensions, and home loans for men and women who had served in the armed forces (Chapter 25).

The president's call for social legislation sought to reinvigorate the New Deal political coalition. In the election of 1944, Roosevelt again headed the Democratic ticket. But party leaders, aware of FDR's health problems and fearing that Vice President Henry Wallace's outspoken support for labor and civil rights would alienate moderate voters, dropped him from the ticket. In his place, they chose Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, a plain-spoken — some even thought drab — politician with little national experience. The Republicans nominated Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

Dewey, who accepted the general principles of welfare-state liberalism domestically and favored internationalism in foreign affairs, attracted some of Roosevelt's supporters. But a majority of voters preferred political continuity, and Roosevelt was reelected with 53.5 percent of the nationwide vote. The Democratic coalition retained its hold on government power, and the era of Republican political dominance (1896–1932) slipped further into the past.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What aspects of the economy and American society were affected by mobilization for war?

Life on the Home Front

The United States escaped the physical devastation that ravaged Europe and East Asia, but the war profoundly changed the country. Americans welcomed wartime prosperity but shuddered when they saw a Western Union boy on his bicycle, fearing that he carried a War Department telegram reporting the death of someone's son, husband, or father. Citizens also grumbled about annoying wartime regulations and rationing but accepted that their lives would be different "for the duration."

"For the Duration"

Spurred by both government propaganda and a desire to serve the war cause, people on the home front took on wartime responsibilities. They worked on civilian defense committees, recycled old newspapers and scrap metal, and served on local rationing and draft boards. About twenty million backyard "victory gardens" produced 40 percent of the nation's vegetables. Various federal agencies encouraged these efforts, especially the Office of War Information (OWI), which disseminated news and promoted patriotism. The OWI urged advertising agencies to link their clients' products to the war effort, arguing that patriotic ads would not only sell goods but also "invigorate, instruct and inspire" citizens (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

A Family Effort After migrating from the Midwest to Portland, Oregon, fifteen members of the family of John R. Brauckmiller (sixth from left) found jobs at Henry Kaiser's Swan Island shipyard. From 1943 to 1945, the shipyard turned out 152 T-2 Tankers, mostly for use by the U.S. Navy to carry fuel oil. A local newspaper pronounced the Brauckmillers as "the shipbuildingest family in America," and because of the importance of shipbuilding to the war effort, *Life* magazine featured the family in its issue of August 16, 1943. Ralph Vincent, *The Journal*, Portland, Oregon/Picture Research Consultants &

Popular culture, especially the movies, reinforced connections between the home front and the war effort. Hollywood producers, directors, and actors offered their talents to the War Department. Director Frank Capra created a documentary series titled *Why We Fight* to explain war aims to conscripted soldiers. Movie stars such as John Wayne and Spencer Tracy portrayed heroic American fighting men in numerous films, such as *Guadalcanal Diary* (1943) and *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* (1944). In this pretelevision era, newsreels accompanying the feature films kept the public up-to-date

on the war, as did on-the-spot radio broadcasts by Edward R. Murrow and Mary Marvin Breckenridge, the first female radio correspondent for CBS.

For many Americans, the major inconvenience during the war years was the shortage of consumer goods. Beginning in 1942, federal agencies subjected almost everything Americans ate, wore, or used to rationing or regulation. The first major scarcity was rubber. The Japanese conquest of Malaysia and Dutch Indonesia cut off 97 percent of America's imports of that essential raw material. To conserve rubber for the war effort, the government rationed tires, so many of the nation's 30 million car owners put their cars in storage. As more people walked, they wore out their shoes. In 1944, shoes were rationed to two pairs per person a year. By 1943, the government was rationing meat, butter, sugar, and other foods. Most citizens cooperated with the complicated rationing system, but at least one-quarter of the population bought items on the black market, especially meat, gasoline, cigarettes, and nylon stockings.

Migration and the Wartime City

AP® EXAM TIP

Describe the causes and effects of migration from rural to urban areas in World War II.

The war determined where people lived. When men entered the armed services, their families often followed them to military bases or points of debarkation. Civilians moved to take high-paying defense jobs. About 15 million Americans changed residences during the war years, half of them moving to another state. One of them was Peggy Terry, who grew up in Paducah, Kentucky; worked in a shell-loading plant in nearby Viola; and then moved to a defense plant in Michigan. There, she recalled, "I met all those wonderful Polacks [Polish Americans]. They were the first people I'd ever known that were any different from me. A whole new world just opened up."

As the center of defense production for the Pacific war, California experienced the largest share of wartime migration. The state welcomed 2.5 million new residents and grew by 35 percent during the war. "The Second Gold Rush Hits the West," announced the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1943. One-tenth of all federal dollars spent on the war flowed into California, and the state's factories turned out one-sixth of all war materials. People went where the defense jobs were: to Los Angeles, San Diego, and cities around San Francisco Bay. Some towns grew practically overnight; within two years of the opening of the Kaiser Corporation shipyard in Richmond, California, the town's population quadrupled. Other industrial states — notably New York, Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio — also attracted both federal dollars and migrants on a large scale.

The growth of war industries accelerated patterns of rural-urban migration. Cities grew dramatically, as factories, shipyards, and other defense plants drew millions of citizens from small towns and rural areas. This new mobility, coupled with people's distance from their hometowns, loosened the authority of traditional institutions and made wartime cities vibrant and lively. Around-the-clock work shifts kept people on the streets night and day, and bars, jazz clubs, dance halls, and movie theaters proliferated, fed by the ready cash of war workers.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What effects did wartime migration have on the United States?

Racial Conflict Migration and more fluid social boundaries meant that people of different races and ethnicities mixed in the booming cities. Over one million African Americans left the rural South for California, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania — a continuation of the Great Migration earlier in the century (Chapters 20 and 21). In a repeat of the events of World War I, as blacks and whites competed for jobs and housing, racial conflicts broke out in more than a hundred cities in 1943. Detroit saw the worst violence. In June 1943, a riot incited by southern-born whites and Polish Americans against African Americans left thirty-four people dead and hundreds injured.

Racial conflict struck the West as well. In Los Angeles, male Mexican American teenagers formed *pachuco* (youth) gangs. Many dressed in "**zoot suits**" — broad-brimmed felt hats, thigh-length jackets with wide lapels and padded shoulders, pegged trousers, and clunky shoes. Pachucas (young women) favored long coats, huarache sandals, and

Mobilizing the Home Front

The U.S. Office of War Information (OWI) promoted everything from food rationing to carpooling during World War II, and the U.S. Treasury encouraged millions of Americans to buy war bonds. More than 20 million victory gardens were planted by ordinary Americans. By 1944 they were producing more than 40 percent of all vegetables grown in the United States. Through these and other measures, those on the home front were encouraged to see themselves as part of the war effort.

1. U.S. government advertisement from the *Minneapolis Star Journal*, 1943.

TIN IS SAVED NOW IN THE MAKING OF TIN CANS
HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF CANS WILL NOW BE MADE BY THE NEW HIGHLY MECHANIZED ELECTROLYTIC PROCESS. BY THIS ELECTROLYTIC METHOD TIN CAN BE MADE TO COVER STEEL FOR NEARLY 3 TIMES AS MANY CANS AS UNDER THE CONVENTIONAL "HOT DIP" METHOD.
SAVE 'EM·WASH 'EM·CLEAN 'EM·SQUASH 'EM
THESE ARE THE FOUR STEPS IN THE AMERICAN HOUSEWIFE'S JOB TO HELP SALVAGE STEEL AND TIN BY SENDING TIN CANS BACK TO THE SCRAP HEAP
SALVAGED TIN CANS GO INTO MANY WAR ITEMS...
THERE IS ENOUGH TIN IN 3 SALVAGED CANS TO MAKE A HAND GRENADE..
ONE TIN CAN YIELDS ENOUGH TIN FOR A PAIR OF BINOCULARS...
A FAMILY OF FOUR SAVING ITS CANS FOR TWO WEEKS WILL SAVE SUFFICIENT TIN TO SUPPLY THIS METAL FOR A PORTABLE FLAME THROWER...
A MONTH'S SAVING OF CANS WILL MAKE THE BUSHINGS FOR 3 MACHINE GUNS
Keep the tin cans rolling into the salvage heap. This plea to housewives is more urgent than ever, since rationing has resulted in less buying of food in cans. Tin is used in many items used by our soldiers on war fronts, so save it and help win the war.

Source: AdAccess Digital Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library Duke University

2. Copy from War Advertising Council/U.S. Treasury Department advertisement, 1943.

Farmer: "Well, there's something we *really* want now — *more than anything else* . . . and I guess everybody does. It's VICTORY IN THIS WAR! We had started saving for a new milking machine and a deep-well pump that we will be needing in a few years. . . . We're still going to have that milking machine and that pump — and a lot of other new improvements after the war. When our son comes home from the fighting front, he'll help us pick them out. And we'll have the cash to pay for them. With the money we are saving now in War Bonds. And we are going to hang on to as many War Bonds as possible to take care of us after our boy takes over on the farm. For after ten years, we get four dollars back for every three we have invested."

3. Poster from the U.S. Office of Price Administration, 1943.

Source: United States Office of Price Administration/Northwestern University Library; https://images.northwestern.edu/multiresimages/inu:dl-e099b32d-f48e-42b7-9219-e95ee3884114

4. Girl Scouts planting a victory garden near San Francisco during the war, 1943

SOURCE: Library of Congress.

5. Oral histories about life during the war.

Tessie Hickam Wilson, a young woman from Oklahoma.
It was a hard time, but we felt like we were doing our part, and all the people we knew were doing their part. We had rationing. Sugar, coffee, gasoline and meat were some of the items that were hard to come by. We had ration books every so often, and we had to use them sparingly. We bought savings bonds to help in the war effort.

We also had radios and record players, and when we could afford it, we went to the movies. And even though there were hard times, we did what we could in the war effort, and I will always be glad I was part of it.

Virginia J. Bondra, a student and clothing worker from Ohio.
The only newsreel footage we saw was in the theaters when we went to a movie. And we used to bring scrap metal or cans, and we'd get in the movies free. They needed scrap metal and they — the USA needed scrap fat. My mother used to scrap fat, you know, in a can. She'd save it, and we'd bring it to a certain place. Sugar was rationed. Each member of the family would get one pound of sugar a week. And I always had time to bake because we had sugar. . . .

Different things were rationed. We couldn't buy nylons because it was needed . . . for parachutes. So we'd — we'd — my older sisters would paint their legs with a certain makeup that came out in place of nylons. . . . It was makeup for legs.

They painted a eyebrow pencil line down the back of their leg so it would look like real nylons. And we would write V-mail. I had brother — brothers-in-law in the service. We — we'd write V-mail to them. It was called V-mail. Victory mail. . . . We couldn't put their address on because they were moved around a lot and we didn't want the enemy to know. There were a lot of secrets. They would say "zip your lip was the" — was the word of the days then. "Zip your lip" because we didn't want the enemy to get information.

SOURCES: (2) Digital Collections, Duke University Libraries; (4) National Park Service, *Rosie the Riveter: Women Working During World War II*, and the Library of Congress Veterans History Project.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Examine sources 1, 2, and 3. Who created these sources, and what does this suggest about the context and purpose of these documents? Can you tell from their content who the intended audience was?
2. Study the photograph (source 4). Who is depicted? What does this suggest about the victory garden program as well as war efforts on the home front more broadly?
3. How do the oral histories in source 5 add to your understanding of home front involvement in the war effort? Does their testimony force you to question the other documents in any way, and if so, how?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Analyze some of the ways the U.S. government encouraged ordinary citizens to participate in the war effort, and evaluate the objectives and results of these efforts.

Zoot-Suit Youth in Los Angeles During a four-day riot in June 1943, servicemen in Los Angeles attacked young Latino men wearing distinctive zoot suits, which were widely viewed as emblems of gang membership and a delinquent youth culture. The police response was to arrest scores of zoot-suiters. Here, a group of arrested youth pose for a photographer in a jail cell. What became known as the "zoot suit riot" was emblematic of racial tensions on the homefront, even as the U.S. fought a war against fascism abroad. Bettmann/Getty Image

pompadour hairdos. Other working-class teenagers in Los Angeles and elsewhere took up the zoot-suit style to emphasize their rejection of middle-class values. To many adults, the zoot suit symbolized juvenile delinquency. Rumors circulating in Los Angeles in June 1943 that a pachuco gang had beaten an Anglo (white) sailor set off a four-day riot in which hundreds of Anglo servicemen roamed through Mexican American neighborhoods and attacked zoot-suiters, taking special pleasure in slashing their pegged pants. In a stinging display of bias, Los Angeles police officers arrested only Mexican American youth, and the City Council passed an ordinance outlawing the wearing of the zoot suit.

Gay and Lesbian Communities Wartime migration to urban centers created new opportunities for gay men and women to establish communities. Religious and social conventions against gays and lesbians kept the majority of them silent about their sexuality. During the war, however, cities such as New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, and even Kansas City, Buffalo, and Dallas developed vibrant gay neighborhoods, sustained by a sudden influx of migrants and the relatively open wartime atmosphere. These communities became centers of the gay rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Chapter 28).

The military tried to screen out homosexuals but had limited success. Once in the service, homosexuals found opportunities to participate in a gay culture often more extensive than that in civilian life. In the last twenty years, historians have documented thriving communities of gay and lesbian soldiers in the World War II military. Some "came out under fire," as one historian put it, but most kept their sexuality hidden from authorities because army officers, doctors, and psychiatrists treated homosexuality as a psychological disorder that was grounds for dishonorable discharge.

Japanese Removal

Unlike World War I, which evoked widespread harassment of German Americans, World War II produced relatively little condemnation of European Americans. Despite the presence of small but vocal groups of Nazi sympathizers and Mussolini supporters, German American and Italian American communities were largely left in peace during the war; federal officials held only about five thousand potentially dangerous German and Italian aliens. The relocation and temporary imprisonment of Japanese immigrants and Japanese American citizens was a glaring exception to this otherwise tolerant policy. Immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, the West Coast remained calm. Then, as residents began to fear spies, sabotage, and further attacks, California's long history of racial animosity toward Asian immigrants surfaced. Local politicians and newspapers whipped up hysteria against Japanese Americans, who numbered only about 112,000, had no political power, and lived primarily in small enclaves in the Pacific coast states.

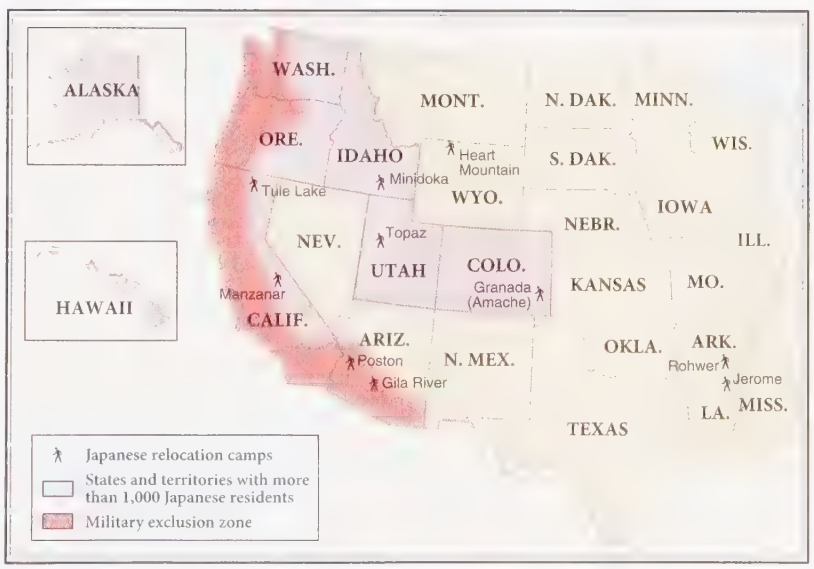
Early in 1942, President Roosevelt responded to anti-Japanese fears by issuing **Executive Order 9066**, which authorized the War Department to force Japanese Americans from their West Coast homes and hold them in relocation camps for the duration of the war. Although there was no disloyal or seditious activity among the evacuees, few public leaders opposed the plan. "A Jap's a Jap," snapped General John DeWitt, the officer charged with defense of the West Coast. "It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen or not."

New Urban Communities Folk singer Pete Seeger performs at the opening of the Washington, D.C., labor canteen in 1944, sponsored by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Wartime migration brought people from across the country to centers of industry and military operations, opening new possibilities for urban communities. African American neighborhoods grew dramatically; urban populations grew younger and more mobile; and gay and lesbian communities began to flourish and become more visible. The Granger Collection, New York

The relocation plan shocked Japanese Americans, more than two-thirds of whom were Nisei; that is, their parents were immigrants (Isei), but they were native-born American citizens. Army officials gave families only a few days to dispose of their property. Businesses that had taken a lifetime to build were liquidated overnight. The War Relocation Authority moved the prisoners to hastily built camps in desolate areas in California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Arkansas (Map 23.1). Ironically, the Japanese Americans who made up one-third of the population of Hawaii, and presumably posed a greater threat because of their proximity to Japan, were not imprisoned. They provided much of the unskilled labor in the island territory, and the Hawaiian economy could not have functioned without them.

Cracks soon appeared in the relocation policy. An agricultural labor shortage led the government to **furlough** seasonal farmworkers from the camps as early as 1942. About 4,300 students were allowed to attend colleges outside the West Coast military zone. Other internees were permitted to join the armed services. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team, a unit composed almost entirely of Nisei volunteers, served with distinction in Europe.

Gordon Hirabayashi was among the Nisei who actively resisted incarceration. A student at the University of Washington, Hirabayashi



MAP 23.1 Japanese Relocation Camps
In 1942, the government ordered 112,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast into internment camps in the nation's interior because of their supposed threat to public safety. Some of the camps were as far away as Arkansas. The federal government rescinded the mass evacuation order in December 1944, but 44,000 people still remained in the camps when the war ended in August 1945.

Behind Barbed Wire As part of the forced relocation of 112,000 Japanese Americans, Los Angeles photographer Toyo Miyatake and his family were sent to Manzanar, a camp in the California desert east of the Sierra Nevada. Miyatake secretly began shooting photographs of the camp with a handmade camera. Eventually, Miyatake received permission from the authorities to document life in the camp — its births, weddings, deaths, and high school graduations. To communicate the injustice of internment, he also took staged photographs, such as this image of three young boys behind barbed wire with a watchtower in the distance. For Miyatake, the image gave new meaning to the phrase "prisoners of war." *The Denver Post* via Getty Images

was a religious pacifist who had registered with his draft board as a conscientious objector. He refused to report for evacuation and turned himself in to the FBI. "I wanted to uphold the principles of the Constitution," Hirabayashi later stated, "and the curfew and evacuation orders which singled out a group on the basis of ethnicity violated them." Tried and convicted in 1942, he appealed his case to the Supreme Court in *Hirabayashi v. United States* (1943). In that case and in *Korematsu v. United States* (1944), the Court allowed the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast on the basis of "military necessity" but avoided ruling on the constitutionality of the incarceration program. The Court's decision underscored the fragility of civil liberties in wartime. Congress issued a public apology in 1988 and awarded $20,000 to each of the eighty-two thousand surviving Japanese Americans who had once been internees.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **Describe both the short-term and the lasting domestic social changes the war produced.**

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why were Japanese Americans treated differently than German and Italian Americans during the war?

Fighting and Winning the War

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the role of Allied cooperation in the military victory of the U.S. in World War II.

World War II was a war for control of the world. Had the Axis powers triumphed, Germany would have dominated, either directly or indirectly, all of Europe and much of Africa and the Middle East; Japan would have controlled most of East and Southeast Asia. To prevent this outcome, which would have crippled democracy in Europe and restricted American power to the Western Hemisphere, the Roosevelt administration took the United States to war. The combination of American intervention, the perseverance of Britain, and the profound civilian and military sacrifices of the Soviet Union decided the outcome of the conflict and shaped the character of the postwar world.

Wartime Aims and Tensions

Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union were the key actors in the Allied coalition. China, France, and other nations played crucial but smaller roles. The leaders who became known as the Big Three — Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain, President Franklin Roosevelt, and Premier Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union — set military strategy. However, Stalin was not a party to the Atlantic Charter, which Churchill and Roosevelt had signed in August 1941, and disagreed fundamentally with some of its precepts, such as a capitalist international trading system. The Allies also disagreed about military strategy and timing. The Big Three made defeating Germany (rather than Japan) the top military priority, but they differed over how best to do it. In 1941, a massive German force had invaded the Soviet Union and reached the outskirts of Leningrad, Moscow, and Stalingrad before being halted in early 1942 by hard-pressed Russian troops. To relieve pressure on the Soviet army, Stalin wanted the British and Americans to open a second front with a major invasion of Germany through France.

Roosevelt informally assured Stalin that the Allies would comply in 1942, but Churchill opposed an early invasion, and American war production was not yet sufficient to support it. For eighteen months, Stalin's pleas went unanswered, and the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the fighting; in the 1943 Battle of Kursk alone, the Soviet army suffered 860,000 casualties, several times what the Allies would suffer for the first two months of the European campaign after D-Day. Then, at a conference of the Big Three in Tehran, Iran, in November 1943, Churchill and Roosevelt agreed to open a second front in France within six months in return for Stalin's promise to join the fight against Japan. Both sides adhered to this agreement, but the long delay angered Stalin, who became increasingly suspicious of American and British intentions.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did the Allies disagree over military strategy?

The War in Europe

Throughout 1942, the Allies suffered one defeat after another. German armies pushed deep into Soviet territory, advancing through the wheat farms of the Ukraine and the rich oil region of the Caucasus. Simultaneously, German forces began an offensive in North Africa aimed at seizing the Suez Canal. In the Atlantic, U-boats devastated American convoys carrying oil and other vital supplies to Britain and the Soviet Union.

Over the winter of 1942–1943, however, the tide began to turn in favor of the Allies. In the epic Battle of Stalingrad, Soviet forces halted the German advance, and by early 1944 Stalin's troops had driven the German army out of the Soviet Union (Map 23.2).

MAP 23.2 World War II in Europe and North Africa, 1941–1943

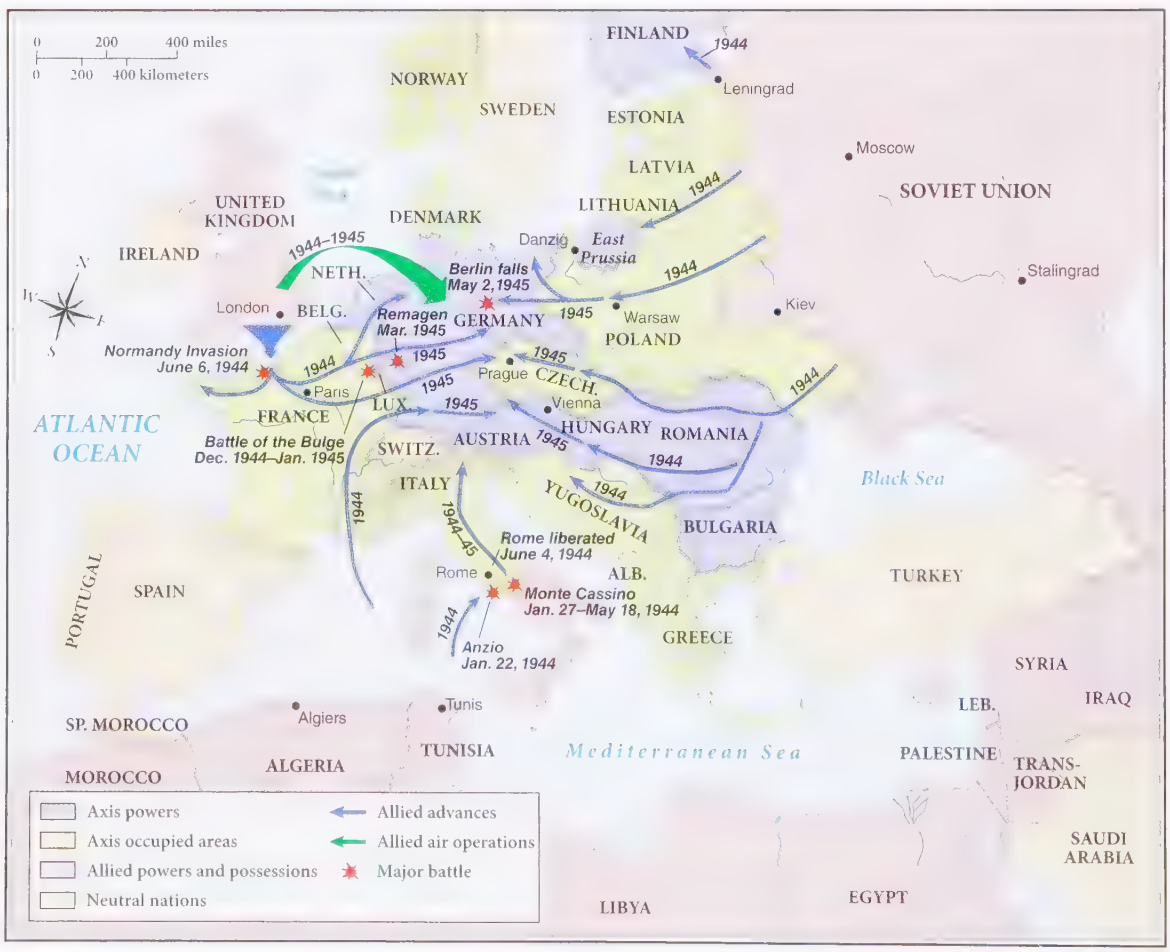
Hitler's Germany reached its greatest extent in 1942, by which time Nazi forces had occupied Norway, France, North Africa, central Europe, and much of western Russia. The tide of battle turned in late 1942 when the German advance stalled at Leningrad and Stalingrad. By early 1943, the Soviet army had launched a massive counterattack at Stalingrad, and Allied forces had driven the Germans from North Africa and launched an invasion of Sicily and the Italian mainland.

Meanwhile, as Churchill's temporary substitute for a second front in France, the Allies launched a counteroffensive in North Africa. Between November 1942 and May 1943, Allied troops under the leadership of General Dwight D. Eisenhower and General George S. Patton defeated the German Afrika Korps, led by General Erwin Rommel.

From Africa, the Allied command followed Churchill's strategy of attacking the Axis through its "soft underbelly": the Italian peninsula. Faced with an Allied invasion, the Italian king ousted Mussolini's fascist regime in July 1943. But German troops, who far outmatched the Allies in skill and organization, took control of Italy and strenuously resisted the Allied invasion. American and British divisions took Rome only in June 1944 and were still fighting German forces in northern Italy when the European war ended in May 1945 (Map 23.3). Churchill's southern strategy proved a time-consuming and costly mistake.

AP® EXAM TIP
Explain how D-Day was a turning point in World War II.

D-Day The long-promised invasion of France came on **D-Day**, June 6, 1944. That morning, the largest armada ever assembled moved across the English Channel under the command of General Eisenhower. When American, British, and Canadian soldiers hit the beaches of Normandy, they suffered terrible casualties but secured a beachhead. Over the next few weeks, more than 1.5 million soldiers and thousands of tons of military supplies and equipment flowed into France. Much to the Allies'



MAP 23.3 World War II in Europe, 1944–1945
By the end of 1943, the Russian army had nearly pushed the Germans out of the Soviet Union, and by June 1944, when the British and Americans finally invaded France, the Russians had liberated eastern Poland and most of southeastern Europe. By the end of 1944, British and American forces were ready to invade Germany from the west, and the Russians were poised to do the same from the east. Germany surrendered on May 7, 1945.

Hitting the Beach at Normandy These U.S. soldiers were among the 156,000 Allied troops who stormed the beaches of Normandy on D-Day, June 6, 1944: on that day alone, more than 10,000 were killed or wounded. Within a month, 1 million Allied troops had come ashore. Most Americans learned of the invasion at 3:30 A.M. Eastern Time, when Edward R. Murrow, the well-known radio journalist whose reports from war-torn London had gripped the nation in 1940, read General Eisenhower's statement to the troops. "The eyes of the world are upon you," Eisenhower told the men as they prepared to invade the European mainland. Library of Congress

advantage, they never faced more than one-third of Hitler's Wehrmacht (armed forces), because the Soviet Union continued to hold down the Germans on the Eastern Front. In August, Allied troops liberated Paris; by September, they had driven the Germans out of most of France and Belgium. Meanwhile, long-range Allied bombers attacked German cities such as Hamburg and Dresden as well as military and industrial targets. The air campaign killed some 305,000 civilians and soldiers and injured another 780,000 — a grisly reminder of the war's brutality.

The Germans were not yet ready to give up, however. In December 1944, they mounted a final offensive in Belgium, the so-called Battle of the Bulge, before being pushed back across the Rhine River into Germany. American and British troops drove toward Berlin from the west, while Soviet troops advanced east through Poland. On April 30, 1945, as Russian troops massed outside Berlin, Hitler committed suicide; on May 7, Germany formally surrendered.

The Holocaust When Allied troops advanced into Poland and Germany in the spring of 1945, they came face-to-face with Hitler's "final solution" for the Jewish population of Germany and the German-occupied countries: the extermination camps in which 6 million Jews had been put to death, along with another 6 million Poles, Slavs, Gypsies, homosexuals, and other "undesirables." Photographs of the Nazi death camps at Buchenwald, Dachau, and Auschwitz showed bodies stacked like cordwood and survivors so **emaciated** that they were barely alive. Published in *Life* and other mass-circulation magazines, the photographs of the **Holocaust** horrified the American public and the world.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of discovery of the Holocaust on Americans' views of the war as a fight to protect freedom and democracy.

The Nazi persecution of German Jews in the 1930s was widely known in the United States. But when Jews had begun to flee Europe, the United States refused to relax its strict immigration laws to take them in. In 1939, when the SS *St. Louis*, a German ocean liner carrying nearly a thousand Jewish refugees, sought permission from President Roosevelt to dock at an American port, FDR had refused. Its passengers' futures uncertain, the *St. Louis* was forced to return to Europe, where many would later be deported to Auschwitz and other extermination camps. American officials, along with those of most other nations, continued this exclusionist policy during World War II as the Nazi regime extended its control over millions of Eastern European Jews.

Various factors inhibited American action, but the most important was widespread anti-Semitism: in the State Department, Christian churches, and the public at large. The legacy of the immigration restriction legislation of the 1920s and the isolationist attitudes of the 1930s also discouraged policymakers from assuming responsibility for the fate of the refugees. Taking a narrow view of the national interest, the State Department allowed only 21,000 Jewish refugees to enter the United States during the war. But the War Refugee Board, which President Roosevelt established in 1944 at the behest of Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, helped move 200,000 European Jews to safe havens in other countries.

The War in the Pacific

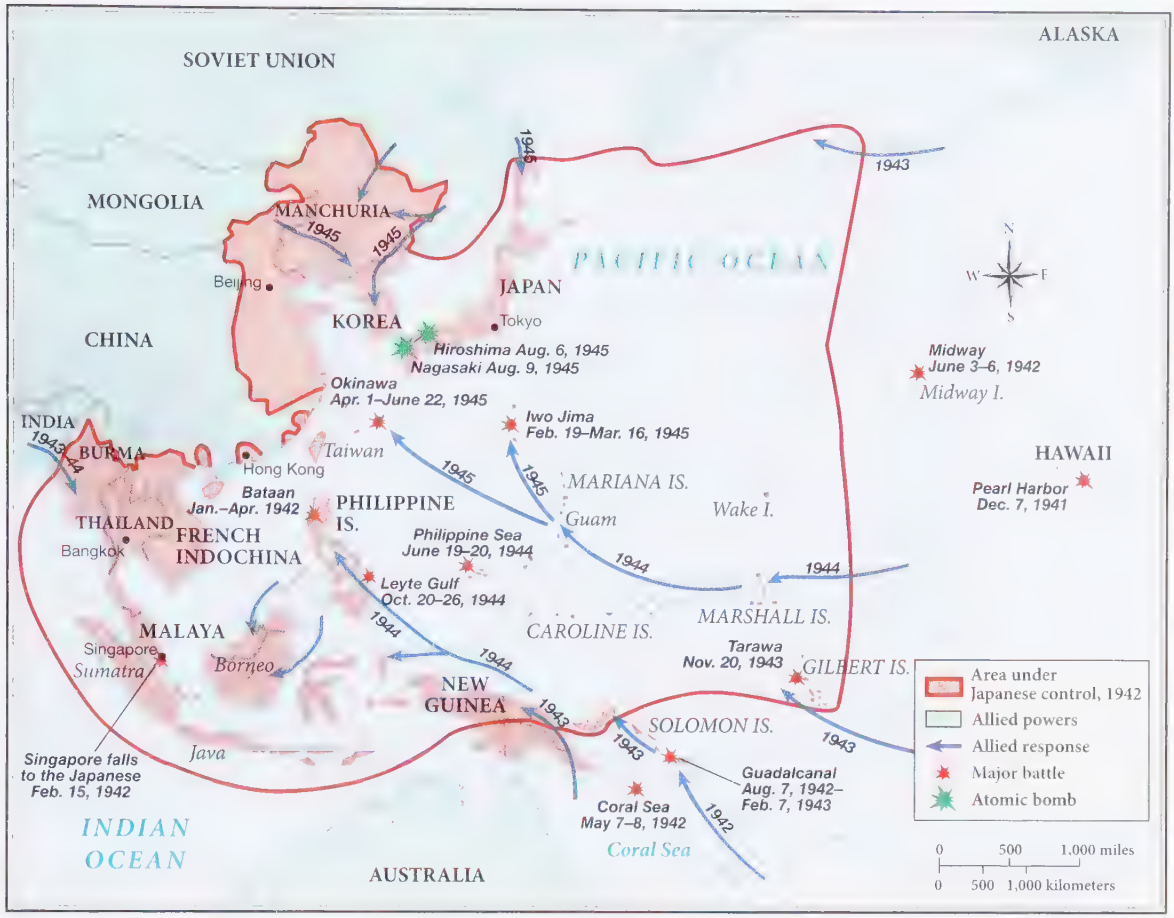
Waging the war against Japan was every bit as arduous as the campaign against Germany. After crippling the American battle fleet at Pearl Harbor, the Japanese quickly expanded into the South Pacific, with seaborne invasions of Hong Kong, Wake Island, and Guam. Japanese forces then advanced into Southeast Asia, conquering the Solomon Islands, Burma, and Malaya and threatening Australia and India. By May 1942, they had forced the surrender of U.S. forces in the Philippine Islands.

At that dire moment, American naval forces scored two crucial victories. These were possible because the attack on Pearl Harbor had destroyed several American battleships but left all aircraft carriers unscathed. In the Battle of the Coral Sea, off southern New Guinea in May 1942, they halted the Japanese offensive against Australia. Then, in June, at the Battle of Midway Island, the American navy severely damaged the Japanese fleet. In both battles, planes launched from American aircraft carriers provided the margin of victory. The U.S. military command, led by General Douglas MacArthur and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, now took the offensive in the Pacific. For the next eighteen months, American forces advanced slowly toward Japan, taking one island after another in the face of determined Japanese resistance. In October 1944, MacArthur and Nimitz began the reconquest of the Philippines by winning the Battle of Leyte Gulf, a massive naval encounter in which the Japanese lost practically their entire fleet (Map 23.4).

AP® EXAM TIP
Identify the impact of "island hopping" on the military defeat of Japan.

By early 1945, victory over Japan was in sight. Japanese military forces had suffered devastating losses, and American bombing of the Japanese homeland had killed somewhere between 300,000 and 900,000 civilians and crippled the nation's economy. The bloodletting on both sides was horrendous. On the small islands of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, tens of thousands of Japanese soldiers fought to the death, killing 13,000 U.S. Marines and wounding 46,000 more. Desperate to halt the American advance and short on ammunition, Japanese pilots flew suicidal **kamikaze** missions, crashing their bomb-laden planes into American ships.

Among the grim realities of war in the Pacific was the conflict's racial overtones. The attack on Pearl Harbor reawakened the long tradition of anti-Asian sentiment in the United States. In the eyes of many Americans, the Japanese were "yellow monkeys," an inferior race whose humanity deserved minimal respect. Racism was evident among the Japanese as well. Their brutal attacks on China (including the rape of Nanjing), their forcing of Korean "comfort women" to have sex with Japanese soldiers, and their treatment of American prisoners in the Philippines flowed from their own sense of



MAP 23.4 World War II in the Pacific

After the attacks on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the Japanese rapidly extended their domination in the Pacific. The Japanese flag soon flew as far east as the Marshall and Gilbert islands and as far south as the Solomon Islands and parts of New Guinea. Japan also controlled the Philippines, much of Southeast Asia, and parts of China, including Hong Kong. By mid-1942, American naval victories at the Coral Sea and Midway stopped further Japanese expansion. Allied forces retook the islands of the central Pacific in 1943 and 1944 and ousted the Japanese from the Philippines early in 1945. Carrier-launched planes had started bombing Japan itself in 1942, but the capture of these islands gave U.S. bombers more bases from which to strike Japanese targets. As the Soviet army invaded Japanese-occupied Manchuria in August 1945, U.S. planes took off from one of the newly captured Mariana Islands to drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The Japanese offered to surrender on August 10.

racial superiority. Anti-Japanese attitudes in the United States would subside in the 1950s as the island nation became a trusted ally. But racism would again play a major role in the U.S. war in Vietnam in the 1960s.

As the American navy advanced on Japan in the winter of 1945, President Roosevelt returned to the United States from the Yalta Conference, a major meeting of the Big Three at Yalta, a resort town on the Black Sea (Chapter 24). The sixty-three-year-old president was a sick man, visibly exhausted by his 14,000-mile trip and suffering from heart failure and high blood pressure. On April 12, 1945, during a short visit to his vacation home in Warm Springs, Georgia, Roosevelt suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and died.

The Atomic Bomb and the End of the War

When Harry Truman assumed the presidency, he learned for the first time about the top-secret **Manhattan Project**, which was on the verge of testing a new weapon: the

The Big Three at Yalta With victory in Europe at hand, Roosevelt journeyed in February 1945 to Yalta, on the Black Sea, and met for what would be the final time with Churchill and Stalin. The leaders discussed the important and controversial issues of the treatment of Germany, the status of Poland, the creation of the United Nations, and Russian entry into the war against Japan. The Yalta agreements mirrored a new balance of power and set the stage for the Cold War. Franklin D

atomic bomb. Working at the University of Chicago in December 1942, Enrico Fermi and Leo Szilard, refugees from fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, produced the first controlled atomic chain reaction using highly processed uranium. With the aid of German-born refugee Albert Einstein, the greatest theorist of modern physics and a scholar at Princeton, they persuaded Franklin Roosevelt to develop an atomic weapon, warning that German scientists were also working on such nuclear reactions.

The Manhattan Project cost $2 billion, employed 120,000 people, and involved the construction of thirty-seven installations in nineteen states—with all of its activity hidden from Congress, the American people, and even Vice President Truman. Directed by Lieutenant General Leslie R. Groves Jr. and scientist J. Robert Oppenheimer, the nation's top physicists assembled the first bomb in Los Alamos, New Mexico, and successfully tested it on July 16, 1945. Overwhelmed by its frightening power, as he witnessed the first mushroom cloud, Oppenheimer recalled the words from the Bhagavad Gita, one of the great texts of Hindu scripture: "I am become Death, the Destroyer of Worlds."

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the debate created regarding the use of atomic weapons despite their success in bringing a quicker end to World War II.

Three weeks later, President Truman ordered the dropping of atomic bombs on two Japanese cities: Hiroshima on August 6 and Nagasaki on August 9. Truman's rationale for this order—and the implications of his decision—have long been the subject of scholarly and popular debate (AP® Interpreting the Past). The principal justification was straightforward: Truman and his American advisors, including Secretary of War Henry Stimson and Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall, believed that Japan's military leaders would never surrender unless their country faced national ruin. Moreover, at the Potsdam Conference on the outskirts of Berlin in

Why Did the United States Drop the Atomic Bomb on Japan?

No president has made a more fateful decision than Harry Truman to drop the atomic bomb on Japan. The cost in human lives was staggering: nearly a third of Hiroshima's 350,000 residents died instantly. Another 60,000 died at Nagasaki three days later. This overpowering demonstration of America's war-making capacity led to Japanese surrender and the end of World War II. At the time and in the decades since, many saw Truman's decision as an unfortunate but necessary one: in the wartime calculus, saving the lives of American soldiers, who may have been called upon to undertake an invasion of Japan had the war dragged on, counted for more than the loss of Japanese lives in these two blast zones.

But was Truman's decision as straightforward as that? For several decades, scholars have been debating Truman's decision. Some scholars have agreed that Truman had few options given Japan's willingness to keep fighting. Others have suggested that Truman's use of atomic weapons was motivated by other geopolitical (some have suggested racist) motivations. Two scholars, Robert P. Newman and Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, wade into this debate with conflicting interpretations of Truman's decision.

ROBERT P. NEWMAN

SOURCE: Robert P. Newman, *Rhetoric & Public Affairs: Truman and the Hiroshima Cult* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995), 12–13.

Truman read the [Japanese] intercepts. They were very clear. They did not show a Japan ready to surrender. They show an *elite* ready to negotiate an armistice . . . but . . . [t]he truth is that peace would have been available only had the peace party . . . been in control. They were not. . . . [Those in control in Japan] *never* favored surrender, not after Saipan was lost, not after Iwo Jima was lost, not after the Philippines were lost, not after Okinawa, not even after two atom bombs and a Soviet Declaration of War. They all supported fighting the decisive battle in the homeland during which the American invaders would take such heavy casualties that the Allies would negotiate an armistice.

TSUYOSHI HASEGAWA

SOURCE: Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 183.

Soviet entry played an important part in the American decision to speed up the dropping of the atomic bombs. Truman was in a hurry. He was aware that the race was on between the atomic bomb and Soviet entry into the war. That was why he concocted the story of Japan's "prompt rejection" of the Potsdam Proclamation as the justification for the atomic bomb, and that was also the reason he was ecstatic to receive the news of the Hiroshima bomb. The atomic bomb represented to Truman a solution to all the dilemmas he faced: unconditional surrender, the cost of Japan's homeland invasion, and Soviet entry into the war. He was jubilant at news of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, not because of a perverted joy in killing the Japanese, but because of the satisfaction that everything had gone as he had planned.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How do Newman and Hasegawa differ in their interpretation of Truman's decision to use atomic weapons in Japan?
2. How does each scholar weigh moral and strategic concerns in accounting for Truman's decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki?
3. Based on Chapter 23's discussion of World War II, which of these two interpretations is most compelling as a decisive factor in shaping Truman's decision to use the atomic bomb to end the war with Japan?

July 1945, the Allies had agreed that only the "unconditional surrender" of Japan was acceptable — the same terms under which Germany and Italy had been defeated. To win such a surrender, an invasion of Japan itself seemed necessary. Stimson and Marshall told Truman that such an invasion would produce between half a million and a million Allied casualties.

Before giving the order to drop the atomic bomb, Truman considered other options. His military advisors rejected the most obvious alternative: a nonlethal demonstration of the bomb's awesome power, perhaps on a remote Pacific island. If the demonstration

Hiroshima, March 1946 Though the atomic bomb had been dropped on the port city of Hiroshima six months previous to this photo being taken, the devastation is still apparent. The U.S. Army report on the bombing described the immediate effects of the blast: "At 8:15 A.M., the bomb exploded with a blinding flash in the sky, and a great rush of air and a loud rumble of noise extended for many miles around the city; the first blast was soon followed by the sounds of falling buildings and of growing fires, and a great cloud of dust and smoke began to cast a pall of darkness over the city." The only buildings not leveled were those with concrete reinforcement, meant to withstand earthquakes. The human toll of this weapon was unprecedented: of the estimated population of 350,000, 100,000 were likely killed by the explosion, and many tens of thousands more died slowly of the effects of radiation poisoning. U.S. Air Force

failed—not out of the question, as the bomb had been tested only once—it would embolden Japan further. A detailed advance warning designed to scare Japan into surrender was also rejected. Given Japan's tenacious fighting in the Pacific, the Americans believed that only massive devastation or a successful invasion would lead Japan's military leadership to surrender. After all, the deaths of more than 100,000 Japanese civilians in the U.S. firebombing of Tokyo and other cities in the spring of 1945 had brought Japan no closer to surrender.

In any event, the atomic bombs achieved the immediate goal. The deaths of 100,000 people at Hiroshima and 60,000 at Nagasaki prompted the Japanese government to surrender unconditionally on August 15 and to sign a formal agreement on September 2, 1945. Fascism had been defeated, thanks to a fragile alliance between the capitalist nations of the West and the communist government of the Soviet Union. The coming of peace would strain and then destroy the victorious coalition. Even as the global war came to an end, the early signs of the coming Cold War were apparent, as were the stirrings of independence in the European colonies.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors influenced Truman's decision to use atomic weapons against Japan?

The Toll of the War

After the battle of Iwo Jima, one of the fiercest and bloodiest of the Pacific war, a rabbi chaplain in the Marine Corps delivered the **eulogy** for the fallen. "This shall not be in vain," he said, surveying a battlefield that witnessed the deaths of nearly 30,000 American and Japanese soldiers. Speaking of American losses, he said, "from the suffering and sorrow of those who mourn this, will come — we promise — the birth of a new freedom for the sons of man everywhere." The toll of "suffering and sorrow" from World War II was enormous. Worldwide, more than 50 million soldiers and civilians were killed, nearly 2.5 percent of the globe's population. The Holocaust took the lives of 6 million European Jews, 2.6 million from Poland alone. Nearly 100 million additional soldiers and civilians were wounded, and 30 million people across the globe were rendered homeless. It was one of the most wrenching, disruptive, and terrible wars in human history.

Alongside the human toll stood profound economic and political transformations. Hundreds of cities in Europe and Asia had been bombed. Some of them, like Dresden, Warsaw, Hamburg, and Hiroshima, had been simply obliterated. Much of the industrial infrastructure of Germany and Japan, two of the world's most important industrial economies before the war, lay in ruins. Moreover, despite emerging as one of the victors, Britain was no longer a global power. The independence movement in India was only the most obvious sign of its waning influence. Indeed, throughout the colonized world in Asia and Africa, people had taken the Atlantic Charter, and FDR's insistence that this was a war for *democracy*, seriously. For them, resumption of European imperialism was unacceptable, and the war represented a step toward national self-determination.

In the United States, too, the toll of war was great. More than 400,000 lives were lost, and nearly 300,000 American soldiers were wounded. Yet millions returned home, and in the coming decades veterans would play a central role in national life. Incredibly, in 1950 World War II veterans made up one-third of all American men over the age of nineteen. Only the Civil War involved a comparable commitment of military service from a generation. Americans paid dearly for that commitment — though not, it must be noted, as dearly as other peoples in Europe and Asia — and the legacies of the war shaped families, politics, and foreign policy for the remainder of the century.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did Allied strategy against the Axis powers evolve between 1941 and 1945?

SUMMARY

The rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan led to the outbreak of World War II. Initially, the American public opposed U.S. intervention. But by 1940, President Roosevelt was mobilizing support for the military and preparing the country for war. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 brought the nation fully into the conflict. War mobilization dramatically expanded the federal government and led to substantial economic growth. It also boosted geographical and social mobility as women, rural whites, and southern blacks found employment in new defense plants across the country. Government rules assisted both the labor movement and the African American campaign for civil rights. However, religious and racial animosity caused the exclusion of Jewish refugees and the internment of 112,000 Japanese Americans.

By 1942, Germany and Japan seemed to be winning the war. But in 1943, the Allies took the offensive — with advances by the Soviet army in Europe and the American

navy in the Pacific — and by the end of 1944, Allied victory was all but certain. Germany finally surrendered in May 1945, and Japan surrendered in August, after the atomic bombing of the Japanese cities Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The United States emerged from the war with an undamaged homeland, sole possession of the atomic bomb, and a set of unresolved diplomatic disputes with the Soviet Union that would soon lead to the four-decade-long Cold War. Federal laws and practices established during the war — the universal income tax, a huge military establishment, and multibillion-dollar budgets, to name but a few — became part of American life. So, too, did the active participation of the United States in international politics and alliances, an engagement intensified by the unresolved issues of the wartime alliance with the Soviet Union and the postwar fate of colonized nations.

CHAPTER 23 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. Explain the steps by which the United States became involved in World War II.
2. What aspects of the economy and American society were affected by mobilization for war?
3. Describe both the short-term and the lasting domestic social changes the war produced.
4. How did Allied strategy against the Axis powers evolve between 1941 and 1945?
5. Review the events listed under "America in the World" on the thematic timeline on page 619. How did World War II change the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world in the first half of the twentieth century?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

fascism (p. 712)
National Socialist (Nazi) Party (p. 713)
Rome-Berlin Axis (p. 713)
Neutrality Act of 1935 (p. 714)
Popular Front (p. 714)
Munich Conference (p. 714)
Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies (p. 715)
America First Committee (p. 715)
Four Freedoms (p. 716)
Lend-Lease Act (p. 716)
Atlantic Charter (p. 716)
Pearl Harbor (p. 717)
War Powers Act (p. 717)
Revenue Act (p. 717)
code talkers (p. 720)
Executive Order 8802 (p. 724)
Bracero Program (p. 725)
Servicemen's Readjustment Act (p. 725)
zoot suits (p. 727)
Executive Order 9066 (p. 730)
D-Day (p. 734)
Holocaust (p. 735)
Manhattan Project (p. 737)

Key People

Benito Mussolini (p. 712)
Adolf Hitler (p. 712)
Hideki Tojo (p. 712)
Charles A. Lindbergh (p. 714)
Winston Churchill (p. 716)
Harry S. Truman (p. 725)
Gordon Hirabayashi (p. 731)
Dwight D. Eisenhower (p. 734)

Key Academic Terms

repercussion (p. 710)
furlough (p. 731)
emaciated (p. 735)
kamikaze (p. 736)
eulogy (p. 741)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. For the United States, the period between World War I (1914–1918) and World War II (1937–1945) was a prolonged series of conflicts and crises, both domestically and internationally. What connections can be drawn between World War I, the Great Depression, and World War II? Did this "long" conflict draw the United States and Europe closer together or drive them further apart? How did American attitudes toward involvement in European affairs change over this period?
2. How did the following developments of World War II change the relationship of the United States to other nations in the world: the Atlantic Charter; fighting a two-front war in Europe and the Pacific; the Manhattan Project and the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?
3. World War II has popularly been called the "good war." Do you agree with this assessment? Why do you think it earned that nickname?
4. Overall, what effects — positive or negative — did World War II have on social change in the United States, particularly among women and historically marginalized groups?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 712 for help in answering the question below.

Identify the key turning points for the Allies in the European and Pacific campaigns.

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 are based on the excerpt below.

> "The lend-lease policy, translated into legislative form, stunned a Congress and a nation wholly sympathetic to the cause of Great Britain. . . . It warranted my worst fears for the future of America, and it definitely stamps the President as war-minded.
>
> The lend-lease program is the New Deal's Triple-A policy; it will plow under every fourth American boy. . . .
>
> Approval of this legislation means war, open and complete warfare. I, therefore, ask the American people before they supinely accept it, Was the last World War worthwhile?"
>
> Speech. Burton K. Wheeler, Senator from Montana, January 12, 1941

1. Wheeler based his appeal most directly upon the precedent of
   a. Woodrow Wilson's efforts to preserve humanitarian principles through the League of Nations.
   b. bi-partisan political enthusiasm for interventionism.
   c. popular support for isolationism after World War I.
   d. the United States' tradition of anti-imperialism.
2. Wheeler's views expressed in the excerpt best reflect the United States citizens'
   a. commitment to resist totalitarianism.
   b. preference for a unilateral foreign policy.
   c. popular view of World War II as a fight for democracy.
   d. opposition to genocide.
3. The ideas of Wheeler, as expressed in the excerpt, show the greatest difference from the ideas of
   a. the Federalist Party in 1810.
   b. anti-imperialists in the 1890s.
   c. antiwar protesters in the 1960s.
   d. the Republican Party in the 1980s.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "We have built an enormous portion of our vast war plant within close range of big industries where expert management and skilled labor were at hand. Baltimore, Indianapolis, Buffalo, Hartford, St. Louis, Detroit, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle, and numerous other cities find their manufacturing plants expanding at a rate that seemed impossible in peacetime. . . .
>
> The meaning of these social and economic upheavals is plain. . . . The consequences will be far reaching. For in this . . . there is no chance to maintain the status quo. If strategy and geography do not thrust a community into the maelstrom of war activity, its resources will be drained into other areas where they can better serve the national interest. So the whole pattern of our economic and social life is undergoing kaleidoscopic changes, without so much as a bomb being dropped on our shores."
>
> Merlo J. Pusey, "The Revolution at Home," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 42, pp. 207–219. Copyright 1943, Duke University Press. All rights reserved. Republished by permission of the copyright holder, Duke University Press. www.dukepress.edu

4. Which of the following most directly resulted from the changes described in the excerpt?
   a. New economic opportunities for African Americans and women
   b. The establishment of increased barriers to immigration
   c. A reversal of the World War I Great Migration
   d. The emergence of new forms of mass media
5. Pusey's observations in the excerpt most directly reflect which of the following developments?
   a. The end of the Great Depression
   b. Challenges to civil liberties at home
   c. A decline in public confidence in government's ability to solve economic problems
   d. An increase in laissez-faire policies that promoted economic growth
6. The trend described by Pusey in the excerpt was most strongly reversed in the 1990s by
   a. increasing suburbanization.
   b. United States international peacekeeping operations.
   c. the National Interstate and Defense Highways Act.
   d. free-trade agreements.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Truman read the intercepts [from the Japanese]. They were very clear. They did not show a Japan ready to surrender. They show an elite ready to negotiate an armistice . . . but . . . [t]he truth is that peace would have been available only had the peace party . . . been in control. They were not. . . . [Those in control in Japan] never favored surrender, not after Saipan was lost, not after Iwo Jima was lost, not after the Philippines were lost, not after Okinawa, not even after two atoms bombs and a Soviet Declaration of War. They all supported fighting the decisive battle in the homeland during which the American invaders would take such heavy casualties that the Allies would negotiate an armistice."

Robert P. Newman, *Rhetoric & Public Affairs: Truman and the Hiroshima Cult*, 1995

"Soviet entry played an important part in the American decision to speed up the dropping of the atomic bombs. Truman was in a hurry. He was aware that the race was on between the atomic bomb and Soviet entry into the war. That was why he concocted the story of Japan's 'prompt rejection' of the Potsdam Proclamation as the justification for the atomic bomb, and that was also the reason he was ecstatic to receive the news of the Hiroshima bomb. The atomic bomb represented to Truman a solution to all the dilemmas he faced: unconditional surrender, the cost of Japan's homeland invasion, and Soviet entry into the war. He was jubilant at news of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, not because of a perverted joy in killing the Japanese, but because of the satisfaction that everything had gone as he had planned."

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa, *Racing the Enemy: Stalin, Truman, and the Surrender of Japan*, 2009

1. Using the two excerpts at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Newman's and Hasegawa's historical interpretations of President Truman's decision to use the atom bomb.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Newman's argument.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Hasegawa's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain why ONE of the following developments was the most significant factor contributing to military victory for the United States in the Second World War.
      - Technological and scientific advances
      - Mass mobilization of American society
      - Allied cooperation
   b. Explain ONE specific historical example to support your argument in (a).
   c. Explain why ONE of the other options exerted a lesser influence leading to the United States' victory.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE important historical difference in the United States' strategy in Europe from that in the Pacific during World War II.
   b. Briefly explain ONE important historical similarity in United States strategy in Europe to the United States strategy in the Pacific during World War II.
   c. Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for EITHER the similarity in the United States' strategy in Europe to that in the Pacific OR difference in the United States strategy in Europe from that in the Pacific during World War II.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent of continuity in the experiences of women in the United States from 1890 to 1940.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: *Ladies' Home Journal,* January 1890.

"Reforms in women's apparel are again being discussed, and public interest is once more awakened on this oft-mooted question. That some of the present style of dress adopted by American women are, to some extent, physically injurious and inconsistent with good taste, can scarcely be denied. But the radical reforms suggested, as, for example the substitution of the trousers for the petticoat, and similar departures from modern customs, are not destined to bring about the looked-for result . . . to advise a young woman to dress herself with any such serious departure from the prevailing fashion of her day and class is to ask her to incur a penalty that will invariably follow such an innovation.

'God has implanted in the minds of all, but especially in the female breast, the love of beauty. . . . It is a duty which every woman owes to herself, to her family, and to her society to dress tastefully, and as well as her means shall allow. It is woman's instinct to admire pretty dresses, and it is right that she should. . . .

In this matter of women's dress, then, when we sum it all up, the fact is plain that, as the love of dress in inherent in all true women, it would be as unwise as it would be useless to strive against it by any radical suggestiveness of reform."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Labor activist Rose Schneiderman, from a speech delivered at a memorial meeting at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City, April 2, 1911.

"I would be a traitor to those poor burned bodies if I were to come here to ask good fellowship. We have tried you good people of the public — and we have found you wanting.

The old Inquisition had its rack and its thumb screws and its instruments of torture with iron teeth. We know what these things are today: the iron teeth are our necessities, the thumbscrews are the high-powered and swift machinery close to which we must work, and the rack is here in the firetrap structures that will destroy us the minute they catch fire.

This is not the first time girls have been burned alive in this city. Every week I learn of the untimely death of one of my sister workers. Every year thousands of us are maimed. The life of men and women is so cheap and property is so sacred! There are so many of us for one job, it matters little if 140-odd are burned to death. . . .

Public officials have only words of warning for us — warning that we must be intensely orderly and must be intensely peaceable, and they have the work-house [prison] just back of all their warnings. The strong hand of the law beats us back when we rise — back into conditions that make life unbearable.

I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered here. Too much blood has been spilled. I know from experience it is up to the working people to save themselves. And the only way is through a strong working-class movement."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: Miss N. H. Burroughs, Secretary of the Women's Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, "Black Women and Reform," published in *The Crisis*, August 1915.

"I was asked by a Southern white woman who is an enthusiastic worker for 'votes for (white) women,' 'What can the Negro woman do with the ballot?' I asked her, 'What can she do without it?' When the ballot is put into the hands of the American woman the world is going to get a correct estimate of the Negro woman. She is a tower of strength of which poets have never sung, orators have never spoken, and scholars have never written.

. . . The Negro woman, therefore, needs the ballot to get back, by the wise *use* of it, what the Negro man has lost by *misuse* of it. A fact worthy of note is that in every reform in which the Negro woman has taken part, during the last fifty years, she has been as aggressive, progressive, and dependable as those who inspired the reform or led it. The world has yet to learn that the Negro woman is quite superior in bearing moral responsibility. A comparison with the men of her race, in moral issues, is odious. She carries the burdens of the Church, and of the school and bears a great deal more than her economic share in the home.

The ballot, wisely used, will bring to her the respect and protection that she needs. It is her weapon of moral defence. Under present conditions, when she appears in court in defence of her virtue, she is looked upon with amused contempt. She needs the ballot to reckon with men who place no value upon her virtue, and to mould healthy public sentiment in favor of her own protection."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Margaret Sanger, *Woman and the New Race*, 1920.

"The basic freedom of the world is woman's freedom. A free race cannot be born of slave mothers. A woman enchained cannot choose but give a measure of that bondage to her sons and daughters. No woman can call herself free who does not own and control her body. No woman can call herself free until she can choose consciously whether she will or will not be a mother. . . .

Woman must have her freedom; the fundamental freedom of choosing whether or not she shall be a mother and how many children she will have. Regardless of what man's attitude may be, that problem is hers; and before it can be his, it is hers alone.

She goes through the vale of death alone, each time a babe is born. As it is the right neither of man nor the state to coerce her into this ordeal, so it is her right to decide whether she will endure it. That right to decide imposes upon her the duty of clearing the way to knowledge by which she may make and carry out the decision.

Birth control is woman's problem. The quicker she accepts it as hers and hers alone, the quicker will society respect motherhood. The quicker, too, will the world be made a fit place for her children to live."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, November 1924.

Her habit of measuring time in terms of dollars gives the woman in business keen insight into the true value of a Ford closed car for her personal use.

This car enables her to conserve minutes, to expedite her affairs, to widen the scope of her activities. Its low first cost, long life and inexpensive operation and upkeep convince her that it is a sound investment value.

And it is such a pleasant car to drive that it transforms the business call which might be an interruption into an enjoyable episode of her busy day.

Ford
CLOSED CARS

DOCUMENT 6

Source: Norman Cousins, "Will Women Lose Their Jobs?" *Current History* (New York). Reprinted with permission from *Current History* magazine 51:1, Sept. 1939. © 2017 Current History, Inc.

"There are approximately 10,000,000 people out of work in the United States today. There are also 10,000,000 or more women, married and single, who are job-holders. Simply fire the women, who shouldn't be working anyway, and hire the men. Presto! No Unemployment. No relief rolls. No depression.

This is the general idea behind the greatest assault on women's rights in two decades. . . . Of such concern is this trend that it has been called the greatest single issue to affect women since their victorious fight for suffrage. . . .

Fundamentally, the unemployment of men is not caused by women who hold jobs but by the infirmities of the economic structure itself. Nor is the depression an affliction visited exclusively upon the male; the woman must bear her part in the burden, as more than 2,000,000 unemployed women can attest. . . .

But even outside the economic sphere, arguments against the working wife reveal weakness. There is much talk about the mother's place in the home, very little about the fact that the home has changed. Housekeeping for the average family is no longer a full-time job. . . .

This change is reflected not only in employment of married women but in the growth of social and church work, and the spread of adult education, of culture and entertainment groups."

DOCUMENT 7

Source: Table, Women's Labor Force Participation Rates, 1900–1940.

Year	Percentage of All Women Working	Percentage of Married Women Working
1900	20.6%	5.6%
1920	23.7%	9.0%
1930	24.8%	11.7%
1940	25.8%	15.6%

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following two questions to answer.

2. **Compare and contrast the priorities and goals of United States foreign policy in the years immediately before United States involvement in the First World War (1904–1917) to the priorities and goals of United States foreign policy in the years immediately after United States involvement in the First World War (1918–1930).**

3. **Evaluate the extent of difference in the effects of federal policies on African Americans in the Progressive Era (1890–1920) to the effects of federal policies on African Americans in the New Deal Era (1933–1941).**

4. **Evaluate the extent of difference in the effects of federal policies on women in the Progressive Era (1890–1920) to the effects of federal policies on women in the New Deal Era (1933–1941).**

PART 8

CHAPTER 24
Cold War America, 1945–1963

CHAPTER 25
Triumph of the Middle Class, 1945–1963

CHAPTER 26
Walking into Freedom Land: The Civil Rights Movement, 1941–1973

CHAPTER 27
Uncivil Wars: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth, 1961–1972

CHAPTER 28
The Search for Order in an Era of Limits, 1973–1980

The Modern State and the Age of Liberalism

1945–1980

Between 1945 and 1980, the United States became the world's leading economic and military power. The dates we've chosen to bookend the period reflect two turning points. In 1945, the United States and its allies emerged victorious from World War II. In 1980, American voters turned away from the robust liberalism of the postwar years and elected a president, Ronald Reagan, backed by a conservative political movement. Each turning point, one international and the other domestic, marked the rise of new developments in American history—and thus our periodization endeavors to capture in these decades a narrative of global power and expanding political liberalism.

Internationally, after 1945 a prolonged period of tension and conflict known as the Cold War drew the United States into an engagement in world affairs unprecedented in the nation's history. Domestically, three decades of sustained economic growth, whose benefits were widely, though imperfectly, distributed, expanded the middle class and brought into being a mass consumer society. These international and domestic developments were intertwined with the predominance of liberalism in American politics and public policy. One might think of an "age of liberalism" in this era, encompassing the social-welfare liberalism that was a legacy of the New Deal and the rights liberalism of the 1960s.

Global leadership abroad and economic prosperity at home were conditioned on further expansions in government power. How that power was used proved controversial. Following World War II, a national security state emerged to investigate so-called subversives in the United States and to destabilize foreign governments abroad. Meanwhile, American troops went to war in Korea and Vietnam. At home, African Americans, women, the poor, and other social groups called for greater equality and sought new government initiatives to make that equality a reality. Here, in brief, are the three key dimensions of this convulsive, turbulent era. ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

Global Leadership and the Cold War

When the United States officially joined the combatants of World War II, it entered into an alliance with England and the Soviet Union. That alliance proved impossible to sustain after 1945, as the U.S. and the Soviet Union became competitors to shape postwar Europe, East Asia, and the developing world. The resulting Cold War lasted four decades, during which the U.S. extended its political and military reach onto every continent. Under Harry S. Truman, American officials developed the policy of containment — a combination of economic, diplomatic, and military actions to limit the expansion of communism — that subsequent presidents embraced and expanded.

Intervention abroad was a hallmark of the Cold War. Most American interventions took place in developing countries and in recently independent, decolonized nations. In the name of preventing the spread of communism, the U.S. intervened directly or indirectly in China, Iran, Guatemala, Cuba, Indonesia, and the Dominican Republic, among many other nations, and fought major wars in Korea and Vietnam. This new global role for the U.S. inspired support but also spurred detractors.

National Archives

The Age of Liberalism

In response to the Great Depression, the New Deal expanded federal responsibility for the social welfare of ordinary citizens. Legislators from both parties embraced liberal ideas about the role of government and undertook such measures as the GI Bill, subsidies for home ownership, and investment in infrastructure and education. Poverty, however, affected one-third of Americans in the 1960s, and discrimination denied millions of nonwhites full citizenship. Lack of opportunity became a driving force in the civil rights movement and in the Great Society under Lyndon Johnson.

Inspired by African American civil rights, other social movements sought equality based on gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. If "New Deal liberalism" had focused on social welfare, this "rights liberalism" focused on protecting people from discrimination and ensuring equal citizenship. These struggles resulted in new laws, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Conservative opponents, however, mobilized in the 1960s against what they saw as the excesses of liberal activism. The resulting conflict began to reshape politics in the 1970s and laid the groundwork for a new conservative movement.

Mass Consumption and the Middle Class

The postwar American economy was driven by mass consumption and suburbanization. Rising wages and increased access to higher education raised living standards and allowed more Americans to afford consumer goods. Suburbs and the Sunbelt led the nation in population growth. But the new prosperity had mixed results. Cities declined and new racial and ethnic ghettos formed. Mass consumption raised concerns that the nation's rivers, streams, air, and open land were being damaged, and an environmental movement arose in response. And prosperity itself proved short-lived. By the 1970s, deindustrialization had eroded much of the nation's once prosperous industrial base.

A defining characteristic of the postwar decades was the growth of the American middle class predicated on numerous demographic changes. Women worked more outside the home and spurred a new feminism. Children enjoyed more purchasing power, and a "teen culture" arose on television, in popular music, and in film. The family became politicized, too, and by the late 1970s, liberals and conservatives were divided over how best to address the nation's family life.

Justin Locke/National Geographic/Getty Images

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

The Modern State and the Age of Liberalism 1945–1980

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into seven themes.

Consider the entries under "America in the World" and "Politics and Power" across all four decades. What connections were there between international developments and domestic politics in this era of the Cold War? Looking at the entries under "American and National Identity" and "Culture and Society," consider how the civil rights movement shaped these decades.

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1940	• "To Secure These Rights" (1947) • Desegregation of armed services (1948) • *Shelley v. Kraemer* (1948)	• GI Bill (1944) • Loyalty-Security Program (1947) • Taft-Hartley Act (1947) • Truman reelected (1948) • Truman's Fair Deal (1949)	• Bretton Woods system established: World Bank, International Monetary Fund (1944) • Baby boom establishes new consumer generation
1950	• *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) • Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955) • Little Rock Central High School desegregation battle (1957) • Southern Christian Leadership Conference founded (1957)	• Cold War liberalism • McCarthyism and Red Scare • Eisenhower's presidency (1953–1961)	• Labor-Management Accord struck in major industries (1950s) • Military-industrial complex begins to rise • National Defense Education Act (1958) spurs development of technology
1960	• Greensboro sit-ins (1960) • *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) • Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts (1964–1965) • National Organization for Women founded (1966) • Alcatraz occupation (1969) • Black Power (1966) • Student and antiwar activism	• John F. Kennedy's New Frontier • John F. Kennedy assassinated (1963) • Lyndon B. Johnson's landslide victory (1964) • War on Poverty; Great Society • Riots at Democratic National Convention (1968)	• Economic boom • Government spending on Vietnam and Great Society • Medicare and Medicaid created (1965)
1970	• Equal Rights Amendment (1972) • *Roe v. Wade* (1973) • Siege at Wounded Knee (1973) • *Bakke v. University of California* (1978) • Harvey Milk assassinated (1978)	• Richard Nixon's landslide victory (1972) • Watergate scandal; Nixon resigns (1974) • Jimmy Carter elected president (1976) • Moral Majority founded (1979)	• Energy crisis (1973) • Inflation surges, while economy stagnates (stagflation) • Deindustrialization • Tax revolt in California (1978)

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• World War II migrations produce vibrant, diverse cities • Bebop jazz • Red Scare and anticommunism suppress dissent (1947–1950s) • Advent of television changes entertainment (1940s–1950s)	• War production and expansion of military reshape the Sunbelt • Wartime southern migration (black and white) to northern and western cities • First Levittown opens (1947)	• Continued South-North migration of African Americans • First Levittown opens (1947) • FHA and VA subsidize suburbanization	• Truman Doctrine • Israel created (1947) • Marshall Plan (1948) • Containment strategy emerges • NATO created; West Germany created (1949)	1940
• Emergence of rock 'n' roll and youth culture • Disneyland opens (1955) • McDonald's restaurants lead emergence of fast food • Beat culture flourishes in New York and San Francisco	• Bracero program revived (1951) • Surging middle-class migration to suburbs • Patterns of racial segregation in cities and suburbs reinforced • Migration to Sunbelt (1950s–1970s) • McCarran-Walter Act (1952) • Puerto Rican "great migration" to New York	• Disneyland opens (1955) • National Interstate and Defense Highways Act (1956) • Growth of suburbia and Sunbelt • Atomic bomb testing in Nevada and Pacific Ocean	• Permanent mobilization as a result of NSC-68 • Korean War (1950–1953) • Geneva Accords regarding Vietnam (1954)	1950
• Civil rights movement merges protest and gospel music • Major antiwar protests (1965–1969) • Counterculture • Black Arts movement • Stonewall Inn riot (1969)	• Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 • Reflecting the new law, immigration from Asia, Latin America, and Africa increases (1960s–1990s) • Rustbelt begins to lose population	• Great Society environmental initiatives • Urban riots (1964–1968) • Kerner Commission Report (1968)	• Cuban missile crisis (1962) • Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964) • Johnson sends ground troops to Vietnam; war escalates (1965) • Tet offensive (1968); peace talks begin	1960
• Women's and gay rights movements flourish • Cultural and political conflict over the nuclear family • Evangelical Christian resurgence	• After 1975, Vietnamese refugees fleeing communist regime arrive in U.S. • Rustbelt population decline and Sunbelt population growth produce regional realignment in congressional power (1970s–1990s)	• First Earth Day (1970) • Environmental Protection Agency established (1970) • Endangered Species Act (1973) • Three Mile Island accident (1979)	• Nixon invades Cambodia (1970) • Paris Accords end Vietnam War (1973) • Camp David Accords between Egypt and Israel (1978) • Iranian Revolution (1979) and hostage crisis (1979–1981)	1970

CHAPTER 24

Cold War America

1945–1963

Containment in a Divided Global Order

Origins of the Cold War

The Containment Strategy

Containment in Asia

Cold War Liberalism

Truman and the End of Reform

Red Scare: The Hunt for Communists

The Politics of Cold War Liberalism

Containment in the Postcolonial World

The Cold War and Colonial Independence

John F. Kennedy and the Cold War

Making a Commitment in Vietnam

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

In the first two decades of the Cold War, how did competition on the international stage and a climate of fear at home affect politics, society, and culture in the United States?

In the autumn of 1950, a little-known California congressman running for the Senate named Richard M. Nixon stood before reporters in Los Angeles. His opponent, Helen Gahagan Douglas, was a Hollywood actress and a New Deal Democrat. Nixon told the gathered reporters that Douglas had cast "Communist-leaning" votes and that she was "pink right down to her underwear." Gahagan's voting record was not much different from Nixon's. But tarring her with communism made her seem un-American, and Nixon defeated the "pink lady" (meaning nearly *red*, or communist) with nearly 60 percent of the vote.

A few months earlier, U.S. tanks and planes had arrived in French Indochina. A French colony since the nineteenth century, Indochina (present-day Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) was home to an independence movement led by Ho Chi Minh and supported by the Soviet Union and China. In the summer of 1950, President Harry S. Truman authorized $15 million worth of military supplies to aid France, which was fighting Ho's army to keep possession of its Indochinese empire. "Neither national independence nor democratic evolution exists in any area dominated by Soviet imperialism," Secretary of State Dean Acheson warned ominously as he announced U.S. support for French imperialism.

Connecting these coincidental historical moments, one domestic and the other international, was a decades-old force in American life that gained renewed strength after World War II: anticommunism. The events in Los Angeles and Vietnam, however different on the surface, were part of the Cold War: the global geopolitical struggle between the capitalist, democratic United States and the communist, authoritarian Soviet Union. Beginning in Europe as World War II ended and extending to Asia, Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa by the mid-1950s, the Cold War reshaped international relations and dominated global politics for more than forty years (AP® Interpreting the Past).

In the United States, the Cold War fostered suspicion of "subversives" in government, education, and the media. The arms race that developed between the two superpowers prompted Congress to boost military expenditures. The resulting military-industrial complex enhanced the power of the corporations that built planes, munitions, and electronic devices. In politics, the Cold War stifled liberal initiatives as the New Deal coalition tried to advance its domestic agenda in the shadow of anti-communism. In these ways, the line between the international and the domestic blurred — and that blurred line was another enduring legacy of the Cold War.

The Perils of the Cold War Americans, like much of the world, lived under the threat of nuclear warfare during the tense years of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. This 1951 civil defense poster, with the message "It *can* happen Here," suggests that Americans should be prepared for such a dire outcome.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1945
- End of World War II; Yalta and Potsdam conferences
- Senate approves U.S. participation in United Nations

1946
- George F. Kennan outlines containment policy
- U.S. sides with French in war between French and Vietminh over control of Vietnam

1947
- Truman Doctrine
- House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) investigates film industry

1948
- Communist coup in Czechoslovakia
- Marshall Plan aids economic recovery in Europe
- State of Israel created
- Stalin blockades West Berlin; Berlin Airlift begins

1949
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) founded
- Soviet Union detonates atomic bomb
- Mao Zedong establishes People's Republic of China

1950–1953
- Korean War

1950
- NSC-68 leads to nuclear buildup
- Joseph McCarthy announces "list" of Communists in government

1952
- Dwight D. Eisenhower elected president

1954
- Army-McCarthy hearings on army subversion
- Geneva Accords partition Vietnam

1956
- Nikita Khrushchev emerges as Stalin's successor
- Suez Canal crisis

1960
- John F. Kennedy elected president

1961
- Kennedy orders the first contingent of Special Forces ("Green Berets") to Vietnam

1963
- Ngo Dinh Diem assassinated in South Vietnam

Containment in a Divided Global Order

The Cold War began on the heels of World War II and ended in 1991 with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. While it lasted, this conflict placed two far-reaching questions at the center of global history: Would capitalism or communism shape the nations of Europe and Asia? And how would the European colonies in Asia, the Middle East, and Africa gain their independence and take their places on the world stage? Cold War rivalry framed the possible answers to both questions as it drew the United States into a prolonged engagement with world affairs unprecedented in the nation's history.

Origins of the Cold War

World War II set the basic conditions for the Cold War. With Germany and Japan defeated and Britain and France weakened by years of war, only two geopolitical powers remained standing in 1945. Even had nothing divided them, the United States and the Soviet Union would have jostled each other as they moved to fill the postwar power vacuum. But, of course, the two countries were divided — by geography, history, ideology, and strategic interest. Little united them other than their commitment to defeating the Axis powers. President Franklin Roosevelt understood that maintaining the U.S.-Soviet alliance was essential for postwar global stability. But he also believed that permanent peace and long-term U.S. interests depended on the Wilsonian principles of collective security, self-determination, and free trade (Chapter 20).

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Yalta At the **Yalta Conference** of February 1945, Wilsonian principles yielded to U.S.-Soviet power realities. As Allied forces neared victory in Europe and advanced toward Japan in the Pacific, Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met in Yalta, a resort on the Black Sea in southern Ukraine. Roosevelt focused on maintaining Allied unity and securing Joseph Stalin's commitment to enter the war against Japan. But the fate of Eastern Europe divided the Big Three. Stalin insisted that Russian national security required pro-Soviet governments in Eastern European nations. Roosevelt pressed for an agreement, the "Declaration on Liberated Europe," that guaranteed self-determination and democratic elections in Poland and neighboring countries, such as Romania and Hungary. However, given the presence of Soviet troops in those nations, FDR had to accept a lesser pledge from Stalin: to hold "free and unfettered elections" at a future time. The three leaders

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluating the role of the Yalta Conference in undermining wartime cooperation among the Allied powers is essential for the AP® exam.

Why Was There a Cold War?

During World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union forged a "Grand Alliance" with Great Britain to defeat Hitler's Nazi Germany. In the wake of victory, however, this marriage of necessity quickly dissolved, leaving the Americans and Soviets to face each other in a Cold War that lasted until the dissolution of the Soviet Union (USSR) in 1991. For decades, these superpowers viewed each other's intentions with suspicion and, while avoiding direct and open conflict, waged proxy wars around the globe to advance the security interests they believed the other threatened. But what caused the Cold War, and why was there such hostility between the two nations?

Historians continue to debate these questions. Stephen Ambrose's account of postwar America's rise to global dominance offers a traditional explanation of the Cold War. His argument differs from that of Odd Westad, who shifts the geographical focus of the Cold War rivalry from Europe to the Global South.

STEPHEN AMBROSE

SOURCE: Stephen E. Ambrose, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), 102–103.

Whatever date is chosen to mark the declaration of [the Cold War], it is certain that the issue that sparked it, gave it life and shaped its early course, was East Europe. For centuries East and West have struggled . . . for control of the huge area running from the Baltic to the Balkans, an area rich in human and industrial resources and one that is strategically vital to both sides. . . . Neither the West nor the East has been willing to allow East Europe to be strong, independent, or neutral. Russia and the West each have wanted the area to be aligned with them and open for their own economic exploitation. . . . [During World War II], the West made no significant contribution to the liberation of East Europe and when the end came the Red Army was in sole possession of the area. . . . This crucial result of World War II destroyed the Grand Alliance and gave birth to the Cold War.

ODD WESTAD

SOURCE: Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3–5.

[T]he argument that the Cold War conceptually and analytically does not belong in the south [i.e., Africa, South Asia, and Latin America] is wrong. . . . US and Soviet interventionisms . . . shaped both the international and the domestic framework within which political, social, and cultural changes in Third World countries took place. . . . The United States and the Soviet Union were driven to intervene in the Third World by the ideologies inherent in their politics. . . . Washington and Moscow needed to change the world in order to prove the universal applicability of their ideologies, and the elites of the newly independent [Third World] states proved fertile ground for their competition. . . . [B]oth powers saw themselves as assisting natural trends in world history and as defending their own security at the same time. Both saw a specific mission in and for the Third World that only their own state could carry out and which without their involvement would flounder in local hands.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. Identify the major difference in these two scholars' understanding of the Cold War's geographical focus.
2. To what extent do these scholars agree on the factors driving the Cold War rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union?
3. Which interpretation of the origins of the Cold War does the narrative in Chapter 24 seem to support?

also formalized their commitment to divide Germany into four zones, each controlled by one of the four Allied powers (including France), and to similarly partition the capital city, Berlin, which was located in the Soviet zone.

At Yalta, the Big Three also agreed to establish an international body to replace the discredited League of Nations. Based on plans drawn up at the 1944 Dumbarton Oaks conference in Washington, D.C., the new organization, to be known as the **United Nations**, would have both a General Assembly, in which all nations would be represented, and a Security Council composed of the five major Allied powers — the United States, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union — and seven other nations elected on a rotating basis. The Big Three determined that the five permanent members of the

East Meets West Soviet soldiers celebrate with U.S. soldiers from the First Army near the Elbe River in Torgau, Germany, on April 25, 1945. Soviet and American forces had converged on Hitler's Germany from opposite directions, finally meeting in Torgau. The meeting symbolized the Grand Alliance, in which U.S.-Soviet cooperation was essential, that secured victory over the Axis Powers in World War II. However, as these ordinary infantrymen optimistically toast one another and look forward to the end of fighting, Germany was already being divided in two: between a western sector held by the Allies and an eastern sector held by the Soviet Union. Within a few years, the division of Germany between "East" and "West" would stand at the center of a split in the entire European continent at the dawn of the Cold War.

Security Council should have veto power over decisions of the General Assembly. They announced that the United Nations would convene for the first time in San Francisco on April 25, 1945.

Potsdam Following the Yalta Conference, developments over the ensuing year further hardened relations between the Soviets on one side and the Americans and British on the other. At the **Potsdam Conference** outside Berlin in July 1945, Harry Truman replaced the deceased Roosevelt. Inexperienced in world affairs and thrown into enormously complicated negotiations, Truman's instinct was to stand up to Stalin. "Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language," he said, "another war is in the making." But Truman was in no position to shape events in Eastern Europe, where Soviet-imposed governments in Poland, Hungary, and Romania were backed by the Red Army and could not be eliminated by Truman's bluster. In Poland and Romania, in particular, Stalin was determined to establish communist governments, punish wartime Nazi collaborators, and win boundary concessions that augmented Soviet territory.

Yalta and Potsdam thus set the stage for communist rule to descend over Eastern Europe. The elections called for at Yalta eventually took place in Finland, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, with varying degrees of democratic openness. Nevertheless, Stalin got the client regimes he desired in those countries and would soon exert

near-complete control over their governments. Stalin's unwillingness to honor self-determination for nations in Eastern Europe was, from the American point of view, the precipitating event of the Cold War.

Germany represented the biggest challenge of all. American officials at Potsdam believed that a revived German economy was essential to ensuring the prosperity of democratic regimes throughout Western Europe — and to keeping ordinary Germans from turning again to Nazism. In contrast, Stalin hoped merely to extract reparations from Germany in the form of industrial machines and goods. In exchange for American recognition of a new German-Polish border, Truman and Secretary of State James Byrnes convinced the Soviet leader to accept German reparations only from the Soviet zone, which was largely rural and promised little wealth or German industry to plunder. The Yalta and Potsdam agreements paved the way for the division of Germany into East and West (Map 24.1).

Yalta and Potsdam demonstrated that in private negotiations the United States and the Soviet Union had starkly different objectives. Public utterances only intensified those differences. In February 1946, Stalin delivered a speech in which he insisted that, according to Marxist-Leninist principles, "the unevenness of development of the capitalist countries" was likely to produce "violent disturbance" and even another war. He seemed to blame any future war on the capitalist West. Churchill responded in kind a month later. While visiting Truman in Missouri to be honored for his wartime

MAP 24.1 Cold War in Europe, 1955
This map vividly shows the Cold War division of Europe. The NATO countries (colored green) are allies of the United States; the Warsaw Pact countries (in purple) are allied to the USSR. In 1955, West Germany had just been admitted to NATO, completing Europe's stabilization into two rival camps. But Berlin remained divided, and one can see from its location deep in East Germany why the former capital was always a flash point in Cold War controversies.

leadership, Churchill accused Stalin of raising an "iron curtain" around Eastern Europe and allowing "police government" to rule its people. He went further, claiming that "a fraternal association of English-speaking peoples," and not Russians, ought to set the terms of the postwar world.

The cities and fields of Europe had thus barely ceased to run with the blood of World War II before they were menaced again by the tense standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States. With Stalin intent on establishing client states in Eastern Europe and the United States equally intent on reviving Germany and ensuring collective security throughout Europe, the points of agreement were few and far between. Among the Allies, anxiety about a Nazi victory in World War II had been quickly replaced by fear of a potentially more cataclysmic war with the Soviet Union.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did American and Soviet viewpoints differ over the postwar fate of Europe?

The Containment Strategy

AP® EXAM TIP

Being able to explain the policy of containment is critical to success on the AP® exam.

In the late 1940s, American officials developed a clear strategy toward the Soviet Union that would become known as **containment**. Convinced that the USSR was methodically expanding its reach, the United States would counter by limiting Soviet influence to Eastern Europe while reconstituting democratic governments in Western Europe. In 1946–1947, three specific issues worried Truman and his advisors. First, the Soviet Union was pressing Iran for access to oil and Turkey for access to the Mediterranean. Second, a civil war was roiling in Greece, between monarchists backed by England and insurgents supported by the Greek and Yugoslavian Communist parties. Third, as European nations suffered through terrible **privation** in 1946 and 1947, Communist parties gained strength, particularly in France and Italy. All three developments, as seen from the United States, threatened to expand the influence of the Soviet Union beyond Eastern Europe.

Toward an Uneasy Peace In this anxious context, the strategy of containment emerged in a series of incremental steps between 1946 and 1949. In February 1946, American diplomat George F. Kennan first proposed the idea in an 8,000-word cable — a confidential message within the U.S. State Department — from his post at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Kennan argued that the Soviet Union was an "Oriental despotism" and that communism was merely the "fig leaf" justifying Soviet aggression. A year after writing this cable (dubbed the Long Telegram), he published an influential *Foreign Affairs* article, arguing that the West's only recourse was to meet the Soviets "with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world." Kennan called for "long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies." *Containment*, the key word, came to define America's evolving strategic stance toward the Soviet Union.

To see an excerpt from the Long Telegram, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Kennan contended that the Soviet system was unstable and would eventually collapse. Containment would work, he reasoned, as long as the United States and its allies opposed Soviet expansion anywhere in the world. Kennan's attentive readers included Stalin himself, who quickly obtained a copy of the classified Long Telegram. The Soviet leader saw the United States as an imperialist aggressor determined to replace Great Britain as the world's dominant capitalist power. Just as Kennan thought that the Soviet system was despotic and unsustainable, Stalin believed that the West suffered from its own fatal weaknesses. Neither side completely understood or trusted the other, and each projected its worst fears onto the other.

In fact, Britain's influence in the world was declining. Exhausted by the war, facing budget deficits and a collapsing economy at home, and confronted with growing independence movements throughout its empire, particularly in India led by Mohandas Gandhi, Britain was waning as a global power. "The reins of world leadership are fast slipping from Britain's competent but now very weak hands," read a U.S. State Department report. "These reins will be picked up either by the United States or by Russia." The United States was wedded to the notion — dating to the Wilson administration — that

communism and capitalism were incompatible on the world stage. With Britain faltering, American officials saw little choice but to fill its shoes.

It did not take long for the reality of Britain's decline to resonate across the Atlantic. In February 1947, London informed Washington that it could no longer afford to support the anticommunists in the Greek civil war. Truman worried that a communist victory in Greece would lead to Soviet domination of the eastern Mediterranean and embolden Communist parties in France and Italy. In response, the president announced what became known as the **Truman Doctrine**. In a speech on March 12, he asserted an American responsibility "to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." To that end, Truman proposed large-scale assistance for Greece and Turkey (then involved in a dispute with the Soviet Union over the Dardanelles, a strait connecting the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara). "If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world," Truman declared (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). Congress quickly approved Truman's request for $300 million in aid to Greece and $100 million for Turkey.

AP® EXAM TIP

Describe how the use of international aid impacted the policy of containment.

Soviet expansionism was but one part of a larger story. Europe was sliding into economic chaos. Already devastated by the war, in 1947 the continent suffered the worst winter in memory. People were starving, wages were stagnant, and the consumer market had collapsed. For both humanitarian and practical reasons, Truman's advisors believed something had to be done. A global depression might ensue if the European economy, the largest foreign market for American goods, did not recover. Worse, unemployed and dispirited Western Europeans might fill the ranks of the Communist Party, threatening political stability. Secretary of State George C. Marshall came up with a remarkable proposal: a massive infusion of American capital to rebuild the European economy. In a June 1947 speech, Marshall urged the nations of Europe to work out a comprehensive recovery program based on U.S. aid.

This pledge of financial assistance required approval by Congress, where the plan ran into opposition. Republicans castigated the **Marshall Plan** as a huge "international WPA." But in the midst of the congressional stalemate, on February 25, 1948, Stalin supported a communist-led coup in Czechoslovakia. Congress rallied and voted overwhelmingly to approve the Marshall Plan. Over the next four years, the United States contributed nearly $13 billion to a highly successful recovery effort that benefitted both Western Europe and the United States. European industrial production increased by 64 percent, and the appeal of Communist parties waned in the West. Markets for American goods grew stronger and fostered economic interdependence between Europe and the United States. Notably, however, the Marshall Plan intensified Cold War tensions. U.S. officials invited the Soviets to participate but insisted on restrictions that virtually guaranteed Stalin's refusal. An embittered Stalin rejected participation and ordered Soviet client states to do so as well.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why did the United States enact the Marshall Plan, and how did the program illustrate America's new role in the world?

East and West in the New Europe The flash point for a hot war remained Germany, the most important industrial economy and the key strategic nation in Europe. When no agreement could be reached with the Soviet Union to unify the four zones of occupation into a single state, the Western allies consolidated their three zones in 1947. They then prepared to establish an independent federal German republic. Marshall Plan funds would jump-start economic recovery. Some of those funds were slated for West Berlin, in hopes of making the city a capitalist showplace 100 miles inside the Soviet zone.

Stung by the West's intention to create a German republic, in June 1948 Stalin blockaded all traffic to West Berlin. Instead of yielding, as Stalin had expected, Truman and the British were resolute. "We are going to stay, period," Truman said plainly. Over the next year, American and British pilots improvised the Berlin Airlift, which flew 2.5 million tons of food and fuel into the Western zones of the city — nearly a ton for each resident. General Lucius D. Clay, the American commander in Berlin, was nervous and on edge, "drawn as tight as a steel spring," according to U.S. officials. But after a prolonged stalemate, Stalin backed down: on May 12, 1949, he lifted the blockade.

The Global Cold War

Until 1950, the U.S. policy of containment was confined to economic measures, such as financial assistance to Greece and Turkey and the Marshall Plan, and focused on Europe. That changed between 1950 and 1954. In those years, containment became militarized, and its scope was expanded to include Asia and Latin America. What had begun as a limited policy to contain Soviet influence in war-torn Europe had by the mid-1950s become a global campaign against communism and social revolution.

1. **President Harry S. Truman, address before joint session of Congress, March 12, 1947.** *Known as the Truman Doctrine, this speech outlined Truman's plan to give large-scale assistance to Greece and Turkey as part of a broader anticommunist policy.*

To ensure the peaceful development of nations, free from coercion, the United States has taken a leading part in establishing the United Nations. The United Nations is designed to make possible lasting freedom and independence for all its members. We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. . . .

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

2. **Syngman Rhee, president of South Korea, criticizing U.S. policy in 1950.** *The Korean War, 1950–1953, represented the militarization of the Truman Doctrine.*

A few days ago one American friend said that if the U.S. gave weapons to South Korea, she feared that South Korea would invade North Korea. This is a useless worry of some Americans, who do not know South Korea. Our present war is not a Cold War, but a real shooting war. Our troops will take all possible countermeasures. . . . In South Korea the U.S. has one foot in South Korea and one foot outside so that in case of an unfavorable situation it could pull out of the country. I daresay that if the U.S. wants to aid our country, it should not be only lip-service.

3. **Secretary of State Dean Acheson's testimony before the Senate Armed Forces and Foreign Relations Committee, 1951.**

The attack on Korea was . . . a challenge to the whole system of collective security, not only in the Far East, but everywhere in the world. It was a threat to all nations newly arrived at independence. . . .

This was a test which would decide whether our collective security system would survive or would crumble. It would determine whether other nations would be intimidated by this show of force. . . .

As a people we condemn aggression of any kind. We reject appeasement of any kind. If we stood with our arms folded while Korea was swallowed up, it would have meant abandoning our principles, and it would have meant the defeat of the collective security system on which our own safety ultimately depends.

4. **Shigeru Yoshida, prime minister of Japan, speech before the Japanese Diet (parliament), July 14, 1950.**

It is heartening . . . that America and so many members of the United Nations have gone to the rescue of an invaded country regardless of the heavy sacrifices involved. In case a war breaks out on an extensive scale how would Japan's security be preserved [since we are disarmed]? . . . This has been hotly discussed. However, the measures taken by the United Nations have done much to stabilize our people's minds.

5. **John Foster Dulles, secretary of state (1953–1959), June 30, 1954, radio and television address to the American people.** *In 1951, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán was elected president of Guatemala. Arbenz Guzmán pursued reform policies that threatened large landholders, including the United Fruit Company. In 1954, the United States CIA engineered a coup that overthrew Arbenz Guzmán and replaced him with Carlos Castillo Armas, a colonel in the Guatemalan military.*

Tonight I should like to speak with you about Guatemala. It is the scene of dramatic events. They expose the evil purpose of the Kremlin to destroy the inter-American system, and they test the ability of the American States to maintain the peaceful integrity of the hemisphere.

For several years international communism has been probing here and there for nesting places in the Americas. It finally chose Guatemala as a spot which it could turn into an official base from which to breed subversion which would extend to other American Republics.

This intrusion of Soviet despotism was, of course, a direct challenge to our Monroe Doctrine, the first and most fundamental of our foreign policies.

6. **Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan foreign minister, speech to delegates at the Tenth Inter-American Conference of the Organization of American States in Caracas, Venezuela, March 5, 1954.**

What is the real and effective reason for describing our government as communist? From what sources comes the accusation that we threaten continental solidarity and security? Why do they [United States] wish to intervene in Guatemala?

The answers are simple and evident. The plan of national liberation being carried out with firmness by my government has necessarily affected the privileges of the foreign enterprises that are impeding the progress and the economic development of the country. . . . With construction of publically owned ports and docks, we are putting an end to the monopoly of the United Fruit Company. . . .

They wanted to find a ready expedient to maintain the economic dependence of the American Republics and suppress the legitimate desires of their peoples, cataloguing as "communism" every manifestation of nationalism or economic independence, any desire for social progress, any intellectual curiosity, and any interest in progressive and liberal reforms.

7. **Herblock cartoon from the *Washington Post*, February 11, 1962.** *Many Latin American countries were beset by a wide gap between a small wealthy elite and the mass of ordinary, much poorer citizens. American officials worried that this made social revolution an attractive alternative for those at the bottom.*

'62 Herblock Cartoon, © The Herb Block Foundation

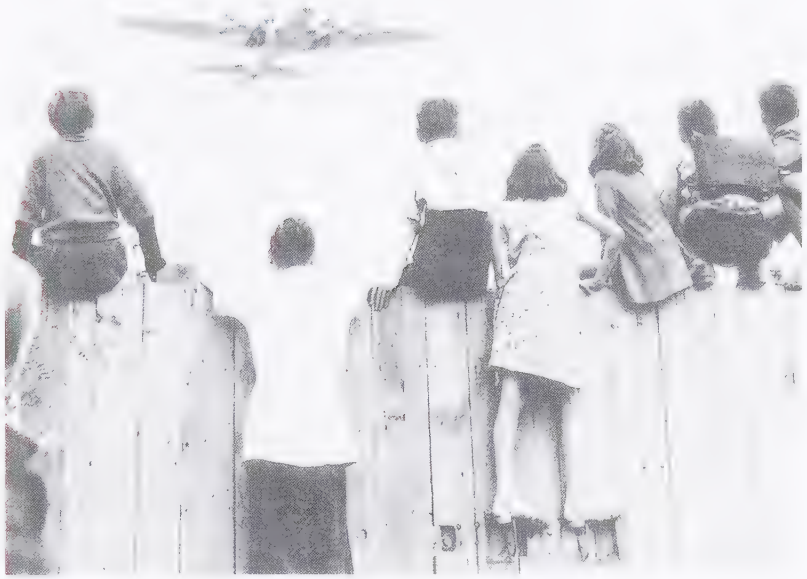
SOURCES: (1) The Avalon Project at avalon.law.yale.edu; (2) Reinhard Drifte, "Japan's Involvement in the Korean War," in *The Korean War in History*, ed. James Cotton and Ian Neary (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1989), 43; (3) Glenn D. Paige, *The Korean Decision* (New York: The Free Press, 1968), 175–176; (4) Drifte, 122; (5) Jonathan L. Fried et al., eds., *Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History* (New York: Grove Press, 1983), 78; (6) Stephen C. Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 143–144.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. In source 1, Truman presents the choice facing the world in stark terms: totalitarianism or democracy. Why would he frame matters in this way in 1947? How did Truman anticipate the militarization of American foreign policy?
2. Analyze the audience, purpose, and point of view presented in the documents dealing with the war in Korea (sources 2–4). What does Acheson mean by "collective security"? Why is Yoshida thankful for the UN intervention? What can you infer about U.S. involvement in world affairs during the postwar period based on these documents?
3. In document 6, how does Toriello characterize accusations that the elected Guatemalan government is communist? What are his accusations of the United States?
4. How does source 7 express one of the obstacles to democracy in developing nations?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using these documents, and based on what you have learned in class and in this chapter, write an essay in which you analyze the goals of American foreign policy during the early years of the Cold War.



The Berlin Airlift For 321 days U.S. planes like this one flew missions to bring food and other supplies to Berlin after the Soviet Union had blocked all surface routes into the former German capital. The blockade was finally lifted on May 12, 1949, after the Soviets conceded that it had been a failure. AP Photo

Until the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the Berlin crisis was the closest the two sides came to actual war, and West Berlin became a symbol of resistance to communism.

The crisis in Berlin persuaded Western European nations to forge a collective security pact with the United States. In April 1949, for the first time since the end of the American Revolution, the United States entered into a peacetime military alliance, the **North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)**. Under the NATO pact, twelve nations — Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and the United States — agreed that "an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all." In May 1949, those nations also agreed to the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), which eventually joined NATO in 1955. In response, the Soviet Union established the German Democratic Republic (East Germany); the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON); and, in 1955, the **Warsaw Pact**, a military alliance for Eastern Europe that included Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. In these parallel steps, the two superpowers formalized the Cold War through a massive division of the continent.

By the early 1950s, West and East were the stark markers of the new Europe. As Churchill had observed in 1946, the line dividing the two stretched "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic," cutting off tens of millions of Eastern Europeans from the rest of the continent. Stalin's tactics had often been ruthless, but they were not without reason. The Soviet Union acted out of the sort of self-interest that had long defined powerful nations — ensuring a defensive perimeter of allies, seeking access to raw materials, and pressing the advantage that victory in war allowed.

AP® EXAM TIP

Summarize the debates over increasing reliance on nuclear weapons and the power of the military-industrial complex.

NSC-68 Atomic developments, too, played a critical role in the emergence of the Cold War. As the sole nuclear power at the end of World War II, the United States entertained the possibility of international control of nuclear technology but did not wish to lose its advantage over the Soviet Union. When the American Bernard Baruch proposed United Nations oversight of atomic energy in 1946, for instance, the plan assured the United States of near-total control of the technology, which further increased Cold War tensions. America's brief tenure as sole nuclear power ended in September 1949, however, when the Soviet Union detonated an atomic bomb. Truman then turned to the U.S. National Security Council (NSC), established by the National Security Act of 1947, for a strategic reassessment.

In April 1950, the NSC delivered its report, known as **NSC-68**. Bristling with alarmist rhetoric, the document marked a decisive turning point in the U.S. approach to the Cold War. The report's authors described the Soviet Union not as a typical great power but as one with a "fanatic faith" that seeks to "impose its absolute authority." Going beyond even the stern language used by George Kennan, NSC-68 cast Soviet ambitions as nothing short of "the domination of the Eurasian landmass."

To prevent that outcome, the report proposed "a bold and massive program of rebuilding the West's defensive potential to surpass that of the Soviet world" (AP® America in the World). This included the development of a hydrogen bomb, a **thermonuclear** device that would be a thousand times more destructive than the

Arming for the Cold War

To fight the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union increased overall military spending and assembled massive arsenals of nuclear weapons.

TABLE 24.1

Worldwide Nuclear Stockpiles, 1945–1975

Country	1945	1955	1965	1975
United States	2	3,057	32,135	27,235
USSR	0	200	6,129	19,443
United Kingdom	0	10	310	350
France	0	0	32	188
China	0	0	5	185
Israel	0	0	0	20*

*Estimated

SOURCE: Adapted from *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, National Resources Defense Council, and *Nuclear Weapons and Nonproliferation* (2007).

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Do you see evidence of the effects of NSC-68 in this table? What kinds of changes did NSC-68 bring about?
2. In what ways does the data in this table suggest the emergence of two "superpowers" after World War II?

atomic bombs dropped on Japan, as well as dramatic increases in conventional military forces. Critically, NSC-68 called for Americans to pay higher taxes to support the new military program and to accept whatever sacrifices were necessary to achieve national unity of purpose against the Soviet enemy. Many historians see the report as having "militarized" the American approach to the Cold War, which had to that point relied largely on economic measures such as aid to Greece and the Marshall Plan. Truman was reluctant to commit to a major defense buildup, fearing that it would overburden the national budget. But shortly after NSC-68 was completed, events in Asia led him to reverse course.

Containment in Asia

As with Germany, American officials believed at the conclusion of World War II that restoring Japan's economy, while limiting its military influence, would ensure prosperity and contain communism in East Asia. After dismantling Japan's military, American occupation forces under General Douglas MacArthur drafted a democratic constitution and paved the way for the restoration of Japanese sovereignty in 1951. Considering the scorched-earth war that had just ended, this was a remarkable achievement, thanks partly to the imperious MacArthur but mainly to the Japanese, who embraced peace and accepted U.S. military protection. However, events on the mainland of Asia proved much more difficult for the United States to shape to its advantage.

Civil War in China A civil war had been raging in China since the 1930s as Communist forces led by Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) fought Nationalist forces under Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek). Fearing a Communist victory, between 1945 and 1949 the United

Communist China Chinese Communists carry placards with pictures of Joseph Stalin, premier of the Soviet Union and self-proclaimed leader of global communism. Under the leadership of General Mao Zedong, the Communist Party of China defeated its rivals in a civil war and founded the People's Republic of China in 1949. Mao's victory meant that from East Germany to the Pacific Ocean, much of the Eurasian landmass (including Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and China) was ruled by Communist governments. Library of Congress Corbis / VCG via Getty Images

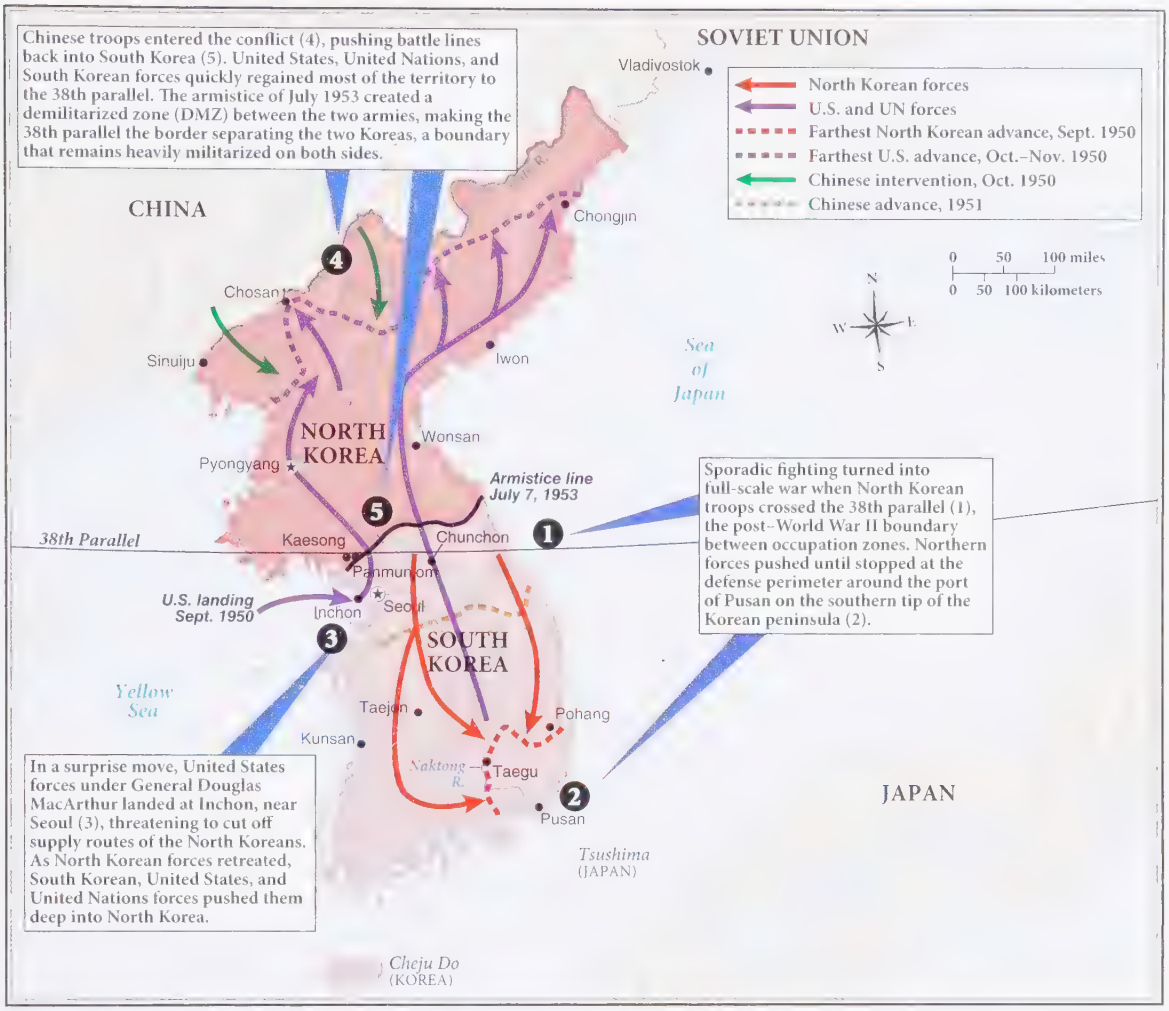
States provided $2 billion to Jiang's army. Pressing Truman to "save" China, conservative Republican Ohio senator Robert A. Taft predicted that "the Far East is ultimately even more important to our future peace than is Europe." By 1949, Mao's forces held the advantage. Truman reasoned that to save Jiang, the United States would have to intervene militarily. Unwilling to do so, he cut off aid and left the Nationalists to their fate. The People's Republic of China was formally established under Mao on October 1, 1949, and the remnants of Jiang's forces fled to Taiwan.

Truman expected Mao to take an independent line, as the Communist leader Tito had just done in Yugoslavia. The new Chinese leader, however, aligned himself with the Soviet Union, partly out of fear that the United States would re-arm the Nationalists and invade the mainland. As attitudes hardened, many Americans viewed Mao's success as a defeat for the United States. The pro-Nationalist "China lobby" held Truman's State Department responsible for the "loss" of China. Sensitive to these charges, the Truman administration refused to recognize "Red China" and blocked China's admission to the United Nations. But the United States pointedly declined to guarantee Taiwan's independence, and in fact accepted the outcome on the mainland. (Since 1982, however, the United States has recognized Taiwanese sovereignty.)

The Korean War The United States took a stronger stance in Korea. Truman and Stalin had agreed at the close of World War II to occupy the Korean peninsula jointly, temporarily dividing the former Japanese colony at the 38th parallel. As tensions rose in Europe, the 38th parallel hardened into a permanent **demarcation** line. The Soviets supported a Communist government, led by Kim Il Sung, in North Korea; the United States backed a right-wing Nationalist, Syngman Rhee, in South Korea. The two sides had waged low-level war since 1945, and both leaders were spoiling for a more definitive fight. However, neither Kim nor Rhee could launch an all-out offensive without the backing of his sponsor. Washington repeatedly said no, and so did Moscow. But Kim continued to press Stalin to permit him to reunify the nation. Convinced by the North Koreans that victory would be swift, the Soviet leader finally relented in the late spring of 1950.

The Korean War As a result of President Truman's 1948 Executive Order 9981, for the first time in the nation's history all troops in the Korean War served in racially integrated combat units. This photo taken during the Battle of Ch'ongch'on in 1950 shows a sergeant and his men of the 2nd Infantry Division. National Archives

On June 25, 1950, the North Koreans launched a surprise attack across the 38th parallel (Map 24.2). Truman immediately asked the


Chinese troops entered the conflict (4), pushing battle lines back into South Korea (5). United States, United Nations, and South Korean forces quickly regained most of the territory to the 38th parallel. The armistice of July 1953 created a demilitarized zone (DMZ) between the two armies, making the 38th parallel the border separating the two Koreas, a boundary that remains heavily militarized on both sides.
SOVIET UNION
Vladivostok
North Korean forces
U.S. and UN forces
Farthest North Korean advance, Sept. 1950
Farthest U.S. advance, Oct.–Nov. 1950
Chinese intervention, Oct. 1950
Chinese advance, 1951
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 kilometers
N
W
E
S
CHINA
Chongjin
Chosan
Sinuiju
Iwon
Sea of Japan
NORTH KOREA
Wonsan
Pyongyang
Armistice line July 7, 1953
38th Parallel
Kaesong
Chunchon
Panmunjom
U.S. landing Sept. 1950
Inchon
Seoul
SOUTH KOREA
Yellow Sea
Taejon
Pohang
Kunsan
Naktong R.
Taegu
Pusan
JAPAN
Tsushima (JAPAN)
Cheju Do (KOREA)
Sporadic fighting turned into full-scale war when North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel (1), the post–World War II boundary between occupation zones. Northern forces pushed until stopped at the defense perimeter around the port of Pusan on the southern tip of the Korean peninsula (2).
In a surprise move, United States forces under General Douglas MacArthur landed at Inchon, near Seoul (3), threatening to cut off supply routes of the North Koreans. As North Korean forces retreated, South Korean, United States, and United Nations forces pushed them deep into North Korea.

MAP 24.2 The Korean War, 1950–1953

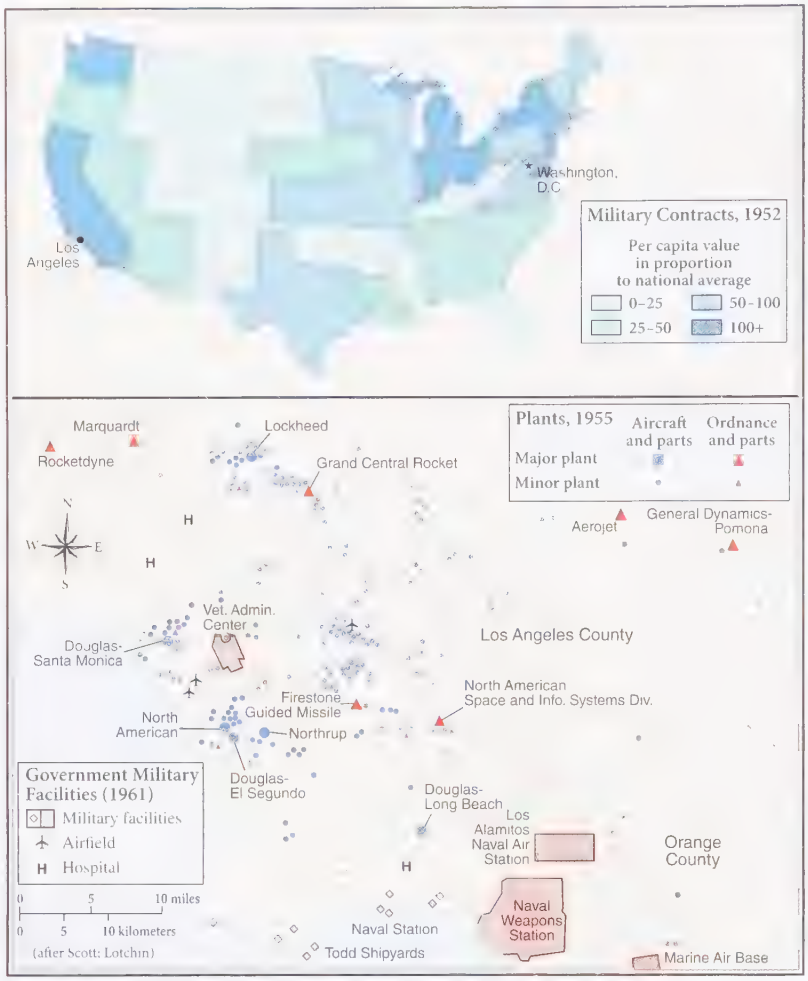
The Korean War, which the United Nations officially deemed a "police action," lasted three years and cost the lives of more than 36,000 U.S. troops. South and North Korean deaths were estimated at more than 900,000. Although hostilities ceased in 1953, the South Korean Military (with U.S. military assistance) and the North Korean Army continue to face each other across the demilitarized zone, more than sixty years later.

UN Security Council to authorize a "police action" against the invaders. The Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council to protest China's exclusion from the United Nations and therefore could not veto the request. With the Security Council's approval of a "peacekeeping force," Truman ordered U.S. troops to Korea. The rapidly assembled UN army in Korea was overwhelmingly American, with General Douglas MacArthur in command. At first, the North Koreans held a distinct advantage, but MacArthur's surprise **amphibious** attack at Inchon gave the UN forces control of Seoul, the South Korean capital, and almost all the territory up to the 38th parallel.

The impetuous MacArthur then ordered his troops across the 38th parallel and led them all the way to the Chinese border at the Yalu River. It was a major blunder, certain to draw China into the war. Sure enough, a massive Chinese counterattack forced UN forces into headlong retreat back down the Korean peninsula. Then stalemate set in. With weak public support for the war in the United States, Truman and his advisors decided to work for a negotiated peace. MacArthur disagreed and denounced the Korean stalemate, declaring, "There is no substitute for victory." On April 11, 1951, Truman relieved MacArthur of his command. Truman's decision was highly unpopular,

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the Korean War as an expression of containment policy through military action is a "must know" for the AP® exam.



MAP 24.3 The Military-Industrial Complex
Defense spending gave a big boost to the Cold War economy, but, as the upper map suggests, the benefits were by no means equally distributed. The big winners were the Middle Atlantic states, the industrialized Upper Midwest, Washington State (with its aircraft and nuclear plants), and California. The epicenter of California's military-industrial complex was Los Angeles, which, as is evident in the lower map, was studded with military facilities and major defense contractors like Douglas Aircraft, Lockheed, and General Dynamics. There was work aplenty for engineers and rocket scientists.

especially among conservative Republicans, but he had likely saved the nation from years of costly warfare with China.

Notwithstanding MacArthur's dismissal, the war dragged on for more than two years. An armistice in July 1953, pushed by the newly elected president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, left Korea divided at the original demarcation line. North Korea remained firmly allied with the Soviet Union; South Korea signed a mutual defense treaty with the United States. It had been the first major proxy war between the Soviet Union and United States, in which they took sides in a civil conflict without directly confronting one another militarily. It would not be the last.

The Korean War had far-reaching consequences. Truman's decision to commit troops without congressional approval set a precedent for future undeclared wars. His refusal to unleash atomic bombs, even when American forces were reeling under a massive Chinese attack, set ground rules for Cold War conflict. The war also expanded American involvement in Asia, transforming containment into a truly global policy. Finally, the Korean War ended Truman's resistance to a major military buildup (Map 24.3). Defense expenditures grew from $13 billion in 1950, roughly one-third of the federal budget, to $50 billion in 1953, nearly two-thirds of the budget (Figure 24.1). American foreign policy had become more global, more militarized, and more expensive. Even in times of peace, the United States now functioned in a state of permanent military mobilization.

The Munich Analogy Behind much of U.S. foreign policy in the first two decades of the Cold War lay the memory of appeasement (Chapter 23). The generation of politicians and officials who designed the containment strategy had come of age in the era of Munich, the conference in 1938 at which the Western democracies had appeased Hitler by offering him part of Czechoslovakia, paving the road to World War II. Applying the lessons of Munich, American presidents believed that "appeasing" Stalin (and subsequent Soviet rulers Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev) would have the same result: wider war. Thus in Germany, Greece, and Korea, and later in Iran, Guatemala, and Vietnam, the United States staunchly resisted the Soviets — or what it perceived as Soviet

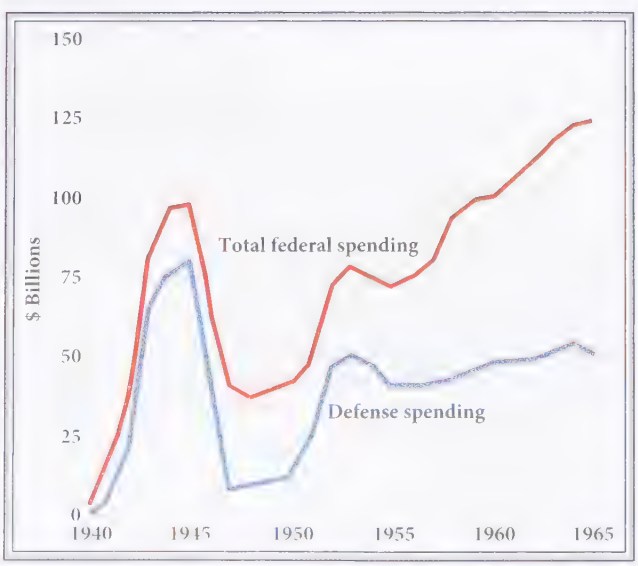


FIGURE 24.1 National Defense Spending, 1940–1965
In 1950, the U.S. defense budget was $13 billion, less than a third of total federal outlays. In 1961, U.S. defense spending reached $47 billion, fully half of the federal budget and almost 10 percent of the gross domestic product.

influence. The Munich analogy strengthened the U.S. position in a number of strategic conflicts, particularly over the fate of Germany. But it also drew Americans into armed conflicts — and convinced them to support repressive, right-wing regimes — that compromised, as much as supported, stated American principles.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What primary factors caused the Cold War?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
COMPARE & CONTRAST
How did U.S. containment strategy in Asia compare to containment in Europe?

Cold War Liberalism

As president, Harry Truman cast himself in the mold of his predecessor, Franklin Roosevelt, and hoped to seize the possibilities afforded by victory in World War II to expand the New Deal at home. But the crises in postwar Europe and Asia, combined with the swift rise of anticommunism in the United States, forced him to take a different path. In the end, Truman went down in history as a Cold Warrior rather than a New Dealer. The Cold War consensus that he ultimately embraced — the notion that resisting communism at home and abroad represented America's most important postwar objective — shaped the nation's life and politics for decades to come.

Truman and the End of Reform

Truman and the Democratic Party of the late 1940s and early 1950s forged what historians call **Cold War liberalism**. They preserved the core programs of the New Deal welfare state, developed the containment policy to oppose Soviet influence throughout the world, and fought so-called subversives at home. But there would be no second act for the New Deal. The Democrats adopted this combination of moderate liberal policies and anticommunism — Cold War liberalism — partly by choice and partly out of necessity. A few high-level **espionage** scandals and the Communist victories in Eastern Europe and China reenergized the Republican Party, which forced Truman and the Democrats to retreat to what historian Arthur Schlesinger called the "vital center" of American politics. However, Americans on both the progressive left and the conservative right accepted this development only reluctantly. Cold War liberalism was a practical centrist program for a turbulent era. But it would not last.

AP® EXAM TIP
Identify the forces that limited the expansion of New Deal policies following World War II.

Organized labor remained a key force in the Democratic Party and played a central role in championing Cold War liberalism. Stronger than ever, union membership swelled to more than 14 million by 1945. Determined to make up for their wartime sacrifices, unionized workers made aggressive demands and mounted major strikes in the automobile, steel, and coal industries after the war, as they had after World War I. Republicans responded. They gained control of the House in a sweeping repudiation of Democrats in 1946 and promptly passed — over Truman's veto — the **Taft-Hartley Act** (1947), an overhaul of the 1935 National Labor Relations Act.

Taft-Hartley brought changes in procedures and language that, over time, weakened the right of workers to organize and engage in collective bargaining. Unions especially disliked Section 14b, which allowed states to pass "right-to-work" laws prohibiting the union shop. Additionally, the law forced unions to purge communists, who had been among the most successful labor organizers in the 1930s, from their ranks. Trade unions would continue to support the Democratic Party, but the labor movement would not crack the largely non-union South and would not penetrate the many American industries that remained unorganized. In that sense, Taft-Hartley effectively "contained" the labor movement.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
COMPARE & CONTRAST
Compare the years immediately following World War I (Chapter 21) and World War II. In what ways were they similar, especially with respect to politics, reform, radicalism, and organized labor?

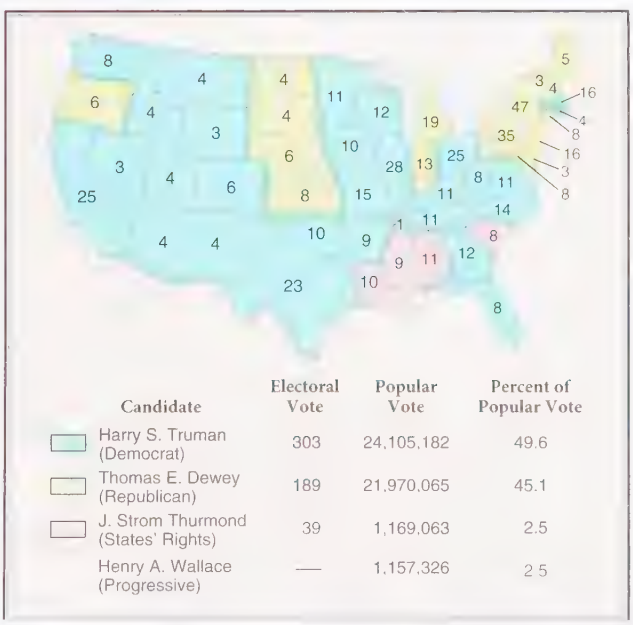
The 1948 Election Democrats would have dumped Truman in 1948 had they found a better candidate. But the party fell into disarray. The left wing split off and

Truman Triumphant In one of the most famous photographs in U.S. political history, Harry S. Truman gloats over an erroneous headline in the November 3 *Chicago Daily Tribune*. Pollsters had predicted an easy victory for Thomas E. Dewey. Their polling techniques, however, missed the dramatic surge in support for Truman during the last days of the campaign. Bettmann/Getty Images

formed the Progressive Party, nominating Henry A. Wallace, an avid New Dealer whom Truman had fired as secretary of commerce in 1946 because Wallace opposed America's actions in the Cold War. A right-wing challenge came from the South. When northern liberals such as Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis pushed through a strong civil rights platform at the Democratic convention, the southern delegations bolted and, calling themselves Dixiecrats, nominated for president South Carolina governor Strom Thurmond, an ardent supporter of racial segregation. The Republicans meanwhile renominated Thomas E. Dewey, the politically moderate governor of New York who had run a strong campaign against FDR in 1944.

Truman surprised everyone. He launched a strenuous cross-country speaking tour and hammered away at the Republicans for opposing progressive legislation and, in general, for running a "do-nothing" Congress. By combining these issues with attacks on the Soviet menace abroad, Truman began to salvage his troubled campaign. At his rallies, enthusiastic listeners shouted, "Give 'em hell, Harry!" Truman won, receiving 49.6 percent of the vote to Dewey's 45.1 percent (Map 24.4).

This remarkable election foreshadowed coming political turmoil. Truman occupied the center of FDR's sprawling New Deal coalition. On his left were progressives, civil rights advocates, and peace activists critical of the Cold War. On his right were segregationist southerners, who opposed civil rights and were allied with Republicans on many economic and foreign policy issues. In 1948, Truman performed a delicate balancing act, largely retaining the support of Jewish and Catholic voters in the big cities, black voters in the North, and union voters across the country. But Thurmond's strong showing — he carried four states in the Deep South — demonstrated the fragility of the Democratic coalition and prefigured the revolt of the party's southern wing in the 1960s. As he tried to manage contending forces in his own party, Truman faced mounting pressure from Republicans to denounce radicals at home and to take a tough stand against the Soviet Union.



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Harry S. Truman (Democrat)	303	24,105,182	49.6
Thomas E. Dewey (Republican)	189	21,970,065	45.1
J. Strom Thurmond (States' Rights)	39	1,169,063	2.5
Henry A. Wallace (Progressive)	—	1,157,326	2.5

MAP 24.4 The Presidential Election of 1948
Truman's electoral strategy in 1948 was to concentrate his campaign in areas where the Democrats had their greatest strength. In an election with a low turnout, Truman held on to enough support from Roosevelt's New Deal coalition of blacks, union members, and farmers to defeat Dewey by more than 2 million votes.

The Fair Deal Despite having to perform a balancing act, Truman and progressive Democrats forged ahead. In 1949, reaching ambitiously to extend the New Deal, Truman proposed the **Fair Deal**: national health insurance, civil rights legislation, aid to education, a housing program, expansion of Social Security, a higher minimum wage, and a new agricultural program. In its attention to civil rights, the Fair Deal reflected the growing influence of African Americans in the Democratic Party. Congress, however, remained a huge stumbling block, and the Fair Deal fared poorly. The same conservative coalition that had blocked Roosevelt's initiatives in his second term stymied Truman's as well. Cold War pressure shaped political arguments about domestic social programs, while the nation's growing paranoia over internal subversion weakened support for bold extensions of the welfare state.

Truman's proposal for national health insurance, for instance, was a popular idea, with strong backing from organized labor. But it was denounced as "socialized medicine" by the American Medical Association and the insurance industry. In the end, the Fair Deal's only significant breakthrough, other than improvements to the minimum wage and Social Security, was the National Housing Act of 1949, which authorized the construction of 810,000 low-income units.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How was the Democratic Party divided in 1948, and what were its primary constituencies?

Red Scare: The Hunt for Communists

Cold War liberalism was premised on the grave domestic threat posed, many believed, by Communists and Communist sympathizers. Was there significant Soviet penetration of the American government? Records opened after the 1991 disintegration of the Soviet Union, including the Venona Papers made available in 1995 by the National Security Agency, indicate that there was. Among American suppliers of information to Moscow were FDR's assistant secretary of the treasury, Harry Dexter White; FDR's administrative aide Laughlin Currie; a strategically placed midlevel group in the State Department; key scientists and technicians working on the Manhattan Project; and several hundred more, some identified only by code name, working in a range of government departments and agencies.

How are we to explain this? Many of these enlistees in the Soviet cause had been bright young New Dealers in the mid-1930s, when the Soviet-backed Popular Front suggested that the lines separating liberalism, progressivism, and communism were permeable (Chapter 23). At that time, the United States was not at war and never expected to be. And when war did come, the Soviet Union was an American ally. For critics of the informants, however, there remained the time between the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the German invasion of the Soviet Union, a nearly two-year period during which cooperation with the Soviet Union could be seen in a less positive light. Moreover, passing secrets to another country, even a wartime ally, was simply indefensible to many Americans — particularly when it came to atomic secrets. The lines between U.S. and Soviet interests blurred for some; for others, they remained clear and definite.

After World War II, however, most suppliers of information to the Soviets apparently ceased spying. For one thing, the professional apparatus of Soviet spying in the United States was disrupted by American counterintelligence work. For another, most of the well-connected amateur spies moved on to other careers. Historians have thus developed a healthy skepticism that there was much Soviet espionage in the United States after 1947, but this was not how many Americans saw it at the time. Legitimate suspicions and real fears, along with political opportunism, combined to fuel the national Red Scare, which was longer and more far-reaching than the one that followed World War I (Chapter 21).

Loyalty-Security Program To insulate his administration against charges of Communist infiltration, Truman issued Executive Order 9835 on March 21, 1947, which created the **Loyalty-Security Program**. The order permitted officials to investigate any employee of the federal government (some 2.5 million people) for "subversive" activities. Representing a profound centralization of power, the order sent shock waves through every federal agency. Truman intended the order to apply principally to actions designed to harm the United States (sabotage, treason, etc.), but it was broad enough to allow anyone to be accused of subversion for the slightest reason — for marching in a Communist-led demonstration in the 1930s, for instance, or signing a petition endorsing public housing. Along with suspected political subversives, more than a thousand gay men and lesbians were dismissed from federal employment in the 1950s, victims of an obsessive search for anyone deemed "unfit" for government work.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the debates over the methods and policies related to exposing Communist spies in the 1950s.

Following Truman's lead, many state and local governments, universities, political organizations, churches, and businesses undertook their own antisubversion campaigns,

which often included loyalty oaths. In the labor movement, charges of Communist domination led to the expulsion of a number of unions by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in 1949. Civil rights organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League also expelled Communists and "fellow travelers," or Communist sympathizers. Thus the Red Scare spread from the federal government to the farthest reaches of American organizational, economic, and cultural life.

HUAC The Truman administration had legitimized the vague and malleable concept of "disloyalty." Others proved willing to stretch the concept even further, beginning with the **House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)**, which Congressman Martin Dies of Texas and other conservatives had launched in 1938. In 1947, HUAC helped spark the Red Scare by holding widely publicized hearings on alleged Communist infiltration in the movie industry. A group of writers and directors dubbed the Hollywood Ten went to jail for contempt of Congress after they refused to testify about their past associations. Hundreds of other actors, directors, and writers whose names had been mentioned in the HUAC investigation were unable to get work, victims of an unacknowledged but very real blacklist honored by industry executives.

Other HUAC investigations had greater legitimacy. One that intensified the anticommunist crusade in 1948 involved Alger Hiss, a former New Dealer and State Department official who had accompanied Franklin Roosevelt to Yalta. A former Communist, Whitaker Chambers, claimed that Hiss was a member of a secret Communist cell operating in the government and had passed him classified documents in the 1930s. Hiss denied the allegations, but California Republican congressman Richard Nixon doggedly pursued the case against him. In early 1950, Hiss was found guilty not of spying but of lying to Congress about his Communist affiliations and was sentenced to five years in federal prison. Many Americans doubted at the time that Hiss was a spy. But the Venona transcripts in the 1990s corroborated a great deal of Chambers's testimony, and though no definitive proof has emerged, many historians now recognize the strong circumstantial evidence against Hiss.

McCarthyism The meteoric career of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin marked first the apex and then the finale of the Red Scare. In February 1950, McCarthy delivered a bombshell during a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia: "I have here in my hand a list of 205 . . . a list of names that were made known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy in the State Department." McCarthy later reduced his numbers, gave different figures in different speeches, and never released any names or proof. But he had gained the attention he sought (AP® Analyzing Voices).

For the next four years, from his position as chair of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, McCarthy waged a virulent smear campaign. Critics who disagreed with him exposed themselves to charges of being "soft" on communism. Truman called McCarthy's charges "slander, lies, [and] character assassination" but could do nothing to curb him. Republicans, for their part, refrained from publicly challenging their most outspoken senator and, on the whole, were content to reap the political benefits. McCarthy's charges almost always targeted Democrats.

Despite McCarthy's failure to identify a single Communist in government, several national developments gave his charges credibility with the public. The dramatic 1951 espionage trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, followed around the world, fueled McCarthy's allegations. Convicted of passing atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, the Rosenbergs were executed in 1953. As in the Hiss case, documents released decades later provided some evidence of Julius Rosenberg's guilt, though not Ethel's. Their execution nevertheless remains controversial—in part because some felt that anti-Semitism played a role in their sentencing. Also fueling McCarthy's charges were a

The Army-McCarthy Hearings These 1954 hearings contributed to the downfall of Senator Joseph McCarthy by exposing his reckless accusations and bullying tactics to the huge television audience that tuned in each day. Some of the most heated exchanges took place between McCarthy (center) and Joseph Welch (seated, left), the lawyer representing the army. When the gentlemanly Welch finally asked, "Have you no sense of decency sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" he fatally punctured McCarthy's armor. The audience broke into applause because someone had finally had the courage to stand up to the senator from Wisconsin. Bettmann, Getty Image

series of trials of American Communists between 1949 and 1955 for violation of the 1940 Smith Act, which prohibited Americans from advocating the violent overthrow of the government. Though civil **libertarians** and two Supreme Court justices vigorously objected, dozens of Communist Party members were convicted. McCarthy was not involved in either the Rosenberg trial or the Smith Act convictions, but these sensational events gave his wild charges some credence.

In early 1954, McCarthy overreached by launching an investigation into subversive activities in the U.S. Army. When lengthy hearings—the first of their kind broadcast on the new medium of television—brought McCarthy's tactics into the nation's living rooms, support for him plummeted. In December 1954, the Senate voted 67 to 22 to censure McCarthy for unbecoming conduct. He died from an alcohol-related illness three years later at the age of forty-eight, his name forever attached to a period of political repression of which he was only the most flagrant manifestation.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors led to the postwar Red Scare, and what were its ramifications for civil liberties in the United States?

The Politics of Cold War Liberalism

As election day 1952 approached, the nation was embroiled in the tense Cold War with the Soviet Union and fighting a "hot" war in Korea. Though Americans gave the Republicans victory, radical change was not in the offing. The new president, Dwight D. Eisenhower, embraced what his supporters called modern Republicanism, an updated GOP approach

Hunting Communists: The Case of Paul Robeson

The Cold War campaigns against American communists and other radicals reached their peak between 1949 and 1954. Anticommunists searched for signs of "disloyalty" to the United States, especially among public figures such as politicians, artists, athletes, and actors. Few Americans came under greater suspicion than the black athlete, singer, civil rights advocate, and political radical Paul Robeson. Having traveled the world as a successful actor and vocalist in the 1930s, Robeson often spoke positively about the Soviet Union, where he was celebrated as a great artist. He was an outspoken advocate for black equality in the United States and a fierce critic of American political leaders for doing little to end Jim Crow and other forms of racial discrimination and racial violence after World War II.

In 1949, while speaking at a peace conference in Paris, Robeson was misquoted in the United States as having said that African Americans ("Negroes" in the standard usage of the period) would not fight in a potential war against the Soviet Union. On his return to the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) held hearings at which prominent African Americans were encouraged to denounce Robeson. Among them was Jackie Robinson, the black baseball star who had integrated Major League Baseball in 1947. Branded as disloyal, Robeson fought back, insisting that HUAC was disloyal for ignoring white violence and continued systematic discrimination against African Americans. This Cold War episode from 1949 shows how civil rights and anticommunism collided, with black leaders pressured by HUAC and others to choose sides.

THOMAS YOUNG

Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 13, 1949

SOURCE: *Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups - Part 1: Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities*, July 13, 14, and 18, 1949 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1949), 453.

"I am happy to accept the invitation extended to me to appear before this committee because I feel very strongly the need for bringing into proper perspective some of the opinions that have been expressed publicly concerning the loyalty of the American Negro. . . .

Please bear this in mind, that there is no evidence on record of the disloyalty of their country on the part of Negroes generally [sic]. It has not been charged, even, that there have been overt acts by Negroes on which suspicion of disloyalty could be predicated. On the other hand, the entire record of the American Negro's service to his country, from the Revolutionary War, in which Crispus Attucks, a Boston Negro, was among the first to shed blood for this nation's independence, down to the recent World War II, in which members of this group played important and heroic roles on every front, is a satisfactory refutation of such charges. . . .

What basis, if any, is there for believing Paul Robeson when he says that in the event of a war with Russia the Negro would not fight for his country against the Soviets? . . .

The plain truth about the matter is that in his Paris declaration Mr. Robeson has done a great disservice to his race — far greater than that done to his country. And if Mr. Robeson does not recognize the injury he has done to the cause of the Negro in this country, then that underscores his disqualification as a representative of the race."

MANNING JOHNSON

Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 14, 1949

SOURCE: *Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups: Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities*, July 14, 1949 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1949), 505.

"I have met Paul Robeson a number of times in the headquarters of the national committee of the Communist Party, going to and coming from conferences with Earl Browder, Jack Stachel, and J. Peters [high-ranking officials of the Communist Party USA in the 1940s]. During the time I was a member of the Communist Party, Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party. . . . In the Negro commission of the national committee of the Communist Party we were told, under threat of expulsion, never to reveal that Paul Robeson was a member of the Communist Party, because Paul Robeson's assignment was highly confidential and secret. . . .

that aimed at moderating, not dismantling, the New Deal. Eisenhower Republicans were as much successors of FDR as of Herbert Hoover. Foreign policy revealed a similar continuity. Like their predecessors, Republicans saw the world in Cold War polarities.

Despite Eisenhower's popularity as the former commander of Allied forces in Europe, divisions in the party persisted. Conservative party activists preferred Robert A. Taft of

Paul's assignment was to work among the intellectuals, the professionals, and artists that the party was seeking to penetrate and influence along Communist lines. . . .

Of course Paul Robeson has, by background and international connections developed a complex. You recall the role he played, the role of Emperor Jones. He has delusions of grandeur. He wants to be the Black Stalin among Negroes. The Communist Party is encouraging that desire, because the Communist Party can very effectively use Robeson to further their penetration among Negroes. ”

JACK "JACKIE" ROBINSON

Testimony before House Committee on Un-American Activities, July 18, 1949

SOURCE: *Hearings Regarding Communist Infiltration of Minority Groups: Hearings Before the House Committee on Un-American Activities*, July 18, 1949 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1949), 481.

“ We're going to make progress in other American fields besides baseball if we can get rid of some of the misunderstanding and confusion that the public still suffers from. I know I have a great desire and I think that I have some responsibility for helping to clear up that confusion. As I see it there has been a terrific lot of misunderstanding on this subject of Communism among the Negroes in this country, and it's bound to hurt my people's cause unless it is cleared up.

The white public should start toward real understanding by appreciating that every single Negro who is worth his salt is going to resent any kind of slurs and discrimination because of his race, and he is going to use every bit of intelligence such as he has to stop it. This has got absolutely nothing to do with what Communists may or may not be trying to do.

. . . I've been asked to express my views on Paul Robeson's statement in Paris to the effect that American Negroes would refuse to fight in any war against Russia because they love Russia so much. I haven't any comment to make on that statement except that if Mr. Robeson actually made it, it sounds very silly to me. But he has a right to his personal views. . . . ”

PAUL ROBESON

News Release Commenting on House Un-American Activities Committee, July 20, 1949

SOURCE: Paul Robeson, "Statement on Un American Activities Committee," in *Paul Robeson Speaks: Writings, Speeches, Interviews, 1918–1974*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1978), 218.

“ Quite clearly America faces a crisis in race relations. The Un-American Activities Committee moves now to transform the Government's cold war policy against the Negro people into a hot war. Its action incites the Ku Klux Klan, that openly terrorist organization, to a reign of mob violence against my people in Florida and elsewhere. This Committee attempts to divide the Negro people from one another in order to prevent us from winning jobs, security and justice under the banner of peace.

The loyalty of the Negro people is not a subject for debate. I challenge the loyalty of the Un-American Activities Committee. This committee maintains an ominous silence in the face of the lynchings of Maceo Snipes, Robert Mallard, the two Negro veterans and their wives in Monroe, Georgia, and the violence and unpunished murders of scores of Negro veterans by white supremacists since V-J Day. . . . Every pro-war fascist-minded group in the country regards the Committee's silence as license to proceed against my people, unchecked by Government authorities and unchallenged by the courts.

Our fight for peace in America is a fight for human dignity, and an end to ghetto life. It is the fight for constitutional liberties, the civil and human rights of every American. This struggle is the decisive struggle with which my people are today concerned. . . .

It is not the Soviet Union that threatens the life, liberty and the property and the citizenship rights of Negro Americans. The threat comes from within. To destroy this threat our people need the aid of every honest American, Communist and non-Communist alike. Those who menace our lives proceed unchallenged by the Un-American Activities Committee. I shall not be drawn into any conflict dividing me from my brother victim of this terror. I am wholly committed to the struggle for peace and democratic rights of free Americans. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do you think Young means by "a great disservice to his race"? What is the basis of Jackie Robinson's testimony? Why do you think Robinson insists that black resistance to discrimination has nothing to do with communism?
2. What is Johnson's intention in identifying Robeson as a Communist? What would have been the effect of such charges in 1949?
3. How does Robeson challenge the meaning of "disloyal" in his statement? How would you compare his version of disloyalty with HUAC's?

Ohio, the Republican leader in the Senate who was an outspoken opponent of the New Deal. As a close friend of business, he opposed labor unions. Though an ardent anti-communist, the isolationist-minded Taft criticized Truman's aggressive containment policy and opposed U.S. participation in NATO. Taft ran for president three times, and though he was never the Republican nominee, he won the loyalty of conservative

Dwight Eisenhower In this photo taken during the 1952 presidential campaign, Dwight D. Eisenhower acknowledges cheers from supporters in Chicago. "Ike," as he was universally known, had been a popular five-star general in World War II (also serving as supreme allied commander in the European theater) and turned to politics in the early 1950s as a member of the Republican Party. However, Eisenhower was a centrist who did little to disrupt the liberal social policies that Democrats had pursued since the 1930s.
Bettmann/Getty Image

Americans who saw the welfare state as wasteful spending and international affairs as dangerous foreign entanglements.

In contrast, moderate Republicans looked to Eisenhower and even to more liberal-minded party leaders like Nelson Rockefeller, who supported international initiatives such as the Marshall Plan and NATO and were willing to tolerate labor unions and the welfare state. Eisenhower was a man without a political past. Believing that democracy required the military to stand aside, he had never voted. Rockefeller, the scion of one of the richest families in America, was a Cold War internationalist. He served in a variety of capacities under Eisenhower, including as an advisor on foreign affairs. Having made his political name, Rockefeller was elected the governor of New York in 1959 and became the de facto leader of the liberal wing of the Republican Party.

For eight years, between 1952 and 1960, Eisenhower steered a precarious course from the middle of the party, with conservative Taft Republicans on one side and liberal Rockefeller Republicans on the other. His popularity temporarily kept the two sides at bay, though more ardent conservatives considered him a closet New Dealer. "Ike," as he was widely known, proved willing to work with the mostly Democratic-controlled Congresses of those years. Eisenhower signed bills increasing federal outlays for veterans' benefits, housing, highway construction (Chapter 25), and Social Security, and he increased the minimum wage from 75 cents an hour to $1. Like Truman, Eisenhower accepted some government responsibility for the economic security of individuals, part of a broad consensus in American politics in these years.

America Under Eisenhower The global power realities that had called forth containment guided Eisenhower's foreign policy. New developments, however, altered the tone of the Cold War. Stalin's death in March 1953 precipitated an intraparty struggle in the Soviet Union that lasted until 1956, when Nikita Khrushchev emerged as Stalin's successor. Khrushchev soon startled communists around the world by denouncing Stalin and detailing his crimes and blunders. He also surprised many Americans by calling for "peaceful coexistence" with the West. But the new Soviet leader had his limits, and when Hungarians rose up in 1956 to demand independence from Moscow, Khrushchev crushed the incipient revolution.

AP® EXAM TIP
Compare the foreign policies of Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower.

With no end to the Cold War in sight, Eisenhower focused on limiting the cost of containment. The president hoped to economize by relying on a nuclear arsenal and deemphasizing expensive conventional forces. Under this "**New Look**" defense policy, the Eisenhower administration stepped up production of the hydrogen bomb and developed long-range bombing capabilities. The Soviets, however, matched the United States weapon for weapon. By 1958, both nations had intercontinental ballistic missiles. When an American nuclear submarine launched an atomic-tipped Polaris missile in 1960, Soviet engineers raced to produce an equivalent weapon. This arms race was another critical feature of the Cold War. American officials believed the best deterrent to Soviet aggression was the threat of an all-out nuclear response by the United States, which was dubbed "massive retaliation" by Secretary of State Dulles.

Although confident in the international arena, Eisenhower started out as a novice in domestic affairs. Doing his best to set a less confrontational tone after the **rancorous** Truman years, he was reluctant to speak out against Joe McCarthy, and he was not a leader on civil rights. Democrats meanwhile maintained a strong presence in Congress but proved weak in presidential elections in the 1950s. In the two presidential contests of the decade, 1952 and 1956, Eisenhower defeated the admired but politically

ineffectual liberal Adlai Stevenson. In the 1952 election, Stevenson was hampered by the unpopularity of the Truman administration. The deadlocked Korean War and a series of scandals that Republicans dubbed "the mess in Washington" combined to give the war-hero general an easy victory. In 1956, Ike won an even more impressive victory over Stevenson, an eloquent and sophisticated spokesman for liberalism but no match for Eisenhower's popularity with the public.

During Eisenhower's presidency, new political forces on both the right and the left had begun to stir. But they had not yet fully transformed the party system itself. Particularly at the national level, Democrats and Republicans seemed in broad agreement about the realities of the Cold War and the demands of a modern, industrial economy and welfare state. Indeed, respected commentators in the 1950s declared "the end of ideology" and wondered if the great political clashes that had wracked the 1930s were gone forever. Below the apparent calm of national party politics, however, lay profound differences among Americans over the direction of the nation. Those differences would starkly divide the country in the 1960s and bring an end to the brief and fragile Cold War consensus (Chapters 26 and 27).

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the components of Cold War liberalism, and why did the Democratic Party embrace them?

Containment in the Postcolonial World

As the Cold War took shape, the world scene was changing at a furious pace. New nations were emerging across Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, created in the wake of successful anticolonial movements whose origins dated to before World War II. Between 1947 and 1962, the British, French, Dutch, and Belgian empires all but disintegrated in a momentous collapse of European global power. FDR had favored the idea of national self-determination, often to the fury of his British and French allies. He expected emerging democracies to be new partners in an American-led, free-market world system. But colonial revolts produced many independent- or socialist-minded regimes in the so-called Third World, as well. *Third World* was a term that came into usage after World War II to describe developing or ex-colonial nations in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East that were not aligned with the Western capitalist countries led by the United States or the socialist states of Eastern Europe led by the Soviet Union.

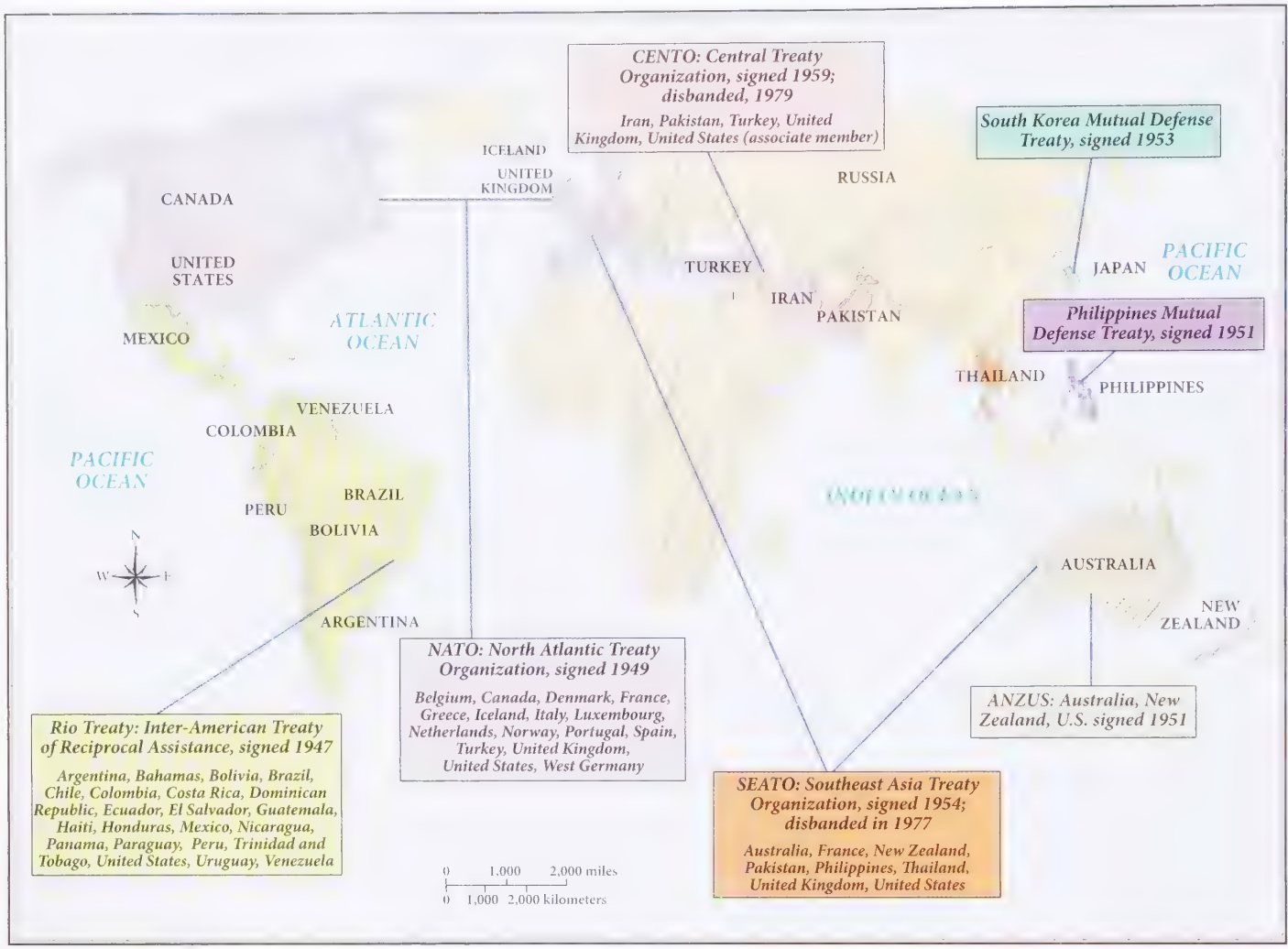
The Cold War and Colonial Independence

AP® EXAM TIP

Describe the goals and methods of the U.S. in seeking alliances among new nations after decolonization.

Insisting that all nations had to choose sides in the Cold War, the United States drew as many countries as possible into collective security agreements, with the NATO alliance in Europe as a model. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles orchestrated the creation of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which in 1954 linked the United States and its major European allies with Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and Thailand. An extensive system of defense alliances eventually tied the United States to more than forty other countries (Map 24.5). The United States also sponsored a strategically instrumental alliance between Iraq and Iran, on the southern flank of the Soviet Union.

Despite American rhetoric, the United States was often concerned less with democracy than with stability. The Truman and Eisenhower administrations tended to support governments, no matter how repressive, that were overtly anticommunist. Some of America's staunchest allies — the Philippines, South Korea, Iran, Cuba, South Vietnam, and Nicaragua — were governed by dictatorships or right-wing regimes that lacked broad-based support. Moreover, Eisenhower's secretary of state Dulles often resorted to


CENTO: Central Treaty Organization, signed 1959; disbanded, 1979
Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States (associate member)
South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty, signed 1953
Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty, signed 1951
ANZUS: Australia, New Zealand, U.S. signed 1951
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, signed 1949
Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, West Germany
SEATO: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, signed 1954; disbanded in 1977
Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States
Rio Treaty: Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed 1947
Argentina, Bahamas, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela
ICELAND
UNITED KINGDOM
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
PERU
BRAZIL
BOLIVIA
ARGENTINA
RUSSIA
TURKEY
IRAN
PAKISTAN
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
THAILAND
PHILIPPINES
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
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0 1,000 2,000 kilometers

MAP 24.5 American Global Defense Treaties in the Cold War Era

The advent of the Cold War led to a major shift in American foreign policy — the signing of mutual defense treaties. Dating back to George Washington's call "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world," the United States had avoided treaty obligations that entailed the defense of other nations. As late as 1919, the U.S. Senate had rejected the principle of "collective security," the centerpiece of the League of Nations established by the Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I. But after World War II, in response to fears of Soviet global expansion, the United States entered defense alliances with much of the non-Communist world.

covert operations against governments that, in his opinion, were too closely aligned with the Soviets.

For these covert tasks, Dulles turned to the newly created (1947) Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), run by his brother, Allen Dulles. When Iran's democratically elected nationalist premier, Mohammad Mossadegh, seized British oil properties in 1953, CIA agents helped depose him and installed the young Mohammad Reza Pahlavi as shah of Iran. Iranian resentment of the coup, followed by twenty-five years of U.S. support for the shah, provided fuel for the 1979 Iranian Revolution (Chapter 29). In 1954, the CIA also engineered a coup in Guatemala against the democratically elected president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, who had seized land owned by the American-owned United Fruit Company. Arbenz Guzmán offered to pay United Fruit the declared value of the land, but the company rejected the offer and sought help from the U.S. government. Eisenhower specifically approved those CIA efforts and expanded the agency's mandate from gathering intelligence to intervening in the affairs of sovereign states.

Vietnam But when covert operations failed or proved impractical, the American approach to emerging nations could entangle the United States in deeper, more intractable conflicts. One example was already unfolding on a distant stage, in a small country unknown to most Americans: Vietnam. In August 1945, at the close of World War II, the Japanese occupiers of Vietnam surrendered to China in the north of the country and to Britain in the south. The Vietminh, the nationalist movement that had led the resistance against the Japanese (and the French, prior to 1940), seized control in the north. But their leader, Ho Chi Minh, was a Communist, and this single fact outweighed American and British commitment to self-determination. When France moved to restore its control over the country, the United States and Britain sided with their European ally. President Truman rejected Ho's plea to support the Vietnamese struggle for nationhood, and France rejected Ho's offer of a negotiated independence. Shortly after France returned, in late 1946, the Vietminh resumed their war of national liberation.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluating U.S. policy in Vietnam as a commitment to containment policy is essential for the AP® exam.

Eisenhower picked up where Truman left off. If the French failed, Eisenhower argued, all non-Communist governments in the region would fall like dominoes. This so-called **domino theory**—which represented an extension of the containment doctrine—guided U.S. policy in Southeast Asia for the next twenty years. The United States eventually provided most of the financing for the French war, but money was not enough to defeat the determined Vietminh, who were fighting for the liberation of their country. After a fifty-six-day siege in early 1954, the French were defeated at the huge fortress of Dien Bien Phu. The result was the 1954 Geneva Accords, which partitioned Vietnam temporarily at the 17th parallel and called for elections within two years to unify the strife-torn nation.

The United States rejected the Geneva Accords and set about undermining them. With the help of the CIA, a pro-American government took power in South Vietnam in June 1954. Ngo Dinh Diem, an anticommunist Catholic living in exile in the United States, returned to Vietnam as premier. The next year, in a rigged election, Diem became president of an independent South Vietnam. Facing certain defeat by the popular Ho Chi Minh, Diem called off the scheduled reunification elections. The Eisenhower administration propped up Diem with an average of $200 million a year in aid and a contingent of 675 American military advisors. This support was just the beginning.

The Middle East If Vietnam was still of minor concern, the same could not be said of the Middle East, an area rich in oil and political complexity. The most volatile area was Palestine, populated by Arabs but also historically the ancient land of Israel and coveted by the Zionist movement as a Jewish national homeland. After World War II, many survivors of the Nazi extermination camps resettled in Palestine, which was still controlled by Britain under a World War I mandate. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly voted to partition Palestine between Jewish and Arab sectors. When the British mandate ended in 1948, Palestinian leaders rejected the partition as a violation of their right to self-determination. When Zionist leaders proclaimed the state of Israel, a coalition of Arab nations known as the Arab League invaded, but Israel survived. Many Palestinians fled or were driven from their homes during the fighting. The Arab defeat left these people permanently stranded in refugee camps. President Truman recognized the new state immediately, which won him crucial support from Jewish voters in the 1948 election but alienated the Arab world.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the impact of U.S. policy on nationalist movements in the Middle East.

Southeast of Palestine, Egypt began to assert its presence in the region. Having gained independence from Britain several decades earlier, Egypt remained a monarchy until 1952, when Gamal Abdel Nasser led a military coup that established a constitutional republic. Caught between the Soviet Union and the United States, Nasser sought an independent route: a pan-Arab socialism designed to end the Middle East's colonial relationship with the West. When negotiations with the United States over Nasser's plan to build a massive hydroelectric dam on the Nile broke down in 1956, he nationalized the Suez Canal, which was the lifeline for Western Europe's oil. Britain and France, in alliance with Israel, attacked Egypt and seized the canal. Concerned that the invasion

would encourage Egypt to turn to the Soviets for help, Eisenhower urged France and Britain to pull back and applied additional pressure through the UN General Assembly. When the Western nations backed down, however, Egypt reclaimed the Suez Canal and built the Aswan Dam on the Nile with Soviet support. Eisenhower had likely avoided a larger war, but the West lost a potential ally in Nasser.

In early 1957, concerned about Soviet influence in the Middle East, the president announced the **Eisenhower Doctrine**, which stated that American forces would assist any nation in the region that required aid "against overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism." Invoking the doctrine later that year, Eisenhower helped King Hussein of Jordan put down a Nasser-backed revolt and propped up a pro-American government in Lebanon. The Eisenhower Doctrine was further evidence that the United States had extended the global reach of containment, in this instance accentuated by the strategic objective of protecting the West's access to steady supplies of oil.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union affect disparate regions such as the Middle East and Southeast Asia?

John F. Kennedy and the Cold War

Charisma, style, and personality — these, more than platforms and issues, defined a new brand of politics in the early 1960s. This was John F. Kennedy's natural environment. Kennedy, a Harvard alumnus, World War II hero, and senator from Massachusetts, had inherited his love of politics from his grandfathers — colorful, and often ruthless, Irish Catholic politicians in Boston. Ambitious and deeply aware of style, the forty-three-year-old Kennedy made use of his many advantages to become, as novelist Norman Mailer put it, "our leading man." His one disadvantage — that he was Catholic in a country that had never elected a Catholic president — he masterfully neutralized. And thanks to both media advisors and his youthful attractiveness, Kennedy projected a superb television image.

At heart, Kennedy was a Cold Warrior who had come of age politically in the era of Munich, Yalta, and McCarthyism. He projected an air of idealism, but his years in the Senate (1953–1960) had proved him to be a conventional Cold War politician. Once elected president, Kennedy would shape the nation's foreign policy by drawing both on his ingenuity and on old-style Cold War power politics.

The Kennedy Magnetism John F. Kennedy, the 1960 Democratic candidate for president, used his youth and personality (and those of his equally personable and stylish wife) to attract voters. Here the Massachusetts senator draws an enthusiastic crowd on a campaign stop in Elgin, Illinois. AP Photo

The Election of 1960 and the New Frontier

Kennedy's Republican opponent in the 1960 presidential election, Eisenhower's vice president, Richard Nixon, was a seasoned politician and Cold Warrior himself. The great innovation of the 1960 campaign was a series of four nationally televised debates. Nixon, less photogenic than Kennedy, looked sallow and unshaven under the intense studio lights. Voters who heard the first debate on the radio concluded that Nixon had won, but those who viewed it on television favored Kennedy. Despite the edge Kennedy enjoyed in the debates, he won only the narrowest of electoral victories, receiving 49.7 percent of the popular vote to Nixon's 49.5 percent. Kennedy attracted Catholics, African Americans, and the labor vote; his vice-presidential running mate, Texas senator Lyndon Baines Johnson, helped bring

in southern Democrats. Yet only 120,000 votes separated the two candidates, and a shift of a few thousand votes in key states would have reversed the outcome.

Kennedy brought to Washington a cadre of young, ambitious newcomers, including Robert McNamara, a renowned systems analyst and former head of Ford Motor Company, as secretary of defense. A host of trusted advisors and academics flocked to Washington to join the New Frontier — Kennedy's term for the challenges the country faced. Included on the team as attorney general was Kennedy's younger brother Robert, who had made a name as a hard-hitting investigator of organized crime. Relying on an old American trope, Kennedy's New Frontier suggested masculine toughness and adventurism and encouraged Americans to again think of themselves as exploring uncharted terrain. That terrain proved treacherous, however, as the new administration immediately faced a crisis.

Crises in Cuba and Berlin In January 1961, the Soviet Union announced that it intended to support "wars of national liberation" wherever in the world they occurred. Kennedy took Soviet premier Khrushchev at his word, especially regarding Cuba, where in 1959 Fidel Castro had overthrown the right-wing dictator Fulgencio Batista and declared a revolution. Determined to keep Cuba out of the Soviet orbit, Kennedy followed through on Eisenhower administration plans to dispatch Cuban exiles to launch an anti-Castro uprising. The invaders, trained by the CIA, were ill-prepared for their task. On landing at Cuba's **Bay of Pigs** on April 17, 1961, the force of 1,400 was crushed by Castro's troops. Kennedy prudently rejected CIA pleas for a U.S. air strike. Accepting defeat, Kennedy went before the American people and took full responsibility for the fiasco (Map 24.6).

MAP 24.6 The United States and Cuba, 1961–1962

Fidel Castro's 1959 Communist takeover of Cuba brought Cold War tensions to the Caribbean. In 1961, the United States tried unsuccessfully to overthrow Castro's regime by sponsoring the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuban exiles launched from Nicaragua and other points in the Caribbean. In 1962, the United States confronted the Soviet Union over Soviet construction of nuclear missile sites in Cuba. After President Kennedy ordered a naval blockade of the island, the Soviets backed down from the tense standoff and removed the missiles. Despite the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union and the official end of the Cold War, the United States continued to view Cuba, governed by Raúl Castro, Fidel's brother, since 2008, as an enemy nation until 2016, when President Barack Obama began the process of normalizing relations between the two countries.

Already strained by the Bay of Pigs incident, U.S.-Soviet relations deteriorated further in June 1961 when Khrushchev stopped movement between Communist-controlled East Berlin and the city's Western sector. Kennedy responded by dispatching 40,000 more troops to Europe. In mid-August, to stop the exodus of East Germans fleeing to the West, the Communist regime began constructing the Berlin Wall, policed by border guards under shoot-to-kill orders. Kennedy again responded, though this time rhetorically, by delivering a speech in Berlin criticizing the wall in June 1963. Until the 12-foot-high concrete barrier came down in 1989, it served as the supreme symbol of the Cold War.

AP® EXAM TIP

The role of the U.S. in Latin America during the Cold War is a "must know" on the AP® exam.

Perhaps the most perilous Cold War confrontation came in October 1962. In a somber televised address on October 22, Kennedy revealed that U.S. **reconnaissance** planes had spotted Soviet-built bases for intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Cuba. Some of those weapons had already been installed, and more were on the way. Kennedy announced that the United States would impose a "quarantine on all offensive military equipment" bound for Cuba. As the world held its breath waiting to see if the conflict would escalate into war, on October 25 ships carrying Soviet missiles turned back. After a week of tense negotiations, both sides made concessions: Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba, and Khrushchev promised to dismantle the missile bases. Kennedy also secretly ordered U.S. missiles to be removed from Turkey, at Khrushchev's insistence. The risk of nuclear war, greater during the **Cuban missile crisis** than at any other time in the Cold War, prompted a slight thaw in U.S.-Soviet relations. As National Security Advisor McGeorge Bundy put it, both sides were **chastened** by "having come so close to the edge."

The Berlin Wall A West Berlin resident walks alongside a section of the Berlin Wall in August 1962, a year after its construction. Note the two border guards on the East Berlin side, plus the numerous loudspeakers, which East German Communists used to broadcast propaganda over the barricade that divided the city. Bettmann/Corbis

Kennedy and the World Kennedy also launched a series of bold nonmilitary initiatives. One was the **Peace Corps**, which embodied a call to public service put forth in his inaugural address ("Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country"). Thousands of men and women agreed to devote two or more years as volunteers for projects such as teaching English to Filipino schoolchildren or helping African villagers obtain clean water. Exhibiting the idealism of the early 1960s, the Peace Corps was also a low-cost Cold War weapon — and an extension of American "soft power" (Chapter 21) — intended to show the developing world that there was an alternative to communism. Kennedy championed space exploration, as well. In a 1962 speech, he proposed that the nation commit itself to landing a man on the moon within the decade. The Soviets had already beaten the United States into space with the 1957 *Sputnik* satellite and the 1961 flight of cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin. Capitalizing on America's fascination with space, Kennedy persuaded Congress to increase funding for the government's space agency, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), enabling the United States to pull ahead of the Soviet Union. Kennedy's ambition was realized when U.S. astronauts arrived on the moon in 1969.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How was Kennedy's approach to the Cold War similar to and different from Eisenhower's and Truman's?

Making a Commitment in Vietnam

When Kennedy became president, he inherited Eisenhower's commitment in Vietnam, which he saw in Cold War terms. But rather than practicing brinksmanship — threatening nuclear war to stop communism — Kennedy sought what at the time seemed a more intelligent and realistic, if nevertheless interventionist, approach. In 1961, he increased military aid to the South Vietnamese and expanded the role of U.S. Special Forces ("Green Berets"), who would train the South Vietnamese army in unconventional, small-group warfare tactics.

South Vietnam's corrupt and repressive Diem regime, propped up by Eisenhower since 1954, was losing ground in spite of American aid. By 1961, Diem's opponents, with backing from North Vietnam, had formed a revolutionary movement known as the National Liberation Front (NLF). NLF guerrilla forces — the Vietcong — found allies among peasants alienated by Diem's "strategic hamlet" program, which had uprooted entire villages and moved villagers into barbed-wire compounds. Furthermore, Buddhists charged Diem, a Catholic, with religious persecution. Starting in May 1963, militant Buddhists staged dramatic demonstrations, including self-immolations (burning to death) recorded by reporters covering the activities of the 16,000 U.S. military personnel then in Vietnam.

The self-immolations, broadcast on television to a shocked global audience, powerfully illustrated the dilemmas of American policy in Vietnam. To ensure a stable southern government and prevent victory for Ho Chi Minh and the North, the United States had to support Diem's authoritarian regime. But the regime's repression of its political opponents made Diem more unpopular. He was assassinated on November 3, 1963. Whether one supported U.S. involvement in Vietnam or not, the elemental paradox remained unchanged: in its efforts to achieve victory over the North, the United States brought defeat ever closer.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What objectives guided U.S. foreign policy in the so-called Third World during the Cold War?**

SUMMARY

The Cold War began as a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union over Eastern Europe and the fate of post–World War II Germany. Early in the conflict, the United States adopted a strategy of containment, which quickly expanded to Asia after

China became a communist state under Mao Zedong. The first effect of that expansion was the Korean War, after which, under Dwight D. Eisenhower, containment of communism became America's guiding principle across the developing world—often called the Third World. Cold War tensions relaxed in the late 1950s but erupted again under John F. Kennedy with the Cuban missile crisis, the building of the Berlin Wall, and major increases in American military assistance to South Vietnam. Cold War imperatives between 1945 and the early 1960s meant a major military buildup, a massive nuclear arms race, and unprecedented entanglements across the globe.

On the domestic front, Harry S. Truman started out with high hopes for an expanded New Deal, only to be confounded by resistance from Congress and the competing demands of the Cold War. The greatest Cold War–inspired development was a climate of fear over internal subversion by Communists that gave rise to McCarthyism. Truman's successor, Eisenhower, brought the Republicans back into power. Although personally conservative, Eisenhower actually proved a New Dealer in disguise. When Eisenhower left office and Kennedy became president, it seemed that a "liberal consensus" prevailed, with old-fashioned, *laissez faire* conservatism mostly marginalized in American political life.

CHAPTER 24 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What primary factors caused the Cold War?
2. What were the components of Cold War liberalism, and why did the Democratic Party embrace them?
3. What objectives guided U.S. foreign policy in the so-called Third World during the Cold War?
4. Review the events listed under "Politics and Power" and "American and National Identity" on the thematic timelines on pages 618 and 746. Radicalism played a significant role in American history between 1890 and 1945. What radical politics took root in the United States during this time, and how did the government, the business community, and different social groups respond to that radicalism?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Yalta Conference (p. 750)
United Nations (p. 751)
Potsdam Conference (p. 752)
containment (p. 754)
Truman Doctrine (p. 755)
Marshall Plan (p. 755)
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (p. 758)
Warsaw Pact (p. 758)
NSC-68 (p. 758)
Cold War liberalism (p. 763)
Taft-Hartley Act (p. 763)
Fair Deal (p. 764)
Loyalty-Security Program (p. 765)
House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) (p. 766)
"New Look" (p. 770)
domino theory (p. 773)
Eisenhower Doctrine (p. 774)
Bay of Pigs (p. 775)
Cuban missile crisis (p. 776)
Peace Corps (p. 777)

Key People

Joseph Stalin (p. 750)
George F. Kennan (p. 754)
Joseph McCarthy (p. 766)
Nikita Khrushchev (p. 770)
Ho Chi Minh (p. 773)
John F. Kennedy (p. 774)
Fidel Castro (p. 775)

Key Academic Terms

privation (p. 754)
thermonuclear (p. 758)
demarcation (p. 760)
amphibious (p. 761)
espionage (p. 763)
libertarianism (p. 767)
rancor (p. 770)
reconnaissance (p. 776)
chasten (p. 776)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. How was America's Cold War foreign policy an extension of principles and policies from earlier eras, and in what ways was it a break with those traditions? Was the Cold War inevitable? Why or why not?
2. Look at the map of the military-industrial complex (Map 24.3) on page 762 and the map of population changes (Chapter 25, Map 25.2) on page 805. Where were the majority of military weapons manufactured? What were the connections between weapons and geography? How did those connections affect population distribution in the United States and within individual metropolitan areas?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 750 for help in answering the question below.

What turning points and crises defined American containment policy between 1946 and 1953? Explain your answer with evidence from the timeline and chapter.

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–4 refer to the excerpt below.

> "I am convinced that there would be far less hysterical anti-Sovietism in our country today if the realities of this situation were better understood by our people. There is nothing as dangerous or as terrifying as the unknown. . . .
>
> World communism is like a malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue. This is the point at which domestic and foreign policies meet. Every courageous and incisive measure to solve the internal problems of our own society . . . is a diplomatic victory over Moscow. . . .
>
> Many foreign peoples, in Europe at least, are tired and frightened by experiences of the past, and are less interested in abstract freedom than in security. They are seeking guidance rather than responsibilities. We should be better able than Russians to give them this. And unless we do, the Russians certainly will."
>
> George Kennan, United States diplomat in Moscow, "Long Telegram" to the Secretary of State, February 1946

1. The arguments expressed in the excerpt are best understood in the context of the
   a. U.S. military involvement in the Korean and Vietnam wars.
   b. fluctuation between confrontation and coexistence with the Soviet Union.
   c. emergence of nationalist movements across the globe after World War II.
   d. end of the wartime alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union.
2. The "hysteria" referenced by Kennan in the excerpt refers most directly to
   a. widespread public protests against the draft.
   b. growing scientific concern about environmental dangers of a nuclear war.
   c. a domestic search for communists working in the government or mass media.
   d. legislation restricting free speech and limiting criticism of U.S. foreign policy.
3. Kennan's arguments expressed in the excerpt most directly supported a foreign policy of
   a. détente.
   b. containment.
   c. isolationism.
   d. imperialism.
4. The most direct result of Kennan's ideas expressed in the excerpt was the
   a. establishment of the United Nations.
   b. spread of Cold War competition to Latin America.
   c. North Atlantic Treaty Organization.
   d. growth of a large military-industrial complex in the United States.

Questions 5–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "In Korea the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circumstances I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.
>
> The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war."
>
> President Truman, Statement on the Situation in Korea, June 1950

5. The sentiments expressed in the excerpt share the greatest similarity to those who used to support U.S. entry into which of the following conflicts?
   a. War of 1898
   b. World War II
   c. Vietnam War
   d. Persian Gulf War
6. The events described in the excerpt most immediately led to
   a. growing power of the executive branch to conduct foreign policy.
   b. the rise of independence movements in the former colonies of European countries.
   c. a New Left movement challenging United States military interventionism.
   d. the increasing immigration to the United States from countries in Asia.

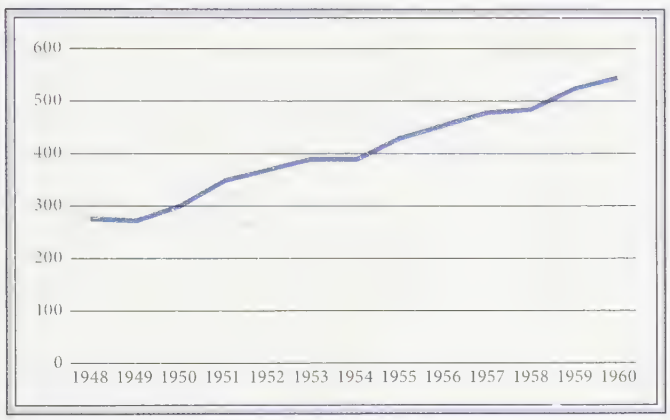
SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "Whatever date is chosen to mark the declaration of [the Cold War], it is certain that the issue that sparked it, gave it life and shaped its early course, was East Europe. For centuries East and West have struggled . . . for control of the huge area running from the Baltic to the Balkans, an area rich in human and industrial resources and one that is strategically vital to both sides. . . . Neither the West nor the East has been willing to allow East Europe to be strong, independent, or neutral. Russia and the West each have wanted the area to be aligned with them and open for their own economic exploitation. . . . [During World War II], the West made no significant contribution to the liberation of East Europe and when the end came the Red Army was in sole possession of the area. . . . This crucial result of World War II destroyed the Grand Alliance and gave birth to the Cold War."
>
> Stephen E. Ambrose, *Rise to Globalism: American Foreign Policy Since 1938*, 1971

> "[T]he argument that the Cold War conceptually and analytically does not belong in the south [i.e., Africa, South Asia, and Latin America] is wrong. . . . US and Soviet interventionisms . . . shaped both the international and the domestic framework within which political, social, and cultural changes in Third World countries took place. . . . The United States and the Soviet Union were driven to intervene in the Third World by the ideologies inherent in their politics. . . . Washington and Moscow needed to change the world in order to prove the universal applicability of their ideologies, and the elites of the newly independent [Third World] states proved fertile ground for their competition. . . . [B]oth powers saw themselves as assisting natural trends in world history and as defending their own security at the same time. Both saw a specific mission in and for the Third World that only their own state could carry out and which without their involvement would flounder in local hands."
>
> Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*, 2005

1. Using the two excerpts at the bottom of the previous page, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Ambrose's and Westad's historical interpretations of the Cold War.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1945 to 1980 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Ambrose's interpretation.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1945 to 1980 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Westad's interpretation.



Government Military Expenditures (In Billions of Dollars)

2. Using the graph at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that caused the trend depicted in the graph.
   b. Briefly explain ANOTHER specific historical event or development that caused the trend depicted in the graph.
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect in United States society of the change depicted in the graph.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between U.S. foreign policy in the period 1920–1940 from U. S. foreign policy in the period 1945–1963.
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between U.S. foreign policy in the period 1920–1940 to U. S. foreign policy in the period 1945–1963.
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect on U.S. society of the nation's foreign policy in the period 1920–1940 OR in the period 1945–1963.

CHAPTER 25

Triumph of the Middle Class

1945–1963

Postwar Prosperity and the Affluent Society

Economy: From Recovery to Dominance

A Nation of Consumers

Youth Culture

Religion and the Middle Class

The American Family in the Era of Containment

The Baby Boom

Women, Work, and Family

Challenging Middle-Class Morality

A Suburban Nation

The Postwar Housing Boom

Rise of the Sunbelt

Two Societies: Urban and Suburban

AP LEARNING FOCUS

Why did consumer culture become such a fixture of American life in the postwar decades, and how did it affect politics and society?

At the height of the Cold War, in 1959, U.S. vice president Richard Nixon debated Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev on the merits of Pepsi-Cola, TV dinners, and electric ovens. Face-to-face at the opening of an American exhibition in Moscow, Nixon and Khrushchev strolled through a model American home, assembled to demonstrate the consumer products available to the typical citizen of the United States. Nixon explained to Khrushchev that although the Soviet Union may have superior rockets, the United States was ahead in other areas, such as color television.

This was Cold War politics by other means—a symbolic contest over which country's standard of living was higher. What was so striking about the so-called **kitchen debate** was Nixon's insistence, to a disbelieving Khrushchev, that a modern home filled with shiny new toasters, televisions, and other consumer products was accessible to the average American worker. "Any steelworker could buy this house," Nixon told the Soviet leader. The kitchen debate settled little in the geopolitical rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. But it speaks to us across the decades because it reveals how Americans had come to see themselves by the late 1950s: as home owners and consumers, as a people for whom the middle-class American Dream was a commercial aspiration.

The real story of the postwar period was the growing number of Americans who embraced that aspiration. In the two decades following the end of World War II, a new middle class was born in the United States. *Fortune* magazine estimated that in the 1950s, the middle class—which *Fortune* defined as families with more than $5,000 in annual earnings after taxes (about $45,000 today)—was increasing at the rate of 1.1 million people per year. Riding a wave of rising incomes, American dominance in the global economy, and Cold War federal spending, the postwar middle class enjoyed the highest standard of living in the world.

However, the success of the middle class could not hide deeper troubles. This was an era of neither universal conformity nor diminishing social strife. Jim Crow laws, contradictions in women's lives, a rebellious youth culture, and changing sexual mores were only the most obvious sources of social tension. Suburban growth came at the expense of cities, hastening urban decay and **exacerbating** racial segregation. Nor was prosperity ever as widespread as the Moscow exhibit implied. The suburban lifestyle was beyond the reach of the working poor, the elderly, immigrants, Mexican Americans, and most African Americans—indeed, the majority of the country. Such contradictions were felt acutely by many Americans but largely ignored by the majority of the country. Not until the 1960s did uneven prosperity become the subject of national debate.

The Middle-Class Family Ideal A family eats breakfast at a campground in Zion National Park, Utah. Americans embraced a middle-class, nuclear family ideal in the postwar decades.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

- **1944** Bretton Woods economic conference
- **1944** World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) founded
- **1944** GI Bill (Servicemen's Readjustment Act)
- **1946** First edition of Dr. Spock's *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*
- **1947** First Levittown built
- **1948** Beginning of network television
- **1948** *Shelley v. Kraemer*
- **1948** Alfred Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* published
- **1949** Billy Graham revival in Los Angeles
- **1951** Bracero Program revived
- **1951** Mattachine Society founded
- **1952** McCarran-Walter Act
- **1953** Kinsey's *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* published
- **1954** Ray Kroc buys the first McDonald's franchise
- **1955** Daughters of Bilitis founded
- **1956** National Interstate and Defense Highways Act
- **1956** Elvis Presley's breakthrough records
- **1956** Allen Ginsberg's poem "Howl" published
- **1957** Peak of postwar baby boom
- **1961** Eisenhower warns nation against military-industrial complex
- **1965** *Griswold v. Connecticut*

Postwar Prosperity and the Affluent Society

The United States enjoyed enormous economic advantages at the close of World War II. While the Europeans and Japanese were still clearing the war's rubble, America stood poised to enter a postwar boom. As the only major industrial nation not devastated by war, the United States enjoyed an unprecedented global position. The American economy also benefitted from an expanding internal market and heavy investment in research and development. Two additional factors stood out: First, for the first time in the nation's history, employers generally accepted collective bargaining, which for workers translated into rising wages, expanding benefits, and an increasing rate of home ownership. Second, the federal government's outlays for military and domestic programs gave a huge boost to the economy.

The Kitchen Debate At the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959, the United States put on display the technological wonders of American home life. When Vice President Richard Nixon visited, he and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev got into a heated debate over the relative merits of their rival systems, with the up-to-date American kitchen as a case in point. This photograph shows the debate in progress. Khrushchev is the bald man pointing his finger. To Nixon's left stands Leonid Brezhnev, who would be Khrushchev's successor.

Economy: From Recovery to Dominance

Life magazine publisher Henry Luce was so confident in the nation's growing power that during World War II he had predicted the dawning of the "American century." In economic terms, Luce envisioned U.S. corporations, banks, and manufacturers dominating global markets. That vision came to pass after the war. The preponderance of American economic muscle in the postwar decades, however, was not simply an artifact of the world war—it was not an inevitable development. Several key elements came together, internationally and at home, to propel three decades of unprecedented economic growth.

The Bretton Woods System American global supremacy rested partly on the economic institutions created at an international conference in **Bretton Woods**, New Hampshire, in

July 1944. The first of those institutions was the **World Bank**, founded to provide loans for the reconstruction of war-torn Europe as well as for the development of former colonized nations — the so-called Third World or developing world. A second institution, the **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**, was set up to stabilize currencies and provide a predictable monetary environment for trade, with the U.S. dollar serving as the benchmark. The World Bank and the IMF formed the cornerstones of the Bretton Woods system, which guided the global economy after the war. The chief idea of the Bretton Woods system was to make American capital available, on cheap terms, to nations that adopted free-trade capitalist economies.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

The Bretton Woods system was joined in 1947 by the first General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which established an international framework for overseeing trade rules and practices. Together, the Bretton Woods system and GATT served America's conception of an open-market global economy and complemented the nation's ambitious diplomatic aims in the Cold War. Critics charged, rightly, that Bretton Woods and GATT favored the United States at the expense of recently independent countries, because the United States could dictate lending and trading terms and stood to benefit as nations purchased more American goods. But the system provided needed economic stability.

The Military-Industrial Complex A second engine of postwar prosperity was defense spending. In his final address to the nation in 1961, President Dwight D. Eisenhower spoke about the power of what he called the **military-industrial complex**, which by then employed 3.5 million Americans. Even though his administration had fostered this defense establishment, Eisenhower feared its implications: "We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex," he warned. This complex had its roots in the business-government partnerships of World War II (Chapter 23). After 1945, though the country was nominally at peace, the economy and the government operated in a state of perpetual readiness for war.

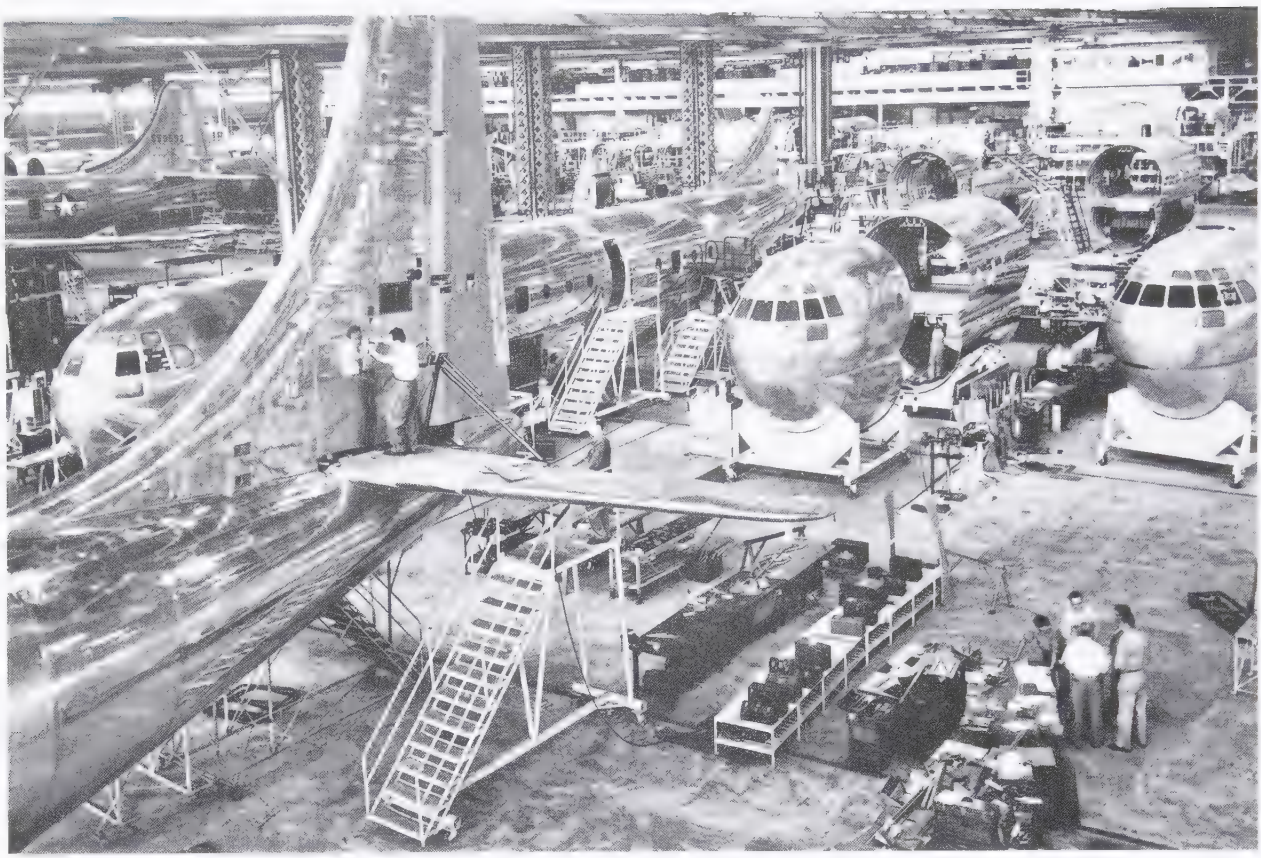
AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of federal spending and the private sector in generating postwar economic growth.

Based at the sprawling Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia, the Defense Department evolved into a massive bureaucracy. In the name of national security, defense-related industries entered into long-term relationships with the Pentagon. Some companies did so much business with the government that they in effect became private divisions of the Defense Department. Over 60 percent of the income of Boeing, General Dynamics, and Raytheon, for instance, came from military contracts, and the percentages were even higher for Lockheed and Republic Aviation. In previous peacetime years, military spending had constituted only 1 percent of gross domestic product (GDP); now it represented 10 percent. Economic growth was increasingly dependent on a robust defense sector.

As permanent mobilization took hold, science, industry, and government became intertwined. Cold War competition for military supremacy spawned both an arms race and a space race as the United States and the Soviet Union each sought to develop more explosive bombs and more powerful rockets. Federal spending underwrote 90 percent of the cost of research for aviation and space, 65 percent for electricity and electronics, 42 percent for scientific instruments, and even 24 percent for automobiles. With the government footing the bill, corporations lost little time in transforming new technology into useful products. Backed by the Pentagon, for instance, IBM and Sperry Rand pressed ahead with research on integrated circuits, which later spawned the computer revolution.

When the Soviet Union launched the world's first satellite, ***Sputnik***, in 1957, the startled United States went into high gear to catch up in the Cold War space competition. Alarmed that the United States was falling behind in science and technology, Eisenhower persuaded Congress to appropriate additional money for college scholarships and university research. The **National Defense Education Act** of 1958 funneled millions of dollars into American universities, helping institutions such as the University



The Military-Industrial Complex Often, technology developed for military purposes, such as the complex design of jet airplanes, was easily transferred to the consumer market. The Boeing Aircraft Company — its Seattle plant is pictured here in the mid-1950s — became one of the leading commercial airplane manufacturers in the world in the 1960s, boosted in part by tax dollar–financed military contracts. Major American corporations — such as Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, General Electric, General Dynamics, and dozens of others — benefitted enormously from military contracts from the Department of Defense in the years after World War II. Bettmann/Getty Images

of California at Berkeley, Stanford University, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and the University of Michigan become the leading research centers in the world.

Corporate Power Despite its massive size, the defense industry was only one part of the nation's economy. For over half a century, the consolidation of economic power into large corporate firms had characterized American capitalism. In the postwar decades, that tendency accelerated. By 1970, the top four U.S. automakers produced 91 percent of all motor vehicles sold in the country; the top four firms in tires produced 72 percent; those in cigarettes, 84 percent; and those in detergents, 70 percent. Eric Johnston, former president of the American Chamber of Commerce, declared that "we have entered a period of accelerating bigness in all aspects of American life." Expansion into foreign markets also spurred corporate growth. During the 1950s, U.S. exports nearly doubled, giving the nation a trade surplus of close to $5 billion in 1960. By the 1970s, such firms as Coca-Cola, Gillette, IBM, and Mobil made more than half their profits abroad.

To staff their bureaucracies, the postwar corporate giants required a huge white-collar army. A new generation of corporate chieftains emerged, operating in a complex environment that demanded long-range forecasting. Postwar corporate culture inspired numerous critics, who argued that the obedience demanded of white-collar workers was stifling creativity and blighting lives. The sociologist William Whyte painted a somber picture of "organization men" who left the home "spiritually as well as physically to take the vows of organization life." Andrew Hacker, in *The Corporation*

Take-Over (1964), warned that a small handful of such organization men "can draw up an investment program calling for the expenditure of several billions of dollars" and thereby "determine the quality of life for substantial segments of society."

Many of these "investment programs" relied on mechanization, or automation—another important factor in the postwar boom. From 1947 to 1975, worker productivity more than doubled across the whole of the economy. American factories replaced manpower with machines, substituting cheap fossil energy for human muscle. As industries mechanized, they could turn out products more efficiently and at lower cost. Mechanization did not come without social costs, however. Over the course of the postwar decades, millions of high-wage manufacturing jobs were lost as machines replaced workers, affecting entire cities and regions. Corporate leaders approved, but workers and their union representatives were less enthusiastic. "How are you going to sell cars to all of these machines?" wondered Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW).

The Economic Record The American economy produced an extraordinary postwar record. Annual GDP jumped from $213 billion in 1945 to more than $500 billion in 1960; by 1970, it exceeded $1 trillion (Figure 25.1). This sustained economic growth helped produce a 25 percent rise in real income for ordinary Americans between 1946 and 1959. Even better, the new prosperity featured low inflation. After a burst of high prices in the immediate postwar period, inflation slowed to 2 to 3 percent annually, and it stayed low until the escalation of the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s. Feeling secure about the future, Americans were eager to spend and rightly felt that they were better off than ever before. In 1940, 43 percent of American families owned their homes; by 1960, 62 percent did. In that period, moreover, income inequality dropped sharply. The share of total income going to the top tenth—the richest Americans—declined by nearly one-third from the 45 percent it had been in 1940. American society had become not only more prosperous but also more egalitarian.

However, the picture was not as rosy at the bottom, where tenacious poverty accompanied the economic boom. In ***The Affluent Society*** (1958), which analyzed the nation's successful, "affluent" middle class, economist John Kenneth Galbraith argued that the poor were only an "afterthought" in the minds of economists and politicians, who largely celebrated the new growth. As Galbraith noted, one in thirteen families at the time earned less than $1,000 a year (about $8,300 in today's dollars). Four years later, in ***The Other America*** (1962), the left-wing social critic Michael Harrington chronicled "the economic underworld of American life," and a U.S. government study, echoing a well-known sentence from Franklin Roosevelt's second inaugural address ("I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished"), declared "one-third of the nation" to be poorly paid, poorly educated, and poorly housed. It appeared that in economic terms, as the top and the middle converged, the bottom remained far behind.

AP® EXAM TIP

Summarize the arguments on the left that criticized government for not addressing continuing economic problems in the U.S.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What primary factors led to the growth of the American economy after World War II?

A Nation of Consumers

The most breathtaking development in the postwar American economy was the dramatic expansion of the domestic consumer market. The sheer quantity of consumer goods available to the average person was without precedent. In some respects, the postwar decades seemed like the 1920s all over again, with an abundance of new gadgets and appliances, a craze for automobiles, and new types of mass media. Yet there was a significant difference: in the 1950s, consumption became associated with citizenship. Buying things, once a sign of personal indulgence, now meant participating fully in American society and, moreover, fulfilling a social responsibility. What the suburban family consumed, asserted *Life* magazine in a photo essay,

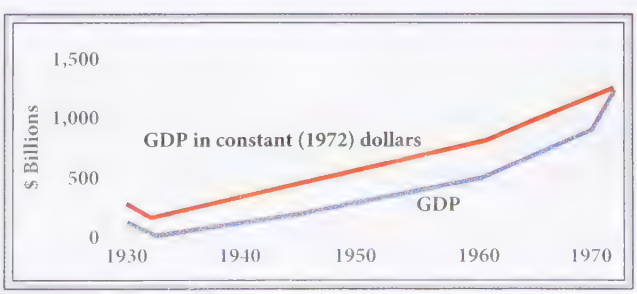


FIGURE 25.1 Gross Domestic Product, 1930–1972
After a sharp dip during the Great Depression, the GDP rose steadily in both real and constant dollars in the postwar period.

would help to ensure "full employment and improved living standards for the rest of the nation."

AP® EXAM TIP

Identify and explain the role of the GI Bill and the baby boom in generating economic growth in the postwar years.

The GI Bill The new ethic of consumption appealed to the postwar middle class, the driving force behind the expanding domestic market. Middle-class status was more accessible than ever before because of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill. In the immediate postwar years, more than half of all U.S. college students were veterans attending class on the government's dime. By the middle of the 1950s, 2.2 million veterans had attended college and another 5.6 million had attended trade school with government financing. Before the GI Bill, commented one veteran, "I looked upon college education as likely as my owning a Rolls-Royce with a chauffeur."

Government financing of education helped make the U.S. workforce the best educated in the world in the 1950s and 1960s. American colleges, universities, and trade schools grew by leaps and bounds to accommodate the flood of students—and expanded again when the children of those students, the baby boomers, reached college age in the 1960s. At Rutgers University, enrollment went from 7,000 before the war to 16,000 in 1947; at the University of Minnesota, from 15,000 to more than 27,000. The GI Bill trained nearly half a million engineers; 200,000 doctors, dentists, and nurses; and 150,000 scientists (among many other professions). Better education meant higher earning power, and higher earning power translated into the consumer spending that drove the postwar economy. One observer of the GI Bill was so impressed with its achievements that he declared it responsible for "the most important educational and social transformation in American history."

The GI Bill stimulated the economy and expanded the middle class in another way: by increasing home ownership. Between the end of World War II and 1966, one of every five single-family homes built in the United States was financed through a GI Bill mortgage—2.5 million new homes in all. In cities and suburbs across the country, the **Veterans Administration** (VA), which helped former soldiers purchase new homes with no down payment, sparked a building boom that created jobs in the construction industry and fueled consumer spending in home appliances and automobiles. Education and home ownership were more than personal triumphs for the families of World War II veterans (and Korean and Vietnam War veterans, after a new GI Bill was passed in 1952). They were financial *assets* that helped lift more Americans than ever before into a mass-consumption-oriented middle class.

The GI Bill World War II veterans in New York State sign up for a variety of educational courses in 1951 under the GI Bill. From college and university education to vocational and industrial skill training, the federal government paid for hundreds of thousands of military veterans to receive education in the decade after World War II. As one of the largest social programs ever undertaken by the national government, the GI Bill helped forge a new middle class. College and university enrollments surged in these years, and the American workforce was among the best educated in the world. Bettmann/Getty Images

Trade Unions Organized labor also expanded the ranks of the middle class. For the first time ever, trade unions and **collective bargaining** became major factors in the nation's economic life. In the past, organized labor had been confined to a narrow band of craft trades and a few industries, primarily coal mining, railroading, and the building and metal trades. The power balance shifted during the Great Depression, and by the time the dust settled after World War II, labor unions overwhelmingly represented America's industrial workforce (Figure 25.2). By the beginning of the 1950s, the nation's major industries, including auto, steel, clothing, chemicals, and virtually

all consumer product manufacturing, were operating with union contracts.

That outcome did not arrive without a battle. Unions staged major strikes in nearly all American industries in 1945 and 1946, much as they had done after World War I. Head of the UAW Walter Reuther and CIO president Philip Murray declared that employers could afford a 30 percent wage increase, which would fuel postwar consumption. When employers, led by the giant General Motors, balked at that demand, the two sides seemed set for a long struggle. Between 1947 and 1950, however, a broad "labor-management accord" gradually emerged across most industries. This was not industrial peace — the country still experienced many strikes — but a general acceptance of collective bargaining as the method for setting the terms of employment. The result was rising real income. The average worker with three dependents gained 18 percent in spendable real income in the 1950s.

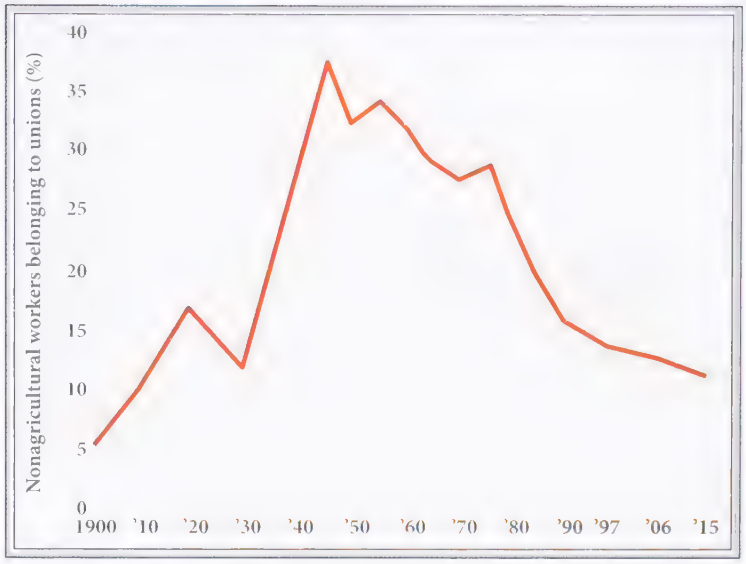


FIGURE 25.2 Labor Union Strength, 1900–2015
Labor unions reached their peak strength immediately after World War II, when they represented close to 40 percent of the nonfarm workforce. Although there was some decline after the mid-1950s, unions still represented nearly 30 percent in 1973. Thereafter, between the 1970s and the 2010s, their decline was precipitous.
AFL-CIO Information Bureau, Washington, D.C.

In addition, unions delivered greater leisure (more paid holidays and longer vacations) and, in a startling departure, a social safety net. In postwar Europe, America's allies were constructing welfare states. But having lost the bruising battle in Washington for national health care during Truman's presidency, American unions turned to the bargaining table. By the end of the 1950s, union contracts commonly provided pension plans and company-paid health insurance. Collective bargaining, the process of trade unions and employers negotiating workplace contracts, had become, in effect, the American alternative to the European welfare state and, as Reuther boasted, the passport into the middle class.

This impressive labor-management accord, however, was never as durable or universal as it seemed. Vulnerabilities lurked. For one thing, the sheltered domestic markets — the essential condition for generous contracts, because without competition firms were not pressured to lower wages — were quite fragile. In certain industries, the lead firms were already losing market share. Second, generally overlooked were the many unorganized workers with no middle-class passport — those **consigned** to unorganized industries, casual labor, or low-wage jobs in the service sector. A final vulnerability was the most basic: the abiding antiunionism of American employers. At heart, business regarded the labor-management accord as a negotiated truce, not a permanent peace. The postwar labor-management accord turned out to be a transitory event, not a permanent condition of American economic life.

Houses, Cars, and Children Increased educational levels, growing home ownership, and higher wages all enabled more Americans than ever before to become members of what one historian has called a "consumer republic." But what did they buy? The postwar emphasis on nuclear families and suburbs provides the answer. In the emerging suburban nation, three elements came together to create patterns of consumption that would endure for decades: houses, cars, and children.

A feature in a 1949 issue of *McCall's*, a magazine targeting middle-class women, illustrates the connections. "I now have three working centers," a typical housewife explains. "The baby center, a baking center and a cleaning center." Accompanying illustrations reveal the interior of the brand-new house, stocked with the latest consumer products: accessories for the baby's room; a new stove, oven, and refrigerator; and a washer and dryer, along with cleaning products and other household goods. The article

does not mention automobiles, but the photo of the house's exterior makes the point clear: father drives home from work in a new car.

Consumption for the home, including automobiles, drove the postwar American economy as much as, or more than, the military-industrial complex did. If we think like advertisers and manufacturers, we can see why. Between 1945 and 1970, more than 25 million new houses were built in the United States. Each required its own supply of new appliances, from refrigerators to lawn mowers. In 1955 alone, Americans purchased 4 million new refrigerators, and between 1940 and 1951 the sale of power mowers increased from 35,000 per year to more than 1 million. Moreover, as American industry discovered planned obsolescence — the encouragement of consumers to replace appliances and cars every few years — the home became a site of perpetual consumer desire.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the tastes and values of the postwar middle class affect the country?

Children also encouraged consumption. The baby boomers born between World War II and the late 1950s have consistently, throughout every phase of their lives, been the darlings of American advertising and consumption. When they were infants, companies focused on developing new baby products, from disposable diapers to instant formula. When they were toddlers and young children, new television programs, board games, fast food, TV dinners, and thousands of different kinds of toys came to market to supply the rambunctious youth. When they were teenagers, rock music, Hollywood films, and a constantly marketed "teen culture" — with its appropriate clothing, music, hairstyles, and other accessories — bombarded them. Remarkably, in 1956, middle-class American teenagers on average had a weekly income of more than $10, close to the weekly disposable income of an entire family a generation earlier.

What Motorola TV means to your family!
to Mom
to Dad
to the Kids
to the Older Folks
ONLY MOTOROLA GIVES YOU THESE EXCLUSIVE FEATURES... IN FASHION AWARD CABINETS!
GLARE GUARD
NEWEST TV IMPROVEMENT
TWO SIMPLE CONTROLS
THREE SPEED RECORD CHANGER
RADIO
SEE YOUR CLASSIFIED DIRECTORY FOR THE NAME OF YOUR NEAREST MOTOROLA DEALER

Advertising in the TV Age Aggressive advertising of new products such as the color television helped fuel the surge in consumer spending during the 1950s. Marketing experts emphasized television's role in promoting family togetherness, while interior designers offered decorating tips that placed the television at the focal point of living rooms and the increasingly popular "family rooms." In this 1951 magazine advertisement, the family is watching a variety program starring singer Dinah Shore, who was the television spokeswoman for Chevrolet cars. Every American probably could hum the tune of the little song she sang in praise of the Chevy. Picture Research Consultants & Archives

Television The emergence of commercial television in the United States was swift and overwhelming. In the realm of technology, only the automobile and the personal computer were its equal in transforming everyday life in the twentieth century. In 1947, there were 7,000 TV sets in American homes. A year later, the CBS and NBC radio networks began offering regular programming, and by 1950 Americans owned 7.3 million sets. Ten years later, 87 percent of American homes had at least one television set. Having conquered the home, television would soon become the principal mediator between the consumer and the marketplace.

Television advertisers mastered the art of manufacturing consumer desire. TV stations, like radio stations before them, depended entirely on advertising for profits. The first television executives understood that as long as they sold viewers to advertisers they would stay on the air. Early corporate-sponsored shows (such as *General Electric Theater* and *U.S. Steel Hour*) and simple product jingles (such as "No

matter what the time or place, let's keep up with that happy pace. 7-Up your thirst away!") gave way by the early 1960s to slick advertising campaigns that used popular music, movie stars, sports figures, and stimulating graphics to captivate viewers.

By creating powerful visual narratives of comfort and plenty, television revolutionized advertising and changed forever how products were sold to American, and global, consumers. On *Queen for a Day*, a show popular in the mid-1950s, women competed to see who could tell the most heartrending story of tragedy and loss. The winner was lavished with household products: refrigerators, toasters, ovens, and the like. In a groundbreaking advertisement for Anacin aspirin, a tiny hammer pounded inside the skull of a headache sufferer. Almost overnight, sales of Anacin increased by 50 percent.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the degree to which television represented American culture in the postwar years.

By the late 1950s, what Americans saw on television, both in the omnipresent commercials and in the programming, was an overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant world of nuclear families, suburban homes, and middle-class life. A typical show was *Father Knows Best*, starring Robert Young and Jane Wyatt. Father left home each morning wearing a suit and carrying a briefcase. Mother was a stereotypical full-time housewife, prone to bad driving and tears. *Leave It to Beaver*, another immensely popular series about suburban family life, embodied similar late-fifties themes. Earlier in the decade, however, television featured grittier realities. *The Honeymooners*, starring Jackie Gleason as a Brooklyn bus driver, and *The Life of Riley*, a situation comedy featuring a California aircraft worker, treated working-class lives. Two other early-fifties television series, *Beulah*, starring Ethel Waters and then Louise Beavers as an African American maid, and the comedic *Amos 'n' Andy*, were the only shows featuring black actors in major roles. Television was never a showcase for the breadth of American society, but in the second half of the 1950s broadcasting lost much of its ethnic, racial, and class diversity and became a vehicle for the transmission of a narrow range of middle-class tastes and values.

Youth Culture

One of the most striking developments in American life in the postwar decades was the emergence of the **teenager** as a cultural phenomenon. In 1956, only partly in jest, the CBS radio commentator Eric Sevareid questioned "whether the teenagers will take over the United States lock, stock, living room, and garage." Sevareid was grumbling about American youth culture, a phenomenon first noticed in the 1920s and with its roots in the lengthening years of education, the role of peer groups, and the consumer tastes of young people. Market research revealed a distinct teen market to be exploited. *Newsweek* noted with awe in 1951 that the aggregate of the weekly spending money of teenagers was enough to buy 190 million candy bars, 130 million soft drinks, and 230 million sticks of gum. Increasingly, advertisers targeted the young, both to capture their spending money and to exploit their influence on family purchases.

Hollywood movies played a large role in fostering a teenage culture. Young people made up the largest

Teenagers These teenage girls and boys are being restrained by police outside an Elvis Presley concert in Florida in 1956. Elvis, who was instrumental in popularizing rock 'n' roll music among white middle-class teenagers in the mid-1950s, was one example of a broader phenomenon: the creation of the "teenager" as a distinct demographic, cultural category and, perhaps most significantly, consumer group. Beginning in the 1950s, middle-class teenagers had money to spend, and advertisers and other entrepreneurs — such as the music executives who marketed Elvis or the Hollywood executives who invented the "teen film" — sought ways to win their allegiance and their dollars. Charles Trainor/The LIFE Images Collection/Getty Image

audience for motion pictures, and Hollywood studios learned over the course of the 1950s to cater to them. The success of films such as *The Wild One* (1953), starring Marlon Brando; *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), with Sidney Poitier; and *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), starring James Dean, convinced movie executives that films directed at teenagers were worthy investments. "What are you rebelling against?" Brando is asked in *The Wild One*. "Whattaya got?" he replies. By the early 1960s, Hollywood had retooled its business model, shifting emphasis away from adults and families, the industry's primary audience since its rise in the 1920s, to teenagers. The "teenpic" soon included multiple genres: horror, rock 'n' roll, dangerous youth, and beach party, among others.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the ways that artists, intellectuals, and teenagers rejected conformity in American culture.

Rock 'n' Roll What really defined the youth culture, however, was its music. Rejecting the romantic ballads of the 1940s, teenagers discovered rock 'n' roll, which originated in African American rhythm and blues. The Cleveland disc jockey Alan Freed took the lead in introducing white America to the black-created sound by playing what were called "race" records. "If I could find a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel, I could make a billion dollars," a record company owner is quoted as saying. The performer who fit that bill was Elvis Presley, who rocketed into instant celebrity in 1956 with his hit records "Hound Dog" and "Heartbreak Hotel," covers of songs originally recorded by black artists such as Big Mama Thornton. Between 1953 and 1959, record sales increased from $213 million to $603 million, with rock 'n' roll as the driving force.

Many unhappy adults saw in rock 'n' roll music an invitation to interracial dating, rebellion, and a more flagrant sexuality. The media featured hundreds of stories on problem teens, and denunciations of the new music poured forth from many corners. Such condemnation only deflected off the new youth culture or, if anything, increased its popularity. Both Hollywood and the music industry had learned that youth rebellion sold tickets (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Motown Mary Wilson, Diana Ross, and Florence Ballard (from left to right) were the founding members of the Motown singing group the Supremes (shown here in concert in 1964), which produced twelve number-one singles. Motown, a record label owned by African American entrepreneur Berry Gordy, specialized in so-called crossover acts: black singers who sold records to white audiences. In the era of Jim Crow, Motown represented a small but noteworthy step toward a less racially segregated American culture. [illegible]

Cultural Dissenters Youth rebellion was only one aspect of a broader discontent with the sometimes **saccharine** consumer culture of the postwar years. Many artists, writers, and jazz musicians embarked on powerful new experimental projects in a remarkable flowering of intensely personal, introspective art forms. During and just after World War II, black musicians developed a hard-driving improvisational style known as bebop. Whether the "hot" bebop of saxophonist Charlie Parker or the more subdued "cool" sound of the influential trumpeter Miles Davis, postwar jazz was cerebral, intimate, and individualistic. As such, it stood in stark contrast to the commercialized, dance-oriented "swing" bands of the 1930s and 1940s.

Black jazz musicians found eager fans not only in the African American community but also among young white **Beats**, a group of writers and poets centered in New York and San Francisco who disdained middle-class materialism. In his poem "Howl" (1956), which became a manifesto of the Beat generation, Allen Ginsberg lamented: "I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed

AP INTERPRETING THE PAST

Was Rock 'n' Roll an Agent of Social Change?

Many parents of midcentury teens objected to the subversive qualities of rock 'n' roll music: its rebellious lyrics, its overt sexuality, and its origins in an African American rhythm and blues tradition—the latter a concern largely of white parents. Many believed that rock 'n' roll undermined authority and even stoked civil rights agitation. But did this new form of music have the social and political impact parents feared?

In the excerpts included here, two historians address the contradictory impact of rock 'n' roll, particularly as a factor in shaping civil rights. In the first excerpt, historian Suzanne E. Smith discusses the history of Motown, a Detroit-based African American record label that produced a series of hits by black artists, many of whom reached a national white listening audience. In the second excerpt, historian Matthew Delmont assesses the popularity of *American Bandstand*, a nationally broadcast television show originating in Philadelphia that featured mostly white teens dancing to popular rock songs. From the perspective of these historians, did rock 'n' roll have the socially destabilizing impact parents feared?

SUZANNE E. SMITH

SOURCE: Suzanne E. Smith, *Dancing in the Street: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 17–18.

Motown's commercial success put the record company in a unique position to promote a wide range of black cultural expression . . . [but its] . . . role as a producer of black culture and its ambitions in the business world did not coexist without conflict and contradiction. . . . [Its] commercial concerns about the marketability of a recording often stalled and sometimes canceled projects that management deemed too politically controversial. . . . [T]he company wavered between willingness and caution when asked to produce recordings . . . that involved overt political or racial messages. . . . [However] popular music audiences, local activists, and national civil rights leaders . . . had their own ideas and disagreements about the meanings of Motown's music and commercial success. . . . Motown could not avoid becoming a contested symbol of racial progress. Motown's music symbolized the possibility of amicable racial integration through popular culture.

MATTHEW F. DELMONT

SOURCE: Matthew F. Delmont, *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 5–6.

American Bandstand encouraged the show's viewers, advertisers, and television affiliates to see it as the thread that stitched together different teenagers in different parts of the country into a coherent and recognizable national youth culture. . . . *American Bandstand* invited viewers to consume the sponsors' snacks and soft drinks along with the latest music and dances. . . . The central problem facing *American Bandstand*'s producers was that their show's marketability depended on both the creative energies of black performers and the erasure of black teenagers. . . . [T]he image of youth culture *American Bandstand* presented to its national audience bore little resemblance to the interracial makeup of Philadelphia's rock and roll scene. As the television program that did the most to define the image of youth in the late 1950s and early 1960s, the exclusionary racial practices of *American Bandstand* marginalized black teens from this imagined national youth culture.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. To what extent do these historians agree on the impact of rock 'n' roll on America's race relations? What specific passages provide evidence for your answer?
2. According to each historian, how important a factor was the commercial side of rock 'n' roll in promoting or limiting its impact as an agent of social change?
3. Identify two examples from Chapter 25's discussion of midcentury middle-class youth culture that support or challenge the argument for rock 'n' roll as a factor in the American civil rights movement.

by madness, starving hysterical naked, dragging themselves through the negro streets at dawn looking for an angry fix." In works such as Jack Kerouac's novel *On the Road* (1957), the Beats glorified spontaneity, sexual adventurism, drug use, and spirituality. The Beats were apolitical, but their cultural rebellion would, in the 1960s, inspire a new generation of young rebels disenchanted with both the political and cultural status quo.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did rebellion become an integral part of consumer culture in the postwar period?

Billy Graham Charismatic and inspiring, Billy Graham wore down shoe leather to bring Christian conversion to hundreds of thousands of Americans in the 1940s and 1950s, preaching to large crowds such as this one in Columbia, South Carolina. He also migrated onto the radio and television airwaves, using technology to reach even wider audiences. Graham used the Cold War to sharpen his message, telling Americans that "godless communism" was an inferior system, but that democracy in America required belief in God and a constant struggle against "sin." John Dominis/The LIFE Images Collection/Getty Image

Religion and the Middle Class

In an age of anxiety about nuclear annihilation and the spread of "godless communism," Americans yearned for a reaffirmation of faith. Church membership jumped from 49 percent of the population in 1940 to 70 percent in 1960. People flocked to the evangelical Protestant denominations, beneficiaries of a remarkable new crop of preachers. Most eloquent was the young Reverend Billy Graham, who made brilliant use of television, radio, and advertising. Hundreds of thousands of Americans attended his massive 1949 revival in Los Angeles and his 1957 crusade at Madison Square Garden in New York, establishing Graham as the nation's leading evangelical.

Rather than clashing with the new middle-class ethic of consumption, the religious reawakening was designed to mesh with it. Preachers such as Graham told Americans that so long as they lived moral lives, they deserved the material blessings of modern life. No one was more influential in this regard than the minister and author Norman Vincent Peale, whose best-selling book *The Power of Positive Thinking* (1952) embodied the therapeutic use of religion as an antidote to life's trials and tribulations. Peale taught that with faith in God and "positive thinking," anyone could overcome obstacles and become a success. Graham, Peale, and other 1950s evangelicals laid the foundation for the rise of the televangelists, who created popular television ministries in the 1970s.

The postwar purveyors of religious faith cast Americans as a righteous people opposed to communist atheism. When Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sentenced to death in 1953, the judge criticized them for "devoting themselves to the Russian ideology of denial of God." Cold War imperatives drew Catholics, Protestants, and Jews into an influential **ecumenical** movement that downplayed doctrinal differences. The phrase "under God" was inserted into the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954, and U.S. coins carried the words "In God We Trust" after 1956. These religious initiatives struck a distinctly moderate tone, however, in comparison with the politicized evangelism that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s (Chapter 28).

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What explains the growth of the American economy after World War II?

The American Family in the Era of Containment

Marriage, family structure, and gender roles had been undergoing significant changes since the turn of the twentieth century (Chapter 17). Beginning in the nineteenth century, middle-class Americans increasingly saw marriage as "companionate," that is, based on romantic love and a lifetime of shared friendship. *Companionate* did not mean *equal*. In the mid-twentieth century, family life remained governed by notions of gender inequality, in which men provided economic support and controlled the family's financial resources, while women cared for children and occupied a secondary position in public life.

The resurgent postwar American middle class was preoccupied with the virtues of this paternalist, or patriarchal, vision of family life. Everyone from professional psychologists to television advertisers and every organization from schools to the popular

press celebrated nuclear families. Children were prized, and women's caregiving roles were valorized. This view of family life, and especially its emphasis on female "domesticity," was bolstered by Cold War politics. Americans who deviated from prevailing gender and familial norms were not only viewed with scorn but were also sometimes thought to be subversive and politically dangerous.

Yet the model of domesticity so highly esteemed in the postwar middle class hid deeper, longer-term changes in the way marriage, gender roles, women's work, and even sex were understood. To comprehend the postwar decades, we have to keep in mind that while domesticity remained the ideal, in people's daily lives a sometimes different reality held true.

The Baby Boom

A popular 1945 song was called "Gotta Make Up for Lost Time," and Americans did just that. Two things were noteworthy about the families they formed after World War II: First, marriages were remarkably stable. Not until the mid-1960s did the divorce rate begin to rise sharply. Second, married couples were intent on having babies. Everyone expected to have several children — it was part of adulthood, almost a citizen's responsibility. After a century and a half of decline, the birthrate shot up. More babies were born in the six years between 1948 and 1953 than in the previous thirty years (Figure 25.3). Far from "normal," all these developments were **anomalies**, temporary reversals of long-standing demographic trends. From the perspective of the whole of the twentieth century, the 1950s and early 1960s stand out as exceptions to declining birthrates, rising divorce rates, and the steadily rising marriage age.

One of the reasons for the **baby boom** was a drop in the average marriage age — down to twenty-two for men and twenty for women. Younger parents meant a bumper crop of children. Women who came of age in the 1930s averaged 2.4 children; their counterparts in the 1950s averaged 3.2 children. Such a dramatic turnaround reflected couples' decisions during the Great Depression to limit childbearing and couples' contrasting decisions in the postwar years to have more children. The baby boom peaked in 1957 and remained at a high level until the early 1960s. The passage of time revealed the ever-widening impact of the baby boom. When baby boomers competed for jobs during the 1970s, the labor market became tight. When career-oriented baby boomers belatedly began having children in the 1980s, the birthrate jumped. And in our own time, as baby boomers begin retiring, huge funding problems threaten to engulf Social Security and Medicare. The intimate decisions of so many couples after World War II continued to shape American life well into the twenty-first century.

Baby boom children benefitted from a host of important advances in public health and medical practice in the postwar years. Formerly serious illnesses became merely routine after the introduction of such "miracle drugs" as penicillin (introduced in 1943), streptomycin (1945), and cortisone (1946). When Dr. Jonas Salk perfected a polio vaccine in 1954, he became a national hero. The free distribution of Salk's vaccine in the nation's schools, followed in 1961 by Dr. Albert Sabin's oral polio vaccine, demonstrated the potential of government-sponsored public health programs.

Dr. Benjamin Spock To keep baby boom children healthy and happy, middle-class parents increasingly relied on the advice of experts. Dr. Benjamin Spock's *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* sold 1 million copies every year after its publication in 1946. Spock urged mothers to abandon the rigid feeding and baby-care schedules of an earlier generation.

FIGURE 25.3 The American Birthrate, 1860–1980
When birthrates are viewed over more than a century, the postwar baby boom is clearly only a temporary reversal of the long-term downward trend in the American birthrate.

New mothers found Spock's commonsense approach liberating. "Your little paperback is still in my cupboard, with loose pages, rather worn from use because I brought up two babies using it as my 'Bible,' " a California housewife wrote to Spock.

Despite his commonsense approach to child rearing, Spock was part of a generation of psychological experts whose advice often failed to reassure women. If mothers were too protective, Spock and others argued, they might hamper their children's preparation for adult life. On the other hand, mothers who wanted to work outside the home felt guilty because Spock recommended that they be constantly available for their children. As American mothers aimed for the perfection demanded of them seemingly at every turn, many began to question these mixed messages. Some of them would be inspired by the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why was there an increase in births in the decades after World War II, and what were some of the effects of this baby boom?

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare expectations of women in the postwar years to the Cult of Domesticity popularized in the nineteenth century.

Women, Work, and Family

Two powerful forces shaped women's relationships to work and family life in the postwar decades. One was the middle-class domestic ideal, in which women were expected to raise children, attend to other duties in the home, and devote themselves to their husbands' happiness. So powerful was this ideal that in 1957 the *Ladies' Home Journal* entitled an article, "Is College Education Wasted on Women?" The second force was the job market. Most working-class women had to earn a paycheck to help their family. And despite their education, middle-class women found that jobs in the professions and business were dominated by men and often closed to them. For both groups, the market offered mostly "women's jobs"—in teaching, nursing, and other areas of the growing service sector—and little room for advancement (AP® Analyzing Voices).

Women at Work Middle-class women's lives grew increasingly complicated in the postwar decades. They may have dreamed of a suburban home with a brand-new kitchen, but laboring all day over children, dirty dishes, and a hot stove proved dissatisfying to many. Betty Friedan called the confinement of women's identities to motherhood the "feminine mystique," but did the working woman have it much better? Hardly. Most women in the 1950s and 1960s were confined to low-level secretarial work (as pictured), waitressing, and other service-sector work—or, worse, factory or domestic labor. By the end of the 1960s, women had begun to crack the "glass ceiling" and enter the professions in larger numbers. But regardless of their occupation, the majority of working women performed the "double day": a full day at work and a full day at home. Such were the expectations and double bind women faced. Inge Morath • The Inge Morath Foundation/Magnum Photos

The idea that a woman's place was in the home was, of course, not new. The postwar obsession with femininity and motherhood bore a remarkable similarity to the nineteenth century's notion of domesticity. The updated version drew on new elements of twentieth-century science and culture. Psychologists equated motherhood with "normal" female identity and suggested that career-minded mothers needed therapy. "A mother who runs out on her children to work—except in cases of absolute necessity—betrays a deep dissatisfaction with motherhood or with her marriage," wrote one leading psychiatrist. Television shows and movies depicted career women as social misfits. The postwar consumer culture also emphasized women's domestic role as purchasing agents for home and family. "Can a woman ever feel right cooking on a dirty range?" asked one advertisement.

Despite the postwar domestic ideal, financial necessity increasingly took women outside their homes and into the workforce. In 1954, married women made up half of all women workers. Six years later, the 1960 census reported a stunning fact: the number of mothers who worked had increased four times, and over one-third of these women had children between the ages of six and seventeen. In that same year, 30 percent of wives worked, and by 1970, it was 40 percent. For working-class women, in particular, the economic needs of their families demanded that they work outside the home. Contrary to stereotypes, women's paid work often helped lift many families into the middle class.

Despite rising employment rates, occupational segmentation still haunted women. Until 1964, the classified sections of newspapers separated employment ads into "Help Wanted Male" and "Help Wanted Female." More than 80 percent of all employed women did stereotypical women's work as sales clerks, health-care technicians, waitresses, stewardesses, domestic servants, receptionists, telephone operators, and secretaries. In 1960, only 3 percent of lawyers and 6 percent of physicians were women; on the flip side, 97 percent of nurses and 85 percent of librarians were women. Along with women's jobs went women's pay, which averaged 60 percent of men's pay in 1963.

American society steadfastly upheld the domestic ideal even as so many women entered the workforce. When mothers took jobs outside the home, they still bore full responsibility for child care and household management, contributing to the "double day" of paid work and family work. As one overburdened woman noted, she now had "two full-time jobs instead of just one—underpaid clerical worker and unpaid housekeeper." Meanwhile, the pressures of the Cold War made strong nuclear families with breadwinning fathers and domesticated mothers symbols of a healthy nation. Americans wanted to believe they upheld the domestic ideal even if it did not perfectly describe the reality of their lives.

Middle Class Domesticity The nuclear family, meaning a married couple plus children, stood at the heart of middle-class American culture in the postwar years. The "domestic ideal" held that men worked for wages and women labored in the home. A new generation of Americans, including many African Americans, aspired to this cultural ideal, which came within reach for many for the first time. Here a couple and their children look over blueprints of their new home in the early 1960s. Classic Stock.com/Superstock

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

What transformations in women's economic role took place in the 1950s and 1960s?

Challenging Middle-Class Morality

In many ways, the two decades between 1945 and 1965 were a period of cultural conservatism that reflected the values of domesticity. At the dawn of the 1960s, going steady as a prelude to marriage was the fad in high school. College women had curfews and needed permission to see a male visitor. Americans married young; more than half of those who married in 1963 were under the age of twenty-one. After the birth control pill came on the market in 1960, few doctors prescribed it to unmarried women, and even married women did not enjoy unfettered access to contraception until the Supreme Court ruled it a "privacy" right in the 1965 decision *Griswold v. Connecticut*.

Alfred Kinsey Beneath the surface of middle-class morality, Americans were less repressed than confused. They struggled to reconcile new freedoms with older moral traditions. This was especially true with regard to sex. Two controversial studies by an unassuming Indiana University zoologist named Alfred Kinsey forced

The Kinsey Reports Like the woman on the cover of this lighthearted 1953 book of photographs, many Americans reacted with surprise when Alfred Kinsey revealed the country's sexual habits. In his 1948 book about men and his 1953 book about women, Kinsey wrote about American sexual practices in the detached language of science. But it still made for salacious reading. Evangelical minister Billy Graham (p. 792) warned: "It is impossible to estimate the damage this book will do to the already deteriorated morals of America." Picture Research Consultants & Archive

Coming of Age in the Postwar Years

At the dawn of the postwar era, Americans faced new opportunities and new anxieties. Many former soldiers attended college and purchased new homes on the GI Bill, which forever changed their lives. Women faced new pressures to realize the ideal role of housewife and mother. On the horizon, both in reality and in the American imagination, lurked communism, which Americans feared but little understood. And racial segregation continued to shape the ordinary lives of Americans. Recorded here are several different reactions to these postwar tensions, distinct experiences of coming of age in the 1940s and 1950s.

ART BUCHWALD

Studying on the GI Bill

Art Buchwald was one of the best-known humorists in American journalism. But in 1946, he was an ordinary ex-serviceman using the GI Bill to go to college.

SOURCE: From *Leaving Home: A Memoir*, by Art Buchwald (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1993). Used by permission of Joel Buchwald.

"It was time to face up to whether I was serious about attending school. My decision was to go down to the University of Southern California and find out what I should study at night to get into the place. There were at least 4,000 ex-GIs waiting to register. I stood in line with them. Hours later, I arrived at the counter and said, 'I would like to . . .' The clerk said, 'Fill this out.'

Having been accepted as a full-time student under the G.I. Bill, I was entitled to seventy-five dollars a month plus tuition, books, and supplies. Meanwhile, I found a boardinghouse a few blocks from campus, run by a cheery woman who was like a mother to her thirteen boarders. . . . At the time, just after the Second World War had ended, an undeclared class war was going on at USC. The G.I.s returning home had little use for the fraternity men, since most of the frat boys were not only much younger, but considered very immature.

The G.I.s were intent on getting their educations and starting new lives."

BETTY FRIEDAN

Living the Feminine Mystique

Like Buchwald, Betty Friedan would one day become famous as a writer—author of one of the most widely read books of the 1960s, *The Feminine Mystique*. In the late 1940s, Friedan was not yet a feminist, but she was deeply engaged in the politics of the era.

SOURCE: From *"It Changed My Life": Writings on the Women's Movement*, by Betty Friedan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976). Copyright © 1963 by Betty Friedan. Reprinted by permission of Curtis Brown, Ltd.

"And then the boys our age had come back from the war. I was bumped from my job on a small labor news service by a returning veteran, and it wasn't so easy to find another job I really liked. I filled out the applications for *Time-Life* researcher, which I'd always scorned before. All the girls I knew had jobs like that, but it was official policy that no matter how good, researchers, who were women, could never become writers or editors. They could write the whole article, but the men they were working with would always get the by-line as writer. I was certainly not a feminist then—none of us were a bit interested in women's rights. But I could never bring myself to take that kind of job.

After the war, I had been very political, very involved, consciously radical. Not about women, for heaven's sake! If you were a radical in 1949, you were concerned about the Negroes, and the working class, and World War III, and the Un-American Activities Committee and McCarthy and loyalty oaths, and Communist splits and schisms, Russia, China and the UN, but you certainly didn't think about being a woman, politically."

SUSAN ALLEN TOTH

Learning About Communism

Toth is a writer who grew up in Ames, Iowa, surrounded by cornfields. She writes here about her experience learning just how anxious people could become in the 1950s when the issue of communism was raised.

SOURCE: From Susan Allen Toth, "Boyfriend" from *Blooming: A Small-Town Girlhood*. Reprinted by permission of Molly Friedrich on behalf of the author.

"Of course, we all knew there was Communism. As early as sixth grade our teacher warned us about its dangers. I listened

AP EXAM TIP

Explain early challenges to traditional views on moral issues.

questions about sexuality into the open. Kinsey and his research team published *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* in 1948 and followed it up in 1953 with *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*—an 842-page book that sold 270,000 copies in the first month after its publication. Taking a scientific, rather than moralistic, approach, Kinsey, who became known as "the sex doctor," documented the full range of sexual experiences of thousands of Americans. He broke numerous taboos, discussing such topics as homosexuality and marital infidelity in the detached language of science.

carefully to Mr. Casper describe what Communists wanted, which sounded terrible. World domination. Enslavement. Destruction of our way of life. I hung around school one afternoon hoping to catch Mr. Casper, whom I secretly adored, to ask him why Communism was so bad. He stayed in another teacher's room so late I finally scrawled my question on our blackboard: 'Dear Mr. Casper, why is Communism so bad . . . Sue Allen' and went home. Next morning the message was still there. Like a warning from heaven it had galvanized Mr. Casper. He began class with a stern lecture, repeating everything he had said about dangerous Russians and painting a vivid picture of how we would all suffer if the Russians took over the city government in Ames. We certainly wouldn't be able to attend a school like this, he said, where free expression of opinion was allowed. At recess that day one of the boys asked me if I was a 'dirty Commie': two of my best friends shied away from me on the playground; I saw Mr. Casper talking low to another teacher and pointing at me. I cried all the way home from school and resolved never to commit myself publicly with a question like that again. ”

MELBA PATILLO BEALS

Encountering Segregation

Melba Patillo Beals was one of the "Little Rock Nine," the high school students who desegregated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. Here she recounts an experience documenting what it was like to come of age as a black southerner under Jim Crow.

Source: Reprinted with permission of Atria Publishing Group, a Division of Simon & Schuster, Inc. *Warriors Don't Cry: A Searing Memoir of the Battle to Integrate Little Rock* by Melba Patillo Beals. Copyright © 1994, 1995 by Melba Beals. All rights reserved.

“ An experience I endured on a December morning would forever affect any decision I made to go 'potty' in a public place. We were Christmas shopping when I felt the twinge of emergency. I convinced Mother and Grandmother that I knew the way to restroom by myself. I was moving as fast as I could when suddenly I knew I wasn't going to make it all the way down those stairs and across the warehouse walkway to the 'Colored Ladies' toilet. So I pushed open the door marked 'White Ladies' and, taking a deep breath, I crossed the threshold. It was just as bright and pretty as I had imagined it to be. . . . Across the room, other white ladies sat on a couch reading the newspaper. Suddenly realizing I was there, two of them looked at me in astonishment. Unless I was the maid, they said, I was in the wrong place. While they shouted at me to 'get out,' my throbbing bladder consumed my attention as I frantically headed for the unoccupied stall. They kept shouting 'Good lord, do something.' I was doing something by that time, seated comfortably on the toilet, listening to the hysteria building outside my locked stall. One woman even knelt down to peep beneath the door to make certain that I didn't put my bottom on the toilet seat. She ordered me not to pee. ”

DAVID BEERS

California Suburbia

David Beers grew up in the suburbs of California, in what would eventually become known as Silicon Valley. In his memoir, he recalls the ritual of buying a house.

Source: David Beers, *Blue Sky Dream: A Memoir of America's Fall from Grace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Company, 1996), 31, 39.

“ 'We never looked at a used house,' my father remembers of those days in the early 1960s when he and my mother went shopping for a home of their own in the Valley of Heart's Delight. 'A used house did not interest us.' Instead, they roved in search of balloons and bunting and the many billboards advertising *Low Interest! No Money Down!* to military veterans like my father. They would follow the signs to the model homes standing in empty fields and tour the empty floor plans and leave with notes carefully made about square footage and closet space. 'We shopped for a new house,' my father says, 'the way you shopped for a car.' . . . We were blithe conquerors, my tribe. When we chose a new homeland, invaded a place, settled it, and made it over in our image, we did so with a smiling sense of our own inevitability. . . . We were drawn to the promise of a blank page inviting *our* design upon it. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. What do you think Buchwald meant by "an undeclared class war"? Why would the influx of GI Bill veterans into colleges create conflict?
2. Why do you think Friedan "didn't think about being a woman, politically" in the 1940s and 1950s? Why do you think she was "bumped from" her job by a "returning veteran"?
3. What does Toth's experience as a young student suggest about American anxieties during the Cold War? Why would her question cause embarrassment and ridicule?
4. What does Beals's experience suggest about the indignities faced by young people on the front lines of challenging racial segregation? Does it help explain why youth were so important in breaking racial barriers?
5. What do you think Beers means by "our tribe"? What was the "blank page"?

Both studies confirmed that a sexual revolution, although a largely hidden one, had already begun to transform American society by the early 1950s. Kinsey estimated that 85 percent of men had had sex prior to marriage and that more than 25 percent of married women had had sex outside of marriage by the age of forty. These were shocking public admissions in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and "hotter than the Kinsey report" became a national figure of speech. Kinsey was criticized by statisticians — because his samples were not randomly selected — and condemned even more fervently by

religious leaders, who charged him with encouraging promiscuity and adultery. But his research opened a national conversation that helped Americans learn to talk more openly about sex.

The Homophile Movement Among the most controversial of Kinsey's claims was that homosexuality was far more prevalent than most Americans believed. Although the American Psychiatric Association officially defined homosexuality as a mental illness, Kinsey's research found that 37 percent of men had engaged in some form of homosexual activity by early adulthood, as had 13 percent of women. Even more important, Kinsey claimed that 10 percent of American men were *exclusively* homosexual. These claims came as little surprise, but great encouragement, to a group of gay and lesbian activists who called themselves "homophiles." Organized primarily in the Mattachine Society (the first gay rights organization in the country, founded in 1951) and the Daughters of Bilitis (a lesbian organization founded in 1955), homophiles were a small but determined collection of activists who sought equal rights for gays and lesbians. "The lesbian is a woman endowed with all the attributes of any other woman," wrote the pioneer lesbian activist Del Martin in 1956. "The salvation of the lesbian lies in her acceptance of herself without guilt or anxiety."

Building on the urban gay and lesbian communities that had coalesced during World War II, homophiles sought to change American attitudes about same-sex love. They faced daunting obstacles, since same-sex sexual relations were illegal in every state and scorned, or feared, by most Americans. To combat prejudice and change the laws, homophile organizations cultivated a respectable, middle-class image. Members were encouraged to avoid bars and nightclubs, to dress in conservative shirts and ties (for men) and modest skirts and blouses (for women), and to seek out professional psychologists who would attest to their "normalcy." Only in the 1960s did homophiles begin to talk about the "homophile vote" and their "rights as citizens," laying the groundwork for the gay rights movement of the 1970s.

Media and Morality The homophile movement remained unknown to most Americans. But other challenges to traditional morality received national media attention, and the media themselves became a controversial source of these challenges. Concerned that excessive crime, violence, and sex in comic books were encouraging juvenile delinquency, the U.S. Senate held nationally televised hearings in 1954. The Senate's final report, written largely by the Tennessee Democrat Estes Kefauver, complained of the "scantily clad women" and "penchant for violent death" common in comic books aimed at teenagers. Kefauver's report forced the comics industry to tame its wildest practices but did little to slow the growing frankness about both sex and violence in the nation's print media and films.

To see an excerpt from the Senate's report on comic books and juvenile delinquency, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

A magazine entrepreneur from Chicago named Hugh Hefner played a leading role in that growing frankness. Hefner founded *Playboy* magazine in 1953, in which he created a countermorality to domesticity: a fictional world populated by "hip" bachelor men and sexually available women. Hefner's imagined bachelors condemned marriage and lived in sophisticated apartments filled with the latest stereo equipment and other consumer products. While domesticated fathers bought lawn mowers and patio furniture, Hefner's magazine encouraged men to spend money on clothing and jazz albums for themselves, and for the "scantily clad women" that filled its pages. Hefner and his numerous imitators became powerful purveyors of sex in the media. But Hefner was the exception that proved the rule: marriage, not swinging bachelorhood, remained the destination for the vast majority of men. Millions of men read *Playboy*, but few adopted its fantasy lifestyle.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

What were the contradictions in postwar domesticity and middle-class morality?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What was the domestic ideal, and how did Americans embrace it in the postwar decades?**

A Suburban Nation

Prosperity — how much an economy produces, how much people earn — is more easily measured than is quality of life. During the 1950s, however, the American definition of the good life emerged with exceptional distinctness: a high value on consumption, a devotion to family and domesticity, and a preference for suburban living. In this section, we consider the third dimension of that definition: suburbanization. What drove the nation to abandon its cities for the suburbs, and what social and political consequences did this shift have?

The Postwar Housing Boom

Migration to the suburbs had been going on for a hundred years, but never before on the scale that the country experienced after World War II. Within a decade, farmland on the outskirts of cities filled up with tract housing and shopping malls. Entire counties that had once been rural — such as San Mateo, south of San Francisco, or Passaic and Bergen in New Jersey, west of Manhattan — went suburban. By 1960, one-third of Americans lived in suburbs. Home construction, having ground to a halt during the Great Depression, surged after the war. One-fourth of the country's entire housing stock in 1960 had not even existed a decade earlier.

AP® EXAM TIP

The causes and effects of the migration of the middle class to the suburbs is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

William J. Levitt and the FHA Two unique postwar developments remade the national housing market and gave it a distinctly suburban shape. First, an innovative Long Island building contractor, William J. Levitt, revolutionized suburban housing by applying mass-production techniques and turning out new homes at a dizzying speed. Levitt's basic four-room house, complete with kitchen appliances, was priced at $7,990 when homes in the first Levittown went on sale in 1947 (about $86,000 today). Levitt did not need to advertise; word of mouth brought buyers flocking to his developments (all called Levittown) in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. Dozens of other developers were soon snapping up cheap farmland and building subdivisions around the country.

Even at $7,990, Levitt's homes would have been beyond the means of most young families had the traditional home-financing standard — a down payment of half the full price and ten years to pay off the balance — still prevailed. That is where the second postwar development came in. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) — that is, the federal government — brought the home mortgage market within the reach of a broader range of Americans than ever before. After the war, the FHA insured thirty-year mortgages with as little as 5 percent down and interest at 2 or 3 percent. The VA was even more generous, requiring only a token $1 down for qualified ex-GIs. FHA and VA mortgages best explain why, after hovering around 45 percent for the previous half century, home ownership jumped to 60 percent by 1960.

What purchasers of suburban houses got, in addition to a good deal, were homogeneous communities. Levitt's houses came with restrictive covenants prohibiting occupancy "by members of other than the Caucasian Race." (Restrictive covenants often applied to Jews and, in California, Asian Americans as well.) Levittowns were hardly alone. Suburban developments from coast to coast exhibited the same age, class, and racial homogeneity (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). In ***Shelley v. Kraemer*** (1948), the Supreme Court outlawed restrictive covenants, but racial discrimination in housing changed little. The practice persisted long after *Shelley*, because the FHA and VA continued the policy of redlining: refusing mortgages to African Americans and members of other minority groups seeking to buy in white neighborhoods. Indeed, no federal law — or even Court decisions like *Shelley* — actually prohibited racial discrimination in housing until Congress passed the Fair Housing Act in 1968.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Place postwar suburbanization in the context of the growing size and influence of the federal government. How did the national government encourage suburbanization?

The Suburban Landscape of Cold War America

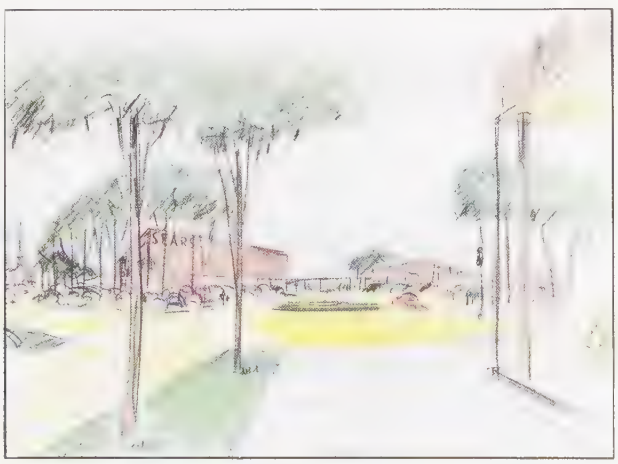
Between the end of World War II and the 1980s, Americans built and moved into suburban homes in an unprecedented wave of construction and migration that changed the nation forever. New home loan rules, and government backing under the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration, made new suburban houses cheaper and brought home ownership within reach of a larger number of Americans than ever before. Commentators cheered these developments as a boon to ordinary citizens, but by the 1960s a generation of urban critics, led by journalist Jane Jacobs, had begun to find fault with the nation's suburban obsession. The following documents provide the historian with evidence of how these new suburban communities arose and how they began to transform American culture.

1. *Life* magazine, "A *Life* Round Table on Housing," January 31, 1949.

The most aggressive member of *Life*'s Round Table, whether as builder or debater, was William J. Levitt, president of Levitt and Sons, Inc. of Manhasset, NY. He feels that he has started a revolution, the essence of which is size. Builders in his estimation are a poor and puny lot, too small to put pressure on materials manufacturers or the local czars of the building codes or the bankers or labor. A builder ought to be a manufacturer, he said, and to this end must be big. He himself is a nonunion operator.

The Levitt prescription for cheaper houses may be summarized as follows: 1) take infinite pains with infinite details; 2) be aggressive; 3) be big enough to throw your weight around; 4) buy at wholesale; and 5) build houses in concentrated developments where mass-production methods can be used on the site.

2. Site plan sketch for Park Forest, Illinois, 1946.



Source: The Park Forest Historical Society.

3. William H. Whyte Jr., *The Organization Man*, 1956. *Whyte, a prominent journalist, wrote about the decline of individualism and the rise of a national class of interchangeable white-collar workers.*

And is this not the whole drift of our society? We are not interchangeable in the sense of being people without differences, but in the externals of existence we are united by a culture increasingly national. And this is part of the momentum of mobility. The more people move about, the more similar American environments become, and the more similar they become, the easier it is to move about.

More and more, the young couples who move do so only physically. With each transfer the décor, the architecture, the faces, and the names may change; the people, the conversation, and the values do not — and sometimes the décor and architecture don't either. . . .

Suburban residents like to maintain that their suburbia not only looks classless but is classless. That is, they are apt to add on second thought, there are no extremes, and if the place isn't exactly without class, it is at least a one-class society — identified as the middle or upper middle, according to the inclination of the residents. "We are all," they say, "in the same boat."

4. Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1961. *A classic celebration of vibrant urban neighborhoods by a New York writer and architectural critic.*

Although it is hard to believe, while looking at dull gray areas, or at housing projects or at civic centers, the fact is that big cities are natural generators of diversity and prolific incubators of new enterprises and ideas of all kinds. . . .

This is because city populations are large enough to support wide ranges of variety and choice in these

Interstate Highways Without automobiles, suburban growth on such a massive scale would have been impossible. Planners laid out subdivisions on the assumption that everybody would drive. And they did — to get to work, to take the children to Little League, to shop. With gas plentiful and cheap (15 cents a gallon), no one cared about the fuel efficiency of their V-8 engines or seemed to mind the elaborate tail fins and chrome that weighed down their cars. In 1945, Americans owned twenty-five

things. And again we find that bigness has all the advantages in smaller settlements. Towns and suburbs, for instance, are natural homes for huge supermarkets and for little else in the way of groceries, for standard movie houses or drive-ins and for little else in the way of theater. There are simply not enough people to support further variety, although there may be people (too few of them) who would draw upon it were it there. Cities, however, are the natural homes of supermarkets and standard movie houses plus delicatessens, Viennese bakeries, foreign groceries, art movies, and so on. . . .

The diversity, of whatever kind, that is generated by cities rests on the fact that in cities so many people are so close together, and among them contain so many different tastes, skills, needs, supplies, and bees in their bonnets.

5. Crowded supermarket, early 1960s.

Source: John Dominis/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images.

6. Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners*, 1967. *One of the first sociological studies of the new postwar suburbs and their residents.*

The strengths and weakness of Levittown are those of many American communities, and the Levittowners closely resemble other young middle class Americans. They are not America, for they are not a numerical majority of the population, but they represent the major constituency of the latest and more powerful economic and political institutions in American society — the favored customers and voters whom these seek to attract and satisfy. . . .

Although they are citizens of a national polity and their lives are shaped by national economic, social, and political forces, Levittowners deceive themselves into thinking that the community, or rather the home, is the single most important unit of their lives. . . .

In viewing their homes as the center of life, Levittowners are still using a societal model that fit the rural America of self-sufficient farmers and the feudal Europe of self-isolating extended families.

Sources: (2) *Life*, January 31, 1949, 74; (4) William H. Whyte Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), 276, 299; (5) Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Westminster, MD: Vintage, 1992), 145–147; (6) Herbert J. Gans, *The Levittowners* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 417–418.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 3, 4, and 5. How do they reinforce or contradict one another?
2. In source 3, what does Whyte mean by "classless"? Why would suburbanites wish to think of their communities as not beset by class inequality? Were they right in this point of view?
3. Do you see evidence in source 1 of the ways the postwar housing market was transformed? How does Levitt's vision of the home-building industry relate to other kinds of American industries?
4. In source 4, what advantages does Jacobs see in large cities over suburbs? Can you interpret sources 2 and 5 from the perspective that Jacobs outlines?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Write an essay in which you use the knowledge you've gained from this chapter and the documents provided above to explore postwar suburbanization. What did it mean to the American economy? To ordinary Americans? What flaws did its critics see?

million cars; by 1965, just two decades later, the number had tripled to seventy-five million (AP® America in the World). American oil consumption followed course, tripling as well between 1949 and 1972.

More cars required more highways, and the federal government obliged. In 1956, in a move that drastically altered America's landscape and driving habits, the **National Interstate and Defense Highways Act** authorized $26 billion over a ten-year period for

Hanoch Bartov: Everyone Has a Car

One of Israel's foremost writers and journalists, Hanoch Bartov spent two years in the United States working as a correspondent for the newspaper *Lamerchav*. As a newcomer to Los Angeles in the early 1960s, he was both fascinated and appalled by Americans' love affair with the automobile.

Our immediate decision to buy a car sprang from healthy instincts. Only later did I learn from bitter experience that in California, death was preferable to living without one. Neither the views from the plane nor the weird excursion that first evening hinted at what I would go through that first week.

Very simple — the nearest supermarket was about half a kilometer south of our apartment, the regional primary school two kilometers east, and my son's kindergarten even farther away. A trip to the post office — an undertaking, to the bank — an ordeal, to work — an impossibility. . . .

There are no tramways. No one thought of a subway. Railroads — not now and not in the future. Why? Because everyone has a car. A man invited me to his house, saying, "We are neighbors, within ten minutes of each other." After walking for an hour and a half I realized what he meant — "ten minute drive within the speed limit." Simply put, he never thought I might interpret his remark to refer to the walking distance. The moment a baby sees the light of day in Los Angeles, a car is registered in his name in Detroit. . . .

At first perhaps people relished the freedom and independence a car provided. You get in, sit down, and grab the steering wheel, your mobility exceeding that of any other generation. No wonder people refuse to live downtown, where they can hear their neighbors, smell their cooking, and suffer frayed nerves as trains pass by bedroom windows. Instead, they get a piece of the desert, far from town, at half price, drag a water hose, grow grass, flowers, and trees, and build their dream house.

The result? A widely scattered city, its houses far apart, its streets stretched in all directions. Olympic Boulevard from west to east, forty kilometers. Sepulveda Boulevard, from Long Beach in the south to the edge of the desert, forty kilometers. Altogether covering 1,200 square kilometers. As of now.

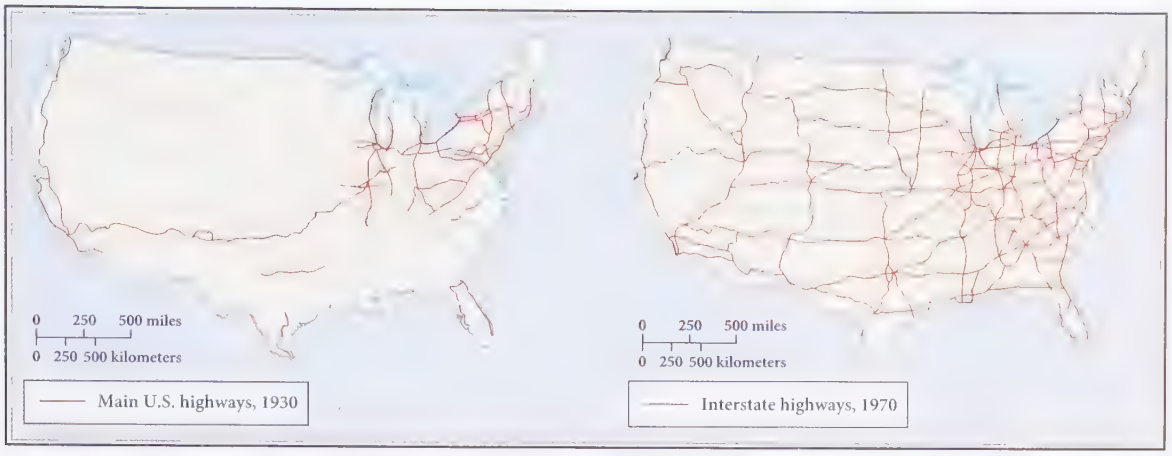
SOURCE: "Measures of Affluence" by Hanoch Bartov (1963) in Chapter 16 from *The Outer World*, edited by Oscar Handlin and Lilian Handlin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). © 1997. Reprinted by permission of Oscar and Lillian Handlin.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. From Bartov's observations, what are the pluses and minuses of America's car culture? In what ways was the automobile changing American society?
2. Why did Bartov find that owning a car was necessary, especially in southern California?
3. How would suburbanization have contributed to the construction of new highways in the United States? How would highway construction have facilitated suburbanization?

the construction of a nationally integrated highway system — 42,500 miles (Map 25.1). Cast as a Cold War necessity because broad highways made evacuating crowded cities easier in the event of a nuclear attack, the law changed American cities forever. An enormous public works program surpassing anything undertaken during the New Deal, and enthusiastically endorsed by the Republican president, Dwight Eisenhower, federal highways made possible the massive suburbanization of the nation in the 1960s. Interstate highways rerouted traffic away from small towns, bypassed well-traveled main roads such as the cross-country Route 66, and cut wide swaths through old neighborhoods in the cities.

Fast Food and Shopping Malls Americans did not simply fill their new suburban homes with the latest appliances and gadgets; they also pioneered entirely new forms of consumption. Through World War II, downtowns had remained the center of retail sales and restaurant dining with their grand department stores, elegant eateries, and low-cost diners. As suburbanites abandoned big-city centers in the 1950s, ambitious entrepreneurs invented two new commercial forms that would profoundly shape the rest of the century: the shopping mall and the fast-food restaurant.



MAP 25.1 Connecting the Nation: The Interstate Highway System, 1930 and 1970
The 1956 National Interstate and Defense Highways Act paved the way for an extensive network of federal highways throughout the nation. The act not only pleased American drivers and enhanced their love affair with the automobile but also benefitted the petroleum, construction, trucking, real estate, and tourist industries. The new highway system promoted the nation's economic integration, facilitated the growth of suburbs, and contributed to the erosion of America's distinct regional identities.

By the late 1950s, the suburban shopping center had become as much a part of the American landscape as the Levittowns and their imitators. A major developer of shopping malls in the Northeast called them "today's village green," and noted that "the fountain in the mall has replaced the downtown department clock as the gathering place for young and old alike." By centralizing the otherwise dispersed world of suburban consumption, shopping malls brought "the market to the people instead of people to the market," commented the *New York Times*. In 1939, the suburban share of total metropolitan retail trade in the United States was a paltry 4 percent. By 1961, it was an astonishing 60 percent in the nation's ten largest metropolitan regions.

No one was more influential in creating suburban patterns of consumption than a Chicago-born son of Czech immigrants named Ray Kroc. A former jazz musician and traveling salesman, Kroc found his calling in 1954 when he acquired a single franchise of the little-known McDonald's Restaurant, based in San Bernardino, California. In 1956, Kroc invested in twelve more franchises and by 1958 owned seventy-nine. Three years later, Kroc bought the company from the McDonald brothers and proceeded to turn it into the largest chain of restaurants in the world. Based on inexpensive, quickly served hamburgers that hungry families could eat in the restaurant, in their cars, or at home, Kroc's vision transformed the way Americans consumed food. "Drive-in" or "fast" food became a staple of the American diet in the subsequent decades. By the year 2000, fast food was a $100 billion industry, and more children recognized Ronald McDonald, the clown in McDonald's television commercials, than Santa Claus.

Rise of the Sunbelt

Suburban living, although a nationwide phenomenon, was most at home in the **Sunbelt** (the southern and southwestern states), where taxes were low, the climate was mild, and open space allowed for sprawling subdivisions (Map 25.2). Florida added 3.5 million people, many of them retired, between 1940 and 1970. Texas profited from expanding petrochemical and defense industries. Most dramatic was California's growth, spurred especially by the state's booming defense-related aircraft and electronics industries. By 1970, California contained one-tenth of the nation's population and surpassed New York as the most populous state. By the end of the century, if California had been a nation its economy would have ranked among the top ten largest in the world.

AP® EXAM TIP
Recognize the reasons for the growth of the Sunbelt in the postwar years.

Fast Food, 1949 The sign atop this suburban Los Angeles restaurant says it all. Suburbanization laid the foundation for a unique postwar phenomenon that would forever change American life: the rise of fast food. Cheap, convenient, and "fast," the food served in the new restaurants, modeled after the industry's pioneer, McDonald's, was not necessarily nutritious, but its chief advantage was portability. Loomis Dean/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

A distinctive feature of Sunbelt suburbanization was its close relationship to the military-industrial complex. Building on World War II expansion, military bases proliferated in the South and Southwest in the postwar decades, especially in Florida, Texas, and California. In some instances, entire metropolitan regions — such as San Diego County, California, and the Houston area in Texas — expanded in tandem with nearby military outposts. Moreover, the aerospace, defense, and electronics industries were based largely in Sunbelt metropolitan regions. With government contracts fueling the economy and military bases providing thousands of jobs, Sunbelt politicians had every incentive to support vigorous defense spending by the federal government.

Sunbelt suburbanization was best exemplified by Orange County, California. Southwest of Los Angeles, Orange County was until the 1940s mostly just that — a land of oranges, groves of them. But during World War II, boosters attracted new bases and training facilities for the marines, navy, and air force (at the time the army air corps). Cold War militarization and the Korean War kept those bases humming, and Hughes Aircraft, Ford Aeronautics, and other defense-related manufacturers built new plants in the sunny, sprawling groves. So did subdivision developers, who built so many new homes that the population of the county jumped from 130,760 in 1940 to 703,925 in 1960. Casting his eye on all this development in the early 1950s, an entrepreneurial filmmaker and cartoonist named Walt Disney chose Anaheim in Orange County as the place for a massive new amusement park. Disneyland was to the new generation of suburbanites what Coney Island had been to an earlier generation of urbanites.

Two Societies: Urban and Suburban

While middle-class whites flocked to the suburbs, an opposite stream of working-class migrants, many of them southern African Americans, moved into the cities. In the 1950s, the nation's twelve largest cities lost 3.6 million whites while gaining 4.5 million

MAP 25.2 Shifting Population Patterns, 1950–1980
This map shows the two major, somewhat overlapping, patterns of population movement between 1950 and 1980. Most striking is the rapid growth of the Sunbelt states. All the states experiencing increases of over 100 percent in that period are in the Southwest, plus Florida. The second pattern involves the growth of metropolitan areas, defined as a central city or urban area and its suburbs. The central cities were themselves mostly not growing, however. The metropolitan growth shown in this map was accounted for by the expanding suburbs. And because Sunbelt growth was primarily suburban growth, that's where we see the most rapid metropolitan growth, with Los Angeles the clear leader.

nonwhites. These urban newcomers inherited a declining economy and a decaying infrastructure. To those enjoying prosperity, the "other America," as the social critic Michael Harrington called it, remained largely invisible. In 1968, however, a report by the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (informally known as the **Kerner Commission** and formed by the president to investigate the causes of the 1967 urban riots), delivered to President Lyndon Johnson, warned that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal."

American cities had long been the home of poverty, slum housing, and the hardships and cultural dislocations brought on by immigration from overseas or migration from rural areas. But postwar American cities, especially those in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, experienced these problems with new intensity. By the 1950s, the manufacturing sector was contracting, and mechanization was eliminating thousands upon thousands of unskilled and semiskilled jobs, the kind traditionally taken up by new urban residents. The disappearing jobs were the ones "in which [African Americans] are disproportionately concentrated," noted the civil rights activist Bayard Rustin.

AP® EXAM TIP
Compare the Great Migration of the 1920s and 1930s to the movement of African Americans in the 1950s.

The Urban Crisis The intensification of poverty, the deterioration of older housing stock, and the persistence of racial segregation produced what many at the time called the urban crisis. Unwelcome in the shiny new suburbs built by men such as William J. Levitt, African Americans found low-paying jobs in the city and lived in

Urban Crisis In this photo of a Chicago neighborhood from 1963, a middle-class, high-rise apartment building looms over an older, low-income district. The contrast is emblematic of what many commentators in the 1960s came to call the "urban crisis," the shift of investment, commerce, good jobs, and the middle class away from central cities to either neighboring suburbs or high-rent apartment districts. Racial segregation and continued racial discrimination played a significant role in limiting the economic options available to the black working class. That reality became a major spark to the black freedom struggle in many American cities. Charles F. Knoblock, AP Image

aging, slumlike apartment buildings. Despite a thriving black middle class — indeed, larger than ever before — for those without resources, upward mobility remained elusive. Racism in institutional forms frustrated African Americans at every turn: housing restrictions, increasingly segregated schools, and an urban infrastructure that stood underfunded and decaying as whites left for the suburbs.

Housing and job discrimination were compounded by the frenzy of urban renewal that hit black neighborhoods in the 1950s and early 1960s. Seeking to revitalize declining city centers, politicians and real estate developers proposed razing blighted neighborhoods to make way for modern construction projects that would appeal to the fleeing middle class. In Boston, almost one-third of the old city — including the historic West End, a long-established Italian neighborhood — was demolished to make way for a new highway, high-rise housing, and government and commercial buildings. In San Francisco, some 4,000 residents of the Western Addition, a predominantly black neighborhood, lost out to an urban renewal program that built luxury housing, a shopping center, and an express boulevard. Between 1949 and 1967, urban renewal nationwide demolished almost 400,000 buildings and displaced 1.4 million people.

The urban experts believed they knew what to do with the dislocated: relocate them to federally funded housing projects, an outgrowth of New Deal housing policy, now

much expanded. However well intended, these grim projects too often took the form of cheap high-rises that isolated their inhabitants from surrounding neighborhoods. The impact was felt especially strongly among African Americans, who often found that public housing increased racial segregation and concentrated the poor. The Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago, with twenty-eight buildings of sixteen stories each, housed 20,000 residents, almost all of them black. Despite the planners' wish to build decent affordable apartments, the huge complex became a notorious breeding ground for crime and hopelessness.

Urban Immigrants Despite the evident urban crisis, cities continued to attract immigrants from abroad. Since the passage of the National Origins Act of 1924 (Chapter 21), U.S. immigration policy had aimed mainly at keeping foreigners out. But World War II and the Cold War began slowly to change American policy. The Displaced Persons Act of 1948 permitted the entry of approximately 415,000 Europeans, many of them Jewish refugees. In a gesture to an important war ally, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943. More far-reaching was the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which ended the exclusion of Japanese, Koreans, and Southeast Asians.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the policies of the federal government toward immigrants before and after World War II.

After the national-origins quota system went into effect in 1924, Mexico replaced Eastern and Southern Europe as the nation's labor reservoir. During World War II, the federal government introduced the Bracero Program to ease wartime labor shortages (Chapter 23) and then revived it in 1951, during the Korean War. The federal government's ability to force workers to return to Mexico, however, was strictly limited. The Mexican immigrant population continued to grow, and by the time the Bracero Program ended in 1964, many of that group — an estimated 350,000 — had settled permanently in the United States. Braceros were joined by other Mexicans from small towns and villages, who immigrated to the United States to escape poverty or to earn money to return home and purchase land for farming.

As generations of immigrants had before them, Mexicans gravitated to major cities. Mostly, they settled in Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Jose, El Paso, and other southwestern cities. But many also went north, augmenting well-established Mexican American communities in Chicago, Detroit, Kansas City, and Denver. Although still important to American agriculture, Mexican Americans were employed in substantial numbers as industrial and service workers by 1960.

Another major group of Spanish-speaking migrants came from Puerto Rico. American citizens since 1917, Puerto Ricans enjoyed an unrestricted right to move to the mainland United States. Migration increased dramatically after World War II, when mechanization of the island's sugarcane agriculture left many Puerto Ricans jobless. Airlines began to offer cheap direct flights between San Juan and New York City. With the fare at about $50 (two weeks' wages), Puerto Ricans became America's first immigrants to arrive en masse by air. Most Puerto Ricans went to New York, where they settled first in East ("Spanish") Harlem and then scattered in neighborhoods across the city's five boroughs. This massive migration, which increased the Puerto Rican population to 613,000 by 1960, transformed the ethnic composition of the city. More Puerto Ricans now lived in New York City than in San Juan.

Cuban refugees constituted the third largest group of Spanish-speaking immigrants. In the six years after Fidel Castro's seizure of power in 1959 (Chapter 24), an estimated 180,000 people fled Cuba for the United States. The Cuban refugee community grew so quickly that it turned Miami into a **cosmopolitan,** bilingual city almost overnight. Unlike other urban migrants, Miami's Cubans quickly prospered, in large part because they had arrived with money and middle-class skills.

Spanish-speaking immigrants — whether Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Cuban — created huge barrios in major American cities, where bilingualism flourished, the Catholic Church shaped religious life, and families sought to join the economic mainstream. Though distinct from one another, these Spanish-speaking communities remained

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

In what sense was the United States becoming, in the language of the Kerner Commission report, "two societies"?

largely segregated from white, or Anglo, neighborhoods and suburbs as well as from African American districts.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the major forces that contributed to postwar suburbanization?

SUMMARY

We have explored how, at the same time it became mired in the Cold War, the United States entered an unparalleled era of prosperity in which a new middle class came into being. Indeed, the Cold War was one of the engines of prosperity. The postwar economy was marked by the dominance of big corporations and defense spending.

After years of depression and war-induced insecurity, Americans turned inward toward religion, home, and family. Postwar couples married young, had several children, and — if they were white and middle class — raised their children in a climate of suburban comfort and consumerism. The profamily orientation of the 1950s celebrated traditional gender roles, even though millions of women entered the workforce in those years. Not everyone, however, shared in the postwar prosperity. Postwar cities increasingly became places of last resort for the nation's poor. Black migrants, unlike earlier immigrants, encountered an urban economy that had little use for them. Without opportunity, and faced with pervasive racism, many of them were on their way to becoming an American underclass, even as sparkling new suburbs emerged outside cities to house the new middle class. Many of the smoldering contradictions of the postwar period — Cold War anxiety in the midst of suburban domesticity, tensions in women's lives, economic and racial inequality — helped spur the protest movements of the 1960s.

CHAPTER 25 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What explains the growth of the American economy after World War II?
2. What was the domestic ideal, and how did Americans embrace it in the postwar decades?
3. What were the major forces that contributed to postwar suburbanization?
4. Review the events listed under "America in the World" and "Work, Exchange, and Technology" for the periods 1930–1945 and 1945–1960 on the thematic timelines on pages 618–619 and 746–747, respectively. Explain how the United States began the 1930s in deep depression with unemployment near 25 percent and ended the 1950s with an expanded middle class and a consumption-driven economy.

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

kitchen debate (p. 780)
Bretton Woods (p. 782)
World Bank (p. 783)
International Monetary Fund (IMF) (p. 783)
military-industrial complex (p. 783)
Sputnik (p. 783)
National Defense Education Act (p. 783)
The Affluent Society (p. 785)
The Other America (p. 785)
Veterans Administration (p. 786)
collective bargaining (p. 786)
teenager (p. 789)
Beats (p. 790)
baby boom (p. 793)
Shelley v. Kraemer (p. 799)
National Interstate and Defense Highways Act (p. 801)
Sunbelt (p. 803)
Kerner Commission (p. 805)

Key People

Dwight D. Eisenhower (p. 783)
Miles Davis (p. 790)
Allen Ginsberg (p. 790)
Billy Graham (p. 792)
Dr. Benjamin Spock (p. 793)
William J. Levitt (p. 799)

Key Academic Terms

exacerbate (p. 780)
consign (p. 787)
saccharine (p. 790)
ecumenical (p. 792)
anomaly (p. 793)
cosmopolitan (p. 807)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Think back to earlier chapters that discussed gender roles, marriage, and American family life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Chapters 17, 18, 21, 23). How had the American family changed by the 1950s? What aspects of family life remained similar across many decades? For example, how did the working-class immigrant family of the 1890s differ from the middle-class family of the 1950s?
2. Examine the Motorola TV advertisement featured on page 788. What different types of appeals does this advertisement make, and what do they suggest about family and gender roles in this period? How many distinct themes from the chapter can you explain using this image?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 782 for help in answering the question below.

What were the major turning points in the creation of postwar suburbia?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the following excerpt.

> "In order that you may enjoy your house, and derive the utmost pleasure from it, we have undertaken to prepare this handbook so that you may better understand our position and your responsibilities. . . .
>
> No single feature . . . o much to the charm and beauty of the individual home and locality as well-kept lawns. Stabilization of values, yes, increase in values, will most often be found in those neighborhoods where lawns show as green carpets, and trees and shrubbery join to impart the sense of residential elegance. Where lawns and landscape material are neglected the neighborhood soon amasses a sub-standard or blighted appearance and is naturally shunned by the public. Your investment in your garden is large at the beginning, but will grow larger and larger as the years go by. For while furniture, houses, and most material things tend to depreciate with the years, your lawn, trees, and shrubs become more valuable both esthetically and monetarily."
>
> Informational Handbook, "Homeowners Guide: Some Information for Residents of Levittown to Help Them Enjoy Their Homes," Levittown, Pennsylvania, 1957

1. The excerpt from the "Homeowner's Guide" could best be used by a historian to prove that after World War II (1945–1960) the United States experienced which of the following trends?
   a. Increasing numbers of immigrants seeking access to economic opportunities
   b. The rapid growth of evangelical Christian churches and organizations
   c. The introduction of greater informality into U.S. culture
   d. The migration of the middle class to the suburbs
2. The excerpt from the "Homeowner's Guide" was most likely intended to
   a. promote an increasingly homogeneous culture in the postwar years.
   b. challenge the Sunbelt as a significant political and economic force.
   c. inspire critiques of conformity by artists and intellectuals.
   d. advocate a link between home ownership and social mobility.

3. After World War II (1945–1960) Levittown grew most directly as a result of
   a. the baby boom.
   b. growing power of political machine organizations.
   c. changes in sexual norms.
   d. passage of new immigration laws.

Questions 4–5 refer to the song lyrics below.

Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes made of ticky tacky,
Little boxes on the hillside,
Little boxes all the same.
There's a green one and a pink one
And a blue one and a yellow one,
And they're all made out of ticky tacky,
And they all look just the same.
And the people in the houses
All went to the university,
Where they were put in boxes
And they came out all the same,
And there's doctors and lawyers,
And business executives,
And they're all made out of ticky tacky,
And they all look just the same.
And they all play on the golf course
And drink their martinis dry,
And they all have pretty children
And the children go to school,
And the children go to summer camp,
And then to the university
Where they are put in boxes
And they come out all the same.
And the boys go into business
And marry and raise a family
In boxes made of ticky tacky
And they all look just the same.
There's a green one and a pink one
And a blue one and a yellow one,
And they're all made out of ticky tacky
And they all look just the same.

From the song, "Little Boxes." Words and music by Malvina Reynolds. Copyright © 1962 Schroder Music Co. (ASCAP) Renewed 1990. Used by permission. All rights reserved.

4. The lyrics in the excerpt most directly reflect which of the following developments during the middle of the twentieth century?
   a. The widening of the gap between the rich and the poor
   b. The expansion of higher education opportunities
   c. The decrease in child labor
   d. Technological developments spurring economic growth
5. Which of the following issues of the period was the songwriter most likely concerned with?
   a. The increasingly homogenous mass culture of the postwar years
   b. The counterculture's rejection of the social and economic values of their parents' generation
   c. The persistence of poverty as a national problem despite an overall affluence
   d. The baby boom

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "Motown's commercial success put the record company in a unique position to promote a wide range of black cultural expression . . . [but its] . . . role as a producer of black culture and its ambitions in the business world did not coexist without conflict and contradiction. . . . [C]ommercial concerns about the marketability of a recording often stalled and sometimes cancelled projects that management deemed too politically controversial. . . . [T]he company wavered between willingness and caution when asked to produce recordings . . . that involved overt political or racial messages. . . . [P]opular music audiences, local activists, and national civil rights leaders . . . had their own ideas and disagreements about the meanings of Motown's music and commercial success. . . . Motown could not avoid becoming a contested symbol of racial progress. Motown's music symbolized the possibility of amicable racial integration through popular culture."
>
> Suzanne E. Smith, *Dancing in the Street: Motown and the Cultural Politics of Detroit*, 1999

> "American Bandstand encouraged the show's viewers, advertisers, and television affiliates to see it as the thread that stitched together different teenagers in different parts of the country into a coherent and recognizable national youth culture. . . . American Bandstand invited viewers to consume the sponsors' snacks and soft drinks along with the latest music and dances. . . . The central problem facing American Bandstand's producers was that their show's marketability depended on both the creative energies of black performers and the erasure of black teenagers . . . . [T]he image of youth culture American Bandstand presented to its national audiences bore little resemblance to the interracial makeup of Philadelphia's rock and roll scene. As the television program that did the most to define the image of youth in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the exclusionary racial practices of American Bandstand marginalized black teens from this imagined national youth culture."
>
> Matthew F. Delmont, *The Nicest Kids in Town: American Bandstand, Rock 'n' Roll, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in 1950s Philadelphia*, 2012

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Smith's and Delmot's historical interpretations of the United States music industry's influence on social change in the postwar period.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Smith's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Delmot's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE important historical similarity between the United States consumer culture in the 1920s to that in the 1950s.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE important historical difference between the United States' consumer culture in the 1920s from that in the 1950s.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for the similarity OR difference between the United States consumer culture in the 1920s and the United States consumer culture in the 1950s.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical cause of suburban growth in the U.S. after World War II.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ANOTHER specific historical cause of suburban growth in the U.S. after World War II.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect or consequence of suburban growth in the U.S. after World War II.

CHAPTER 26

Walking into Freedom Land: The Civil Rights Movement 1941–1973

The Emerging Civil Rights Struggle, 1941–1957

Life Under Jim Crow

Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

World War II: The Beginnings

Cold War Civil Rights

Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans

Fighting for Equality Before the Law

Forging a Protest Movement, 1955–1965

Nonviolent Direct Action

Legislating Civil Rights, 1963–1965

Beyond Civil Rights, 1966–1973

Black Nationalism

Urban Disorder

Rise of the Chicano Movement

The American Indian Movement

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How did the civil rights movement evolve over time, and how did competing ideas and political alliances affect its growth and that of other social movements?

In June 1945, as World War II was coming to an end, Democratic senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi stood on the floor of the U.S. Senate and brashly proclaimed that "the Negro race is an inferior race." Raising his arms, his tie askew from vigorous gesturing, Eastland ridiculed black troops. "The Negro soldier was an utter and dismal failure in combat," he said.

Eastland's assertions were untrue. Black soldiers had served honorably; many won medals for bravery in combat. All-black units, such as the 761st "Black Panther" Tank Battalion and the famous Tuskegee Airmen, were widely praised by military commanders. But segregationists like Eastland were a nearly unassailable force in Congress, able to block civil rights legislation and shape national opinion.

In the 1940s, two generations after W. E. B. Du Bois famously wrote that "the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," few white Americans believed wholeheartedly in racial equality. Racial segregation remained entrenched across the country. Much of the Deep South, like Eastland's Mississippi, was a "closed society": black people had no political rights and lived on the margins of white society, impoverished and exploited. Northern cities proved more hospitable to African Americans, but schools, neighborhoods, public amenities like swimming pools, and many businesses remained segregated and unequal in the North as well.

Across the nation, however, winds of change were gathering. Between World War II and the 1970s, slowly at first, and then with greater urgency in the 1960s, the civil rights movement swept aside systematic racial segregation. It could not sweep away racial inequality in its entirety, but the movement constituted a "second Reconstruction" in which black activism reshaped the nation's laws and practices. Civil rights was the paradigmatic social movement of the twentieth century. Its model of nonviolent protest and its calls for self-determination inspired the New Left, feminism, the Chicano movement, the gay rights movement, the American Indian movement, and many others.

The black-led civil rights movement, joined at key moments by Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans, redefined American *liberalism*. In the 1930s, New Deal liberalism had established a welfare state to protect citizens from economic hardship. The civil rights movement forged a new **rights liberalism**: the idea that individuals deserve state protection from discrimination. This version of liberalism focused on identities — such as race or gender, and eventually sexuality — rather than general social welfare. Rights liberalism proved to be both a necessary expansion of the nation's ideals and a wellspring of political backlash. Indeed, the quest for racial justice would contribute to a crisis of liberalism itself.

The March from Selma to Montgomery, 1965 Leading a throng of 25,000 people, Martin Luther King Jr. and his wife, Coretta Scott King, marched from Selma, Alabama, to Montgomery, the state capitol, in March of 1965.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1941
- A. Philip Randolph proposes march on Washington
- Roosevelt issues Executive Order 8802

1942
- Double V Campaign launched
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) founded

1947
- "To Secure These Rights" published
- Jackie Robinson integrates major league baseball
- *Mendez v. Westminster School District*

1948
- States' Rights Democratic Party (Dixiecrats) founded

1954
- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*

1955
- Emmett Till murdered (August)
- Montgomery Bus Boycott begins (December)

1956
- Southern Manifesto issued against *Brown* ruling

1957
- Desegregation of Little Rock Central High School
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) founded

1960
- Greensboro, North Carolina, sit-ins (February)
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) founded (April)

1961
- Freedom Rides (May)

1963
- Demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama
- March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (August)

1964
- Civil Rights Act passed by Congress
- Freedom Summer

1965
- Voting Rights Act passed by Congress
- Malcolm X assassinated (February 21)
- Riot in Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles (August)

1966
- Black Panther Party founded

1967
- Riots in Detroit and Newark

1968
- Martin Luther King Jr. assassinated (April 4)

1969
- Young Lords founded
- American Indian Occupation of Alcatraz

1972
- National Black Political Convention
- "Trail of Broken Treaties" protest

The Emerging Civil Rights Struggle, 1941–1957

As it took shape during World War II and the early Cold War, the campaign against racial injustice proceeded along two tracks: at the grass roots and in government institutions (federal courts, state legislatures, and ultimately the U.S. Congress). Labor unions, churches, and organizations such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) inspired hundreds of thousands of ordinary citizens to join the movement. But grassroots protest was not African Americans' only weapon. They also had the Bill of Rights and the Reconstruction amendments to the Constitution. Civil rights lived in those documents—especially in the Fourteenth Amendment, which guaranteed equal protection under the law to all U.S. citizens, and in the Fifteenth, which guaranteed the right to vote regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude"—but had been ignored or violated for nearly a century. The task was to restore the Constitution's legal force. Neither track, grassroots or legal, was entirely independent of the other. Together, they were the foundation of the fight for racial equality in the postwar decades.

Life Under Jim Crow

Racial segregation and economic exploitation defined the lives of the majority of African Americans in the postwar decades. Numbering 15 million in 1950, African Americans were approximately 10 percent of the U.S. population. In the South, however, they constituted between 30 and 50 percent of the population of several states, such as South Carolina and Mississippi. Segregation, commonly known as Jim Crow (Chapter 17), prevailed in every aspect of life in the southern states, where two-thirds of all African Americans lived in 1950. African Americans could not eat in restaurants patronized by whites or use the same waiting rooms at bus stations. All forms of public transportation were rigidly segregated by custom or by law. Public parks and libraries were segregated. Even drinking fountains were labeled "White" and "Colored."

This system of segregation underlay economic and political structures that further marginalized and disempowered black citizens. Virtually no African Americans were allowed to work for city or state government, and the best jobs in the private sector were

reserved for whites. Black workers labored "in the back," cleaning, cooking, stocking shelves, and loading trucks for the lowest wages. Rural African Americans labored in a sharecropping system that kept them stuck in poverty, often prevented them from obtaining an education, and offered no avenue of escape. Politically, less than 20 percent of eligible black voters were allowed to vote, the result of poll taxes, literacy tests, intimidation, fraud, and the "white primary" (elections in which only whites could vote). This near-total disfranchisement gave whites power disproportionate to their numbers — black people were one-third of the residents of Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia but had basically no political voice in those states.

Segregation in Virginia, 1962 As the law of the land in most southern states, racial segregation (known as Jim Crow) required the complete separation of blacks and whites in most public spaces. The "white only" sign on a restaurant door shown in this 1962 photograph in Hampton, Virginia, was typical. Everything from restaurants, drinking fountains, public waiting areas to libraries, public parks, schools, restrooms, and even cola vending machines was subject to strict racial segregation. · Bruce Davidson/Magnum Photos

In the North, racial segregation in everyday life was less acute but just as tangible. Northern segregation took the form of a spatial system in which whites increasingly lived in suburbs or on the outskirts of cities, while African Americans were concentrated in declining downtown neighborhoods. The result was what many called ghettos: all-black districts characterized by high rents, low wages, and inadequate city services. Employment discrimination and their exclusion from job training left many African Americans without any means of support. Few jobs other than the most menial were open to African Americans; journalists, accountants, engineers, and other highly educated men from all-black colleges and universities often labored as railroad porters or cooks because jobs **commensurate** with their skills remained for whites only. These conditions produced a self-perpetuating cycle that kept far too many black citizens trapped on the social margins.

To be certain, African Americans found a measure of freedom in the North and West compared to the South. They could vote, participate in politics, and, at least after the early 1960s, enjoy equal access to public accommodations. But we err in thinking that racial segregation was only a southern condition or that poverty and racial discrimination were not also deeply entrenched in the North and West. In northern cities such as Detroit, Chicago, and Philadelphia, for instance, white home owners in the 1950s used various tactics — from police harassment to thrown bricks, burning crosses, bombs, and mob violence — to keep African Americans from living near them. Moreover, as we saw in Chapter 25, Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and bank redlining excluded African American home buyers from the all-white suburbs emerging around major cities. Racial segregation was a national, not regional, problem.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

Since racial injustice had been part of American life for hundreds of years, why did the civil rights movement arise when it did? After all, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), founded in 1909, had begun challenging racial segregation in a series of court cases in the 1930s. And other organizations, such as Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association in the 1920s, had attracted significant popular support (Chapter 21). These precedents were important, but several factors came together in the middle of the twentieth century to make a broad movement possible.

AP EXAM TIP

Recognize the impact of World War II on the growth of the civil rights movement.

TABLE 26.1

African American College Enrollment

Year	Number of African Americans Enrolled (rounded to nearest thousand)
1940	60,000
1950	110,000
1960	185,000
1970	430,000
1980	1.4 million
1990	3.6 million

An important influence was World War II. "The Jewish people and the Negro people both know the meaning of Nordic supremacy," wrote the African American poet Langston Hughes in 1945. In the war against fascism, the Allies sought to discredit racist Nazi ideology. Committed to fighting racism abroad, Americans increasingly condemned racism at home. The Cold War placed added pressure on U.S. officials. "More and more we are learning how closely our democracy is under observation," President Harry S. Truman commented in 1947. To inspire other nations in the global standoff with the Soviet Union, Truman explained, "we must correct the remaining imperfections in our practice of democracy."

Among the most consequential factors was the growth of the black middle class. Historically small, the black middle class experienced robust growth after World War II. Its ranks produced most of the civil rights leaders: ministers, teachers, trade unionists, attorneys, and other professionals. Churches, for centuries a sanctuary for black Americans, were especially important. Moreover, in the 1960s African American college students — part of the largest expansion of college enrollment in U.S. history — joined the movement, adding new energy and fresh ideas (Table 26.1). With access to education and media, this new middle class had more resources than ever before. Less dependent on white patronage, and therefore less vulnerable to white retaliation, middle-class African Americans were in a position to lead a movement for change.

Still other influences assisted the movement. White labor leaders were generally more equality-minded than the rank and file, but the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers, and the Communications Workers of America, among many other progressive trade unions, were reliable allies at the national level. The new medium of television, too, played a crucial role. When television networks covered early desegregation struggles — at Little Rock High School in 1957, for instance — Americans across the country saw the violence of white supremacy firsthand. None of these factors alone was decisive. None ensured an easy path. The civil rights movement faced enormous resistance and required dauntless courage and sacrifice from thousands upon thousands of activists for more than three decades. Ultimately, however, the movement changed the nation for the better and improved the lives of millions of Americans.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the growth of the black middle class assist the civil rights movement?

World War II: The Beginnings

During the war fought "to make the world safe for democracy," the United States was far from ready to extend full equality to its own black citizens. Black workers faced discrimination in wartime employment, and the more than 1 million black troops who served in World War II were placed in segregated units commanded solely by whites. Both at home and abroad, World War II "immeasurably magnified the Negro's awareness of the disparity between the American profession and practice of democracy," NAACP president Walter White observed.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of World War II in bringing change and continuity for African Americans.

Executive Order 8802 On the home front, activists pushed two strategies. First, A. Philip Randolph, whose **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters** was the most prominent black trade union, called for a march on Washington in early 1941. Randolph planned to bring 100,000 protesters to the nation's capital to call for equal opportunity for black workers in war jobs — then just beginning to expand with President Franklin Roosevelt's pledge to supply the Allies with **materiel**. To avoid a divisive protest, FDR issued Executive Order 8802 in June of that year, prohibiting racial discrimination in defense industries, and Randolph agreed to cancel the march. The resulting Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) had few enforcement powers, but it set an important precedent: federal action. Randolph's efforts showed that white leaders and

institutions could be swayed by concerted African American pressure. It would be a critical lesson for the movement.

The Double V Campaign A second strategy jumped from the pages of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, one of the foremost African American newspapers of the era. It was the brainchild of an ordinary cafeteria worker from Kansas. In a 1942 letter to the editor, James G. Thompson urged that "colored Americans adopt the double VV for a double victory" — victory over fascism abroad and victory over racism at home. Edgar Rouzeau, editor of the paper's New York office, agreed: "Black America must fight two wars and win in both." Instantly dubbed the Double V Campaign, Thompson's notion, with Rouzeau's backing, spread like wildfire through black communities across the country. African Americans would demonstrate their loyalty and citizenship by fighting the Axis powers. But they would also demand, peacefully but emphatically, the defeat of racism at home. "The suffering and privation may be great," Rouzeau told his readers, "but the rewards loom even greater."

The Double V met considerable resistance. In war industries, factories periodically shut down in Chicago, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities because of "hate strikes": the refusal of white workers to labor alongside black workers. Detroit was especially tense. Referring to the potential for racial strife, *Life* magazine reported in 1942 that "Detroit is Dynamite. . . . It can either blow up Hitler or blow up America." In 1943, it nearly did the latter. On a hot summer day, whites from the city's ethnic European neighborhoods taunted and beat African Americans in a local park. Three days of rioting ensued in which thirty-four people were killed, twenty-five of them black. Federal troops were called in to restore order.

Wartime Workers During World War II, hundreds of thousands of black migrants left the South, bound for large cities in the North and West. There they found jobs such as the welding work done by these African American women at the Landers, Frary, and Clark plant in New Britain, Connecticut. Fighting employment discrimination during the war represented one of the earliest phases in the long struggle against racial segregation in the United States. Library of C

Despite such incidents, and to some degree because of them, a generation was spurred into action during the war years. In New York City, employment discrimination on the city's transit lines prompted one of the first bus boycotts in the nation's history, led in 1941 by Harlem minister Adam Clayton Powell Jr. In Chicago, James Farmer and three other members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a nonviolent peace organization, founded the **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)** in 1942. FOR and CORE embraced the philosophy of nonviolent direct action espoused by Mahatma Gandhi of India. Another FOR member in New York and proponent of direct action, Bayard Rustin, led one of the earliest challenges to southern segregation, the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation. Meanwhile, after the war, hundreds of thousands of African American veterans used the GI Bill to go to college, trade school, or graduate school, placing themselves in a position to push against segregation. At the war's end, Powell affirmed that "the black man . . . is ready to throw himself into the struggle to make the dream of America become flesh and blood, bread and butter."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why did World War II play such a critical role in the civil rights movement?

Cold War Civil Rights

Demands for justice persisted in the early years of the Cold War. African American efforts were propelled by symbolic victories — as when Jackie Robinson broke through the color line in major league baseball by joining the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947 — but the growing black vote in northern cities proved more consequential. During World War II, more than a million African Americans migrated to northern and western cities, where they joined the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal (Map 26.1). This newfound political leverage awakened northern liberals, many of

MAP 26.1 Internal Migrations
The migration of African Americans from the South to other regions of the country produced one of the most remarkable demographic shifts of the mid-twentieth century. Between World War I — which marked the start of the Great Migration — and the 1970s, more than 6 million African Americans left the South. Where they settled in the North and West, they helped change the politics of entire cities and even states. Seeking black votes, which had become a key to victory in major cities, liberal Democrats and Republicans alike in New York, Illinois, California, and Pennsylvania, for instance, increasingly made civil rights part of their platform. In this way, migration advanced the political cause of black equality.

whom became allies of civil rights advocates. Ultimately, however, the Cold War produced mixed results, as the nation's growing anticommunism opened some avenues for civil rights while closing others.

Civil Rights and the New Deal Coalition African American leaders were uncertain what to expect from President Truman, inheritor of the New Deal coalition but not opposed to using racist language himself. Though he did not immediately support social equality for African Americans, Truman supported civil rights because he believed in equality before the law. Moreover, he understood the growing importance of the small but often decisive black vote in key northern states such as New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Michigan. Civil rights activists Randolph and Powell — along with vocal white liberals such as Hubert Humphrey, the mayor of Minneapolis, and members of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), a liberal organization — pressed Truman to act.

AP® EXAM TIP
Evaluate the impact of executive actions in supporting racial equality.

With no support for civil rights in Congress, Truman turned to executive action. In 1946, he appointed the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights, whose 1947 report, "**To Secure These Rights**," called for robust federal action to ensure black equality. With the report's recommendations in mind, in 1948 Truman issued an executive order

desegregating employment in federal agencies and, under pressure from Randolph's Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service, desegregated the armed forces. Truman then sent a message to Congress asking that every one of the report's recommendations—including the abolition of poll taxes and the restoration of the Fair Employment Practice Committee—be made into law. It was the most aggressive and politically bold call for racial equality by the leader of a major political party since Reconstruction.

Truman's boldness was too much for southern Democrats. Under the leadership of Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina, white Democrats from the South formed the **States' Rights Democratic Party**, known popularly as the Dixiecrats, for the 1948 election (Chapter 24). This brought into focus an internal struggle developing within the Democratic Party and its still-formidable New Deal coalition. Would the civil rights aims of the party's liberal wing alienate southern white Democrats, as well as many suburban whites in the North? It was the first hint of the discord that would eventually divide the Democratic Party in the 1960s.

Race and Anticommunism The Cold War both helped and impeded the civil rights movement. In a time of growing fear of communist expansionism, Truman worried about America's image in the world. He reminded Americans that when whites and blacks "fail to live together in peace," that failure harmed "the cause of democracy itself in the whole world." Indeed, the Soviet Union used American racism to discredit the United States abroad: "We cannot escape the fact that our civil rights record has been an issue in world politics," the Committee on Civil Rights wrote. International tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union thus appeared to strengthen the hand of civil rights leaders, because America needed to demonstrate to the rest of the world that its racial climate was improving (AP® America in the World).

However, the Cold War, McCarthyism, and the hunt for subversives at home also held the civil rights movement back. Civil rights opponents charged that racial integration was "communistic," and the NAACP was banned in many southern states as an "anti-American" organization. Black Americans who spoke favorably of the Soviet Union, such as the actor and singer Paul Robeson, or had been "fellow travelers" in the 1930s, such as the pacifist Rustin, were persecuted. Robeson, whose career was destroyed by such accusations, told House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) interrogators, "My father was a slave, and my people died to build this country, and I am going to . . . have a part of it just like you." The fate of people like Robeson showed that the Cold War could work *against* the civil rights cause just as easily as for it.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

How did the Cold War work in the favor of civil rights? How did it work against the movement?

Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans

African Americans were the most prominent, but not the only, group in American society to organize against racial injustice in the 1940s. In the Southwest, from Texas to California, Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans endured a "caste" system not unlike the Jim Crow system in the South. In Texas, for instance, poll taxes kept most Mexican American citizens from voting. Decades of discrimination by employers in agriculture and manufacturing—made possible by the constant supply of cheap labor from across the border—suppressed wages and kept the majority of Mexican Americans barely above poverty. Many lived in *colonias* or barrios, neighborhoods separated from Anglos and often lacking sidewalks, reliable electricity and water, and public transportation.

Japanese American Citizens League Members of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) meet in Denver, Colorado, for their biennial conference in 1951. The JACL was one of a number of organizations, like the Mexican American organization known as the American GI Forum, that advocated for civil rights in the decades after World War II. Along with the larger and better-known NAACP, groups like the JACL and GI Forum expanded the boundaries of citizenship in these years by presenting legal challenges to discrimination against non-whites.

Freedom in the United States and Africa

HAILOU WOLDE-GIORGHIS

Hailou Wolde-Giorghis was an Ethiopian student who visited the United States at the invitation of the State Department in the early 1960s.

SOURCE: Hailou Wolde-Giorghis, "My Encounters with Racism in the United States," in *Views of America*, ed. Alan F. Westin et al. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1966), 228-231.

"Negroes are dirty," say the whites, but in nearly all restaurants I saw Negro waiters and cooks. "They're lazy": I noticed that it is the Negro who does the hardest manual work. They are said to be uncultivated and are therefore denied access to culture. As George Bernard Shaw said, "The haughty American nation makes the Negro shine its shoes, and then demonstrates his physical and mental inferiority by the fact that he is a shoe-cleaner." . . .

What is known as integration in the South is the ability of a Negro to enter a shop and buy a record, or the fact that, of ten thousand students enrolled in a university, two of them are Negroes. "A miracle!" they cry. Real integration, however, does not exist, not even in the North, and by real integration I mean interracial communication, complete equality in the strict sense of the word. Still another example drawn from the South: the manager of a television studio told me in frigid terms that he would not hire Negroes; there would be a scandal and all his sponsors would protest.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Here, the American civil rights leader celebrates the independence of the African nation of Ghana in 1957.

SOURCE: Martin Luther King Jr., "The Birth of a New Nation," *Liberation* 28 (April 1957).

And it's a beautiful thing, isn't it that . . . [Ghana] is now free and is free without rising up with arms and ammunition. It is free through nonviolent means. Because of that the British Empire will not have the bitterness for Ghana that she has for China, so to speak. Because of that when the British Empire leaves Ghana she leaves with a different attitude than she would have left with if she had been driven out by armies. We've got to revolt in such a way that after revolt is over we can live with people as their brothers and sisters.

KWAME NKRUMAH

Kwame Nkrumah was the first president of the independent nation of Ghana. In the 1930s and 1940s, Nkrumah studied in the United States, earning degrees at Lincoln University and the University of Pennsylvania.

SOURCE: Kwame Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology* (New York: Praeger, 1961), ix.

The "wind of change" has become a raging hurricane, sweeping away the old colonialist Africa. The year 1960 was Africa's year. In that year alone, seventeen African States emerged as proud and independent sovereign nations. Now the ultimate freedom of the whole of Africa can no more be in doubt.

For centuries, Europeans dominated the African continent. The white man arrogated to himself the right to rule and to be obeyed by the non-white. . . .

All this makes a sad story, but now we must be prepared to bury the past with its unpleasant memories and look to the future. All we ask of the former colonial powers is their goodwill and cooperation to remedy past mistakes and injustices and to grant independence to the colonies in Africa.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Wolde-Giorghis is especially critical of southern "integration." As an African, what kind of perspective would he bring to this question?
2. What values and goals do King and Nkrumah seem to share? How were their circumstances and goals different?
3. Compare the circumstances of African Americans in the United States and Africans in nations colonized by Europeans. What were the similarities and differences?

Developments within the Mexican American community set the stage for fresh challenges to these conditions in the 1940s. Labor activism, especially in Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) unions with large numbers of Mexican Americans, improved wages and working conditions in some industries and produced a new generation of leaders. More than 400,000 Mexican Americans also served in World

War II. Having fought for their country, many returned to the United States determined to challenge their second-class citizenship. Additionally, a new Mexican American middle class began to take shape in major cities such as Los Angeles, San Antonio, El Paso, and Chicago, which, like the African American middle class, gave leaders and resources to the cause.

In Texas and California, Mexican Americans created new civil rights organizations in the postwar years. In Corpus Christi, Texas, World War II veterans founded the **American GI Forum** in 1948 to protest the poor treatment of Mexican American soldiers and veterans. Activists in Los Angeles created the **Community Services Organization (CSO)** the same year. Both groups arose to address specific local injustices (such as the segregation of military cemeteries), but they quickly broadened their scope to encompass political and economic justice for the larger community. Among the first young activists to work for the CSO were Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, who would later found the United Farm Workers (UFW) and inspire the Chicano movement of the 1960s.

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the origins of civil rights organizations in supporting immigrant groups.

Activists also pushed for legal change. In 1947, five Mexican American fathers in California sued a local school district for placing their children in separate "Mexican" schools. The case, *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, never made it to the U.S. Supreme Court. But the Ninth Circuit Court ruled such segregation unconstitutional, laying the legal groundwork for broader challenges to racial inequality. Among those filing briefs in the case was the NAACP's Thurgood Marshall, who was then developing the legal strategy to strike at racial segregation in the South. In another significant legal victory, the Supreme Court ruled in 1954—just two weeks before the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision—that Mexican Americans constituted a "distinct class" that could claim constitutional protection from discrimination.

Also on the West Coast, Japanese Americans accelerated their legal challenge to discrimination. Undeterred by rulings in the *Hirabayashi* (1943) and *Korematsu* (1944) cases upholding wartime imprisonment (Chapter 23), the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) filed lawsuits in the late 1940s to regain property lost during the war. The JACL also challenged the constitutionality of California's Alien Land Law, which prohibited Japanese immigrants from owning land, and successfully lobbied Congress to enable those same immigrants to become citizens—a right they were denied for fifty years. These efforts by Mexican and Japanese Americans enlarged the sphere of civil rights and laid the foundation for a broader notion of racial equality in the postwar years.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How were the circumstances facing Mexican and Japanese Americans similar to those facing African Americans? How were they different?

Fighting for Equality Before the Law

With civil rights legislation blocked in Congress by southern Democrats throughout the 1950s, activists looked in two different directions for a breakthrough: to northern state legislatures and to the federal courts. School segregation remained a stubborn problem in northern states, but the biggest obstacle to black progress there was persistent job and housing discrimination. The states with the largest African American populations, and hence the largest share of black Democratic Party voters, became testing grounds for state legislation to end such discriminatory practices.

Winning antidiscrimination legislation depended on coalition politics. African American activists forged alliances with trade unions and liberal organizations such as the American Friends Service Committee (a Quaker group), among many others. Progress was slow and often occurred only after long periods of unglamorous struggle to win votes in state capitals such as Albany, New York; Springfield, Illinois; and Lansing, Michigan. The first fair employment laws had come in New York and New Jersey in 1945. A decade passed, however, before other states with significant black populations passed similar legislation. Antidiscrimination laws in housing were even more difficult to pass, with most progress not coming until the 1960s. These legislative campaigns in northern states received little national attention, but they were instrumental in laying the groundwork for legal equality outside the South.

Thurgood Marshall Because the vast majority of southern African Americans were prohibited from voting, state legislatures there were closed to the kind of organized political pressure possible in the North. Thus activists looked to federal courts for leverage. In the late 1930s, NAACP lawyers Thurgood Marshall, Charles Hamilton Houston, and William Hastie had begun preparing the legal ground in a series of cases challenging racial discrimination. The key was prodding the U.S. Supreme Court to use the Fourteenth Amendment's "equal protection" clause to overturn its 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which upheld racial segregation under the "separate but equal" doctrine.

Marshall was the great-grandson of slaves. Of modest origins, his parents instilled in him a faith in law and the Constitution. After his 1930 graduation from Lincoln University, a prestigious African American institution near Philadelphia, Marshall applied to the University of Maryland Law School. Denied admission because the school did not accept black applicants, he enrolled at all-black Howard University. There Marshall met Houston, a law school dean, and the two forged a friendship and intellectual partnership that would change the face of American legal history. Marshall, with Houston's and Hastie's critical strategic input, would argue most of the NAACP's landmark cases. (In 1967, President Johnson appointed Marshall to the Supreme Court — the first African American to have that honor.)

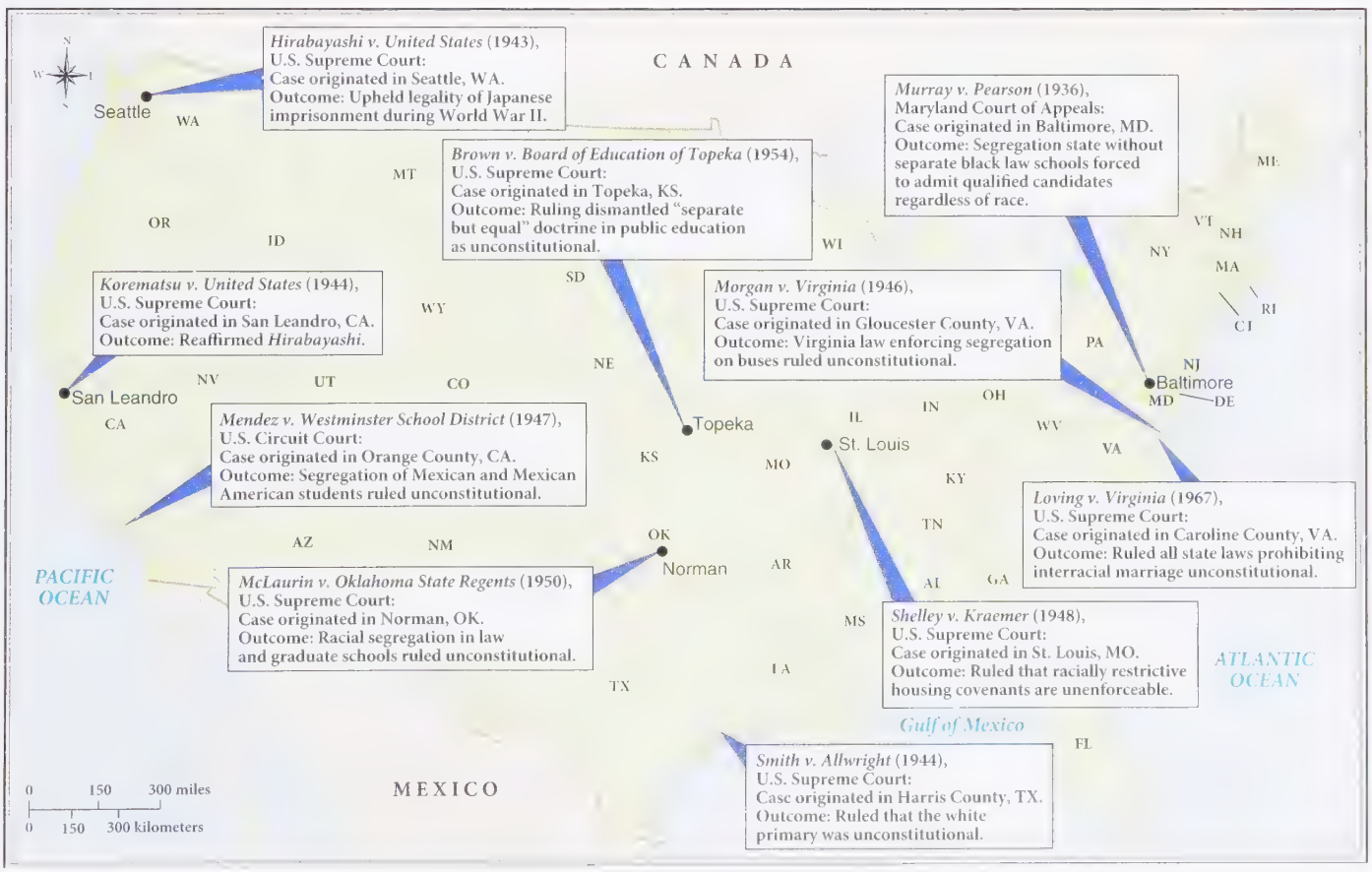
Thurgood Marshall and Daisy Bates Thurgood Marshall was one of the most influential legal thinkers of the twentieth century. As director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund during the 1940s and 1950s, he helped dismantle the legal underpinnings of racial discrimination and segregation — he argued the *Brown* case, among dozens of others, for the NAACP. In 1967, he was appointed by President Johnson to the U.S. Supreme Court. Daisy Bates was a journalist and black freedom activist whose reporting in the black press in the 1950s was widely read and influential. She headed the Arkansas NAACP and played a prominent role on the national NAACP board. Here, Marshall and Bates sit on the steps of the Supreme Court in 1958 with some of the "Little Rock Nine," the young men and women who risked their lives to desegregate public schools in Arkansas. Bettmann/Getty Image

Marshall, Houston, Hastie, and six other attorneys filed suit after suit, deliberately selecting each case from dozens of possibilities. The strategy was slow and time-consuming, but progress came. In 1936, Marshall and Houston won a state case that forced the University of Maryland Law School to admit qualified African Americans — a ruling of obvious significance to Marshall. Eight years later, in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944), Marshall convinced the U.S. Supreme Court that all-white primaries were unconstitutional. In 1950, with Marshall once again arguing the case, the Supreme Court ruled in *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* that universities could not segregate black students from others on campus. None of these cases produced swift changes in the daily lives of most African Americans, but they confirmed that civil rights attorneys were on the right track.

AP® EXAM TIP

Describe the role of the Supreme Court in supporting greater racial equality in the U.S.

Brown v. Board of Education The NAACP's legal strategy achieved its ultimate validation in a case involving Linda Brown, a black pupil in Topeka, Kansas, who had been forced to attend a distant segregated school rather than the nearby white elementary school. In his argument before the court in ***Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*** (1954), Marshall contended that such segregation was unconstitutional because it denied Linda Brown the "equal protection of the laws" guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment (Map 26.2). In a unanimous decision on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court agreed, overturning the "separate but equal" doctrine at last. Writing for the Court, the new chief justice, Earl Warren, wrote: "We conclude that in the field of


Hirabayashi v. United States (1943), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in Seattle, WA. Outcome: Upheld legality of Japanese imprisonment during World War II.
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in Topeka, KS. Outcome: Ruling dismantled "separate but equal" doctrine in public education as unconstitutional.
Murray v. Pearson (1936), Maryland Court of Appeals: Case originated in Baltimore, MD. Outcome: Segregation state without separate black law schools forced to admit qualified candidates regardless of race.
Korematsu v. United States (1944), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in San Leandro, CA. Outcome: Reaffirmed *Hirabayashi*.
Morgan v. Virginia (1946), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in Gloucester County, VA. Outcome: Virginia law enforcing segregation on buses ruled unconstitutional.
Mendez v. Westminster School District (1947), U.S. Circuit Court: Case originated in Orange County, CA. Outcome: Segregation of Mexican and Mexican American students ruled unconstitutional.
Loving v. Virginia (1967), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in Caroline County, VA. Outcome: Ruled all state laws prohibiting interracial marriage unconstitutional.
McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents (1950), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in Norman, OK. Outcome: Racial segregation in law and graduate schools ruled unconstitutional.
Shelley v. Kraemer (1948), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in St. Louis, MO. Outcome: Ruled that racially restrictive housing covenants are unenforceable.
Smith v. Allwright (1944), U.S. Supreme Court: Case originated in Harris County, TX. Outcome: Ruled that the white primary was unconstitutional.
CANADA
MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Gulf of Mexico
Seattle
San Leandro
Topeka
St. Louis
Baltimore
Norman
WA
OR
CA
ID
NV
MT
WY
UT
AZ
CO
NM
ND
SD
NE
KS
OK
TX
MN
IA
MO
AR
LA
WI
IL
MS
MI
IN
KY
TN
AL
OH
WV
GA
FL
SC
NC
VA
PA
NY
VT
NH
ME
MA
RI
CT
NJ
MD
DE
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers

MAP 26.2 Desegregation Court Cases

Desegregation court battles were not limited to the South. Note the important California cases regarding Mexican Americans and Japanese Americans. Two seminal decisions, the 1948 housing decision in *Shelley v. Kraemer* and the 1954 school decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, originated in Missouri and Kansas, respectively. This map helps show that racial segregation and discrimination were a national, not simply a southern, problem.

public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." In an implementing 1955 decision known as *Brown II*, the Court declared that desegregation should proceed "with all deliberate speed."

In the South, however, Virginia senator Harry F. Byrd issued a call for "massive resistance." Calling May 17 "Black Monday," the Mississippi segregationist Tom P. Brady invoked the language of the Cold War to discredit the decision, assailing the "totalitarian government" that had rendered the decision in the name of "socialism and communism." That year, half a million southerners joined White Citizens' Councils dedicated to blocking school integration. Some whites revived the old tactics of violence and intimidation, swelling the ranks of the Ku Klux Klan to levels not seen since the 1920s. The "Southern Manifesto," signed in 1956 by 101 members of Congress, denounced the *Brown* decision as "a clear abuse of judicial power" and encouraged local officials to defy it. The white South had declared all-out war on *Brown*.

Enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision was complicated further by Dwight Eisenhower's presence in the White House—the president was no champion of civil rights. Eisenhower accepted the *Brown* decision as the law of the land, but he thought it a mistake. Ike was especially unhappy about the prospect of committing federal power to enforce the decision. A crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas, forced his hand. In September 1957, when nine black students attempted to enroll at the all-white Central High School, Governor Orval Faubus called out the National Guard to bar them. Angry white mobs appeared daily to taunt the students, chanting "Go back to the jungle." As the vicious scenes played out on television night after night, Eisenhower finally acted. He sent 1,000 federal troops to Little Rock and nationalized the Arkansas National

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did the NAACP develop a legal strategy to attack racial segregation?

School Desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas Less well known than the crisis at Little Rock's Central High School the same year, the circumstances at North Little Rock were nonetheless strikingly similar: white resistance to the enrollment of a handful of black students. In this photograph, white students block the doors of North Little Rock High School, preventing six African American students from entering on September 9, 1957. This photograph is noteworthy because it shows a striking new feature of southern racial politics: the presence of film and television cameras that broadcast these images to the nation and the world. AP Photo/William P. Straeter

Guard, ordering them to protect the black students. Eisenhower thus became the first president since Reconstruction to use federal troops to enforce the rights of African Americans. But Little Rock also showed that southern officials had more loyalty to local custom than to the law — a repeated problem in the post-*Brown* era.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What factors best explain why and how the civil rights movement developed between 1941 and 1954?**

Forging a Protest Movement, 1955–1965

By declaring racial segregation integral to the South's "habits, traditions, and way of life," the Southern Manifesto signaled that many whites would not readily accept black equality. As the battle over desegregating Little Rock High School had shown, the unwillingness of local officials to enforce *Brown* could render the decision invalid in practice. If legal victories would not be enough, citizens themselves, black and white, would have to take to the streets and demand justice. Following the *Brown* decision, they did just that, forging a protest movement unique in the history of the United States.

Nonviolent Direct Action

Brown had been the law of the land for barely a year when a single act of violence struck at the heart of black America. A fourteen-year-old African American from the South Side of Chicago, Emmett Till, was visiting relatives in Mississippi in the summer of 1955. Seen talking to a white woman in a grocery store, Till was tortured and murdered under cover of night. His mutilated body was found at the bottom of a river, tied with barbed wire to a heavy steel cotton gin fan. Photos of Till's body in *Jet* magazine brought national attention to the **heinous** crime.

Two white men were arrested for Till's murder. During the trial, followed closely in black communities across the country, the lone witness to Till's kidnapping — his uncle, Mose Wright — identified both killers. Feeling "the blood boil in hundreds of white people as they sat glaring in the courtroom," Wright said, "it was the first time in my life I had the courage to accuse a white man of a crime." Despite Wright's eyewitness testimony, the all-white jury found the defendants innocent. This miscarriage of justice — later, the killers even admitted their guilt in a *Look* magazine article — galvanized an entire generation of African Americans; no one who lived through the Till incident ever forgot it.

Montgomery Bus Boycott In the wake of the Till murder, civil rights advocates needed some good news. They received it three months later, as southern black leaders embraced an old tactic put to new ends: nonviolent direct action. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a civil rights activist in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man. She was arrested and charged with violating a local segregation ordinance. Parks's act was not the spur-of-the-moment decision that it seemed: a longtime NAACP member, she and other female civil rights activists in Montgomery had been contemplating such an act for some time. Parks's arrest became the focal point for the black community's challenge against segregated buses, which were a powerful symbol of the city's racial hierarchy.

Soon after Parks's arrest, the black community turned for leadership to the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., the recently appointed pastor of Montgomery's Dexter Street Baptist Church. The son of a prominent Atlanta minister, King embraced the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Working closely, but behind the scenes, with Bayard Rustin, King deepened his investment in nonviolent philosophy and the practice of direct action, which Rustin and others in the Fellowship of Reconciliation had first used in the 1940s.

King and other black ministers endorsed a plan proposed by a local black women's organization to boycott Montgomery's bus system. The **Montgomery Bus Boycott** was inspired by similar boycotts that had taken place in Harlem in 1941 and Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1953.

For the next 381 days, Montgomery's African Americans formed car pools or walked to work. "Darling, it's empty!" Coretta Scott King exclaimed to her husband as a bus normally filled with black riders rolled by their living room window on the first day of the boycott. The transit company neared bankruptcy, and downtown stores complained about the loss of business. But only after the Supreme Court ruled in November 1956 that bus segregation was unconstitutional did the city of Montgomery finally comply. "My feets is tired, but my soul is rested," said one woman boycotter.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott catapulted King to national prominence. In 1957, along with the Reverend Ralph Abernathy and dozens of black ministers from across the South, he founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in Atlanta. The black church, long the center of African American social and cultural life, now lent its moral and organizational strength to the civil rights movement. Black churchwomen were a tower of strength, transferring the skills they had honed during years of church work to the fight for civil rights. The SCLC quickly joined the NAACP at the leading edge of the movement for racial justice.

Greensboro Sit-Ins

The battle for civil rights entered a new phase in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960, when four black college students took seats at the whites-only lunch counter at the local Woolworth's drugstore, which had a diner-style lunch counter, as most southern drugstores in that era did. This simple act was entirely the brainchild of the four students, who had discussed it in their dorm rooms over several preceding nights. A New York–based spokesman for Woolworth's said the chain would "abide by local custom," which meant refusing to serve African Americans at the lunch counter. The students were determined to "sit in" until they were served. For three weeks, hundreds of students inspired by the original foursome took turns sitting at the counters, quietly eating, doing homework, or reading. Taunted and beaten by groups of whites, pelted with food and other debris, the black students — often occupying more than sixty of the sixty-six seats — held strong. Although many were arrested, the tactic worked: the Woolworth's lunch counter was desegregated, and sit-ins quickly spread to other southern cities (AP® Analyzing Voices).

Ella Baker Born in Virginia and educated at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, Ella Baker was one of the foremost theorists of grassroots, participatory democracy in the United States. Active all her life in the black freedom movement, in 1960 Baker cofounded the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Her advocacy of leadership by ordinary, nonelite people often led her to disagree with the top-down movement strategy of Martin Luther King Jr. and other ministers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). AP Photo / Jack Harris

Ella Baker and SNCC

Inspired by the developments in Greensboro and elsewhere, Ella Baker, an administrator with the SCLC, helped organize the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (**SNCC**, pronounced "Snick") in 1960 to facilitate student sit-ins. Rolling like a great wave across the Upper South, from North Carolina into Virginia, Maryland, and Tennessee, sit-ins had been launched by students in 126 cities by the end of the year. More than 50,000 people participated, and 3,600 went to jail. The sit-ins drew black college students into the movement in significant numbers for the first time. Northern students formed solidarity committees and raised money for bail. SNCC quickly emerged as the most important student protest organization in the country and inspired a generation of students on college campuses across the nation.

Baker took a special interest in these students because she found them receptive to her notion of participatory democracy

(AP® Interpreting the Past). The granddaughter of slaves, Baker had moved to Harlem in the 1930s, where she worked for New Deal agencies and then the NAACP. She believed in nurturing leaders from the grass roots, encouraging ordinary people to stand up for their rights rather than depend on charismatic figureheads. "My theory is, strong people don't need strong leaders," she once said. Nonetheless, Baker nurtured a generation of young activists in SNCC, including Stokely Carmichael, Anne Moody, John Lewis, and Diane Nash, who went on to become some of the most important civil rights leaders in the United States.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the methods and goals of civil rights leaders in the 1960s.

Freedom Rides Emboldened by SNCC's sit-in tactics, in 1961 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) organized a series of what were called Freedom Rides on interstate bus lines throughout the South. The aim was to call attention to blatant violations of recent Supreme Court rulings that had declared segregation in interstate commerce unconstitutional. The activists who signed on — mostly young, both black and white — knew that they were taking their lives in their hands. They found courage in song, as civil rights activists had begun to do across the country, with lyrics such as "I'm taking a ride on the Greyhound bus line. . . . Hallelujah, I'm traveling down freedom's main line!"

Courage they needed. Club-wielding Klansmen attacked the buses when they stopped in small towns. Outside Anniston, Alabama, one bus was firebombed; the Freedom Riders escaped only moments before it exploded. Some riders were then brutally beaten. Freedom Riders and news reporters were also viciously attacked by Klansmen in Birmingham and Montgomery. Despite the violence, state authorities refused to intervene. "I cannot guarantee protection for this bunch of rabble rousers," declared Governor John Patterson of Alabama.

Once again, local officials' refusal to enforce the law left the fate of the Freedom Riders in Washington's hands. The new president, John F. Kennedy, was cautious about civil rights. Despite a campaign commitment, he failed to deliver on a civil rights bill. Elected by a thin margin, Kennedy believed that he could ill afford to lose the support of powerful southern senators. But civil rights was unlike other domestic issues. Its fate was going to be decided not in the halls of Congress, but on the streets of southern cities. Although President Kennedy discouraged the Freedom Rides, beatings shown on the nightly news forced Attorney General Robert Kennedy to dispatch federal marshals. Civil rights activists thus learned the tactical value of nonviolent protest that provoked violent white resistance.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

What lessons did activists learn as the civil rights movement evolved between 1957 and 1961?

The victories so far had been limited, but the groundwork had been laid for a civil rights offensive that would transform the nation. The NAACP's legal strategy had been followed by the emergence of a major protest movement. And now civil rights leaders focused their attention on Congress.

Legislating Civil Rights, 1963–1965

The first civil rights law in the nation's history came in 1866 just after the Civil War. Its provisions were long ignored (Chapter 14). A second law was passed during Reconstruction in 1875, but it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. For nearly ninety years, new civil rights legislation was blocked or filibustered by southern Democrats in Congress. Only a weak, largely symbolic act was passed in 1957 during the Eisenhower administration. But by the early 1960s, with legal precedents in their favor and nonviolent protest awakening the nation, civil rights leaders believed the time had come for a serious civil rights bill. The challenge was getting one through a still-reluctant Congress.

The Battle for Birmingham The road to such a bill began when Martin Luther King Jr. called for demonstrations in "the most segregated city in the United States": Birmingham, Alabama. King and the SCLC needed a concrete victory in Birmingham to validate their strategy of nonviolent direct action. In May 1963, thousands of black

Race and Geography in the Civil Rights Era

Among the most intractable conditions of American cities has been racial segregation. Its causes have been many and complex. They include discrimination by the real estate industry and white home owners but also government policies, such as mortgage-guarantee programs and interstate highway construction (which facilitated white flight to the suburbs). The harmful results of racial segregation had long been evident, but in the 1960s what many called the "urban crisis" was the subject of heated national debate. Poverty and lack of opportunity among people of color living in cities and their geographic exclusion from areas of economic growth — especially the fast-developing suburbs — stood exposed. The excerpts below explore this history, from the 1930s to the 1960s, through government documents and the voices of activists, writers, and officials.

JOHN WING

Neighborhood Association Calls for Housing Bias

Across the United States in the mid-twentieth century, home owners banded together in organizations called neighborhood associations. These groups pursued a variety of objectives, from welcoming new residents to lobbying city government to install traffic signs and crosswalks. However, between the 1920s and the 1960s the major purpose of many of them was to prevent African Americans and other people of color from moving into certain neighborhoods. In the following excerpt, from a 1933 court case originating in Evanston, Illinois, a member of just such an association discusses its actions.

SOURCE: Becky Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, eds., *The Suburb Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 235–236.

"In 1922 the residents living in that location [Asbury Avenue] became particularly conscious of the fact that there was a likelihood of negroes moving south of Emerson Street. It was first brought to our attention in connection with the premises at 1844 Wesley Avenue, which are the premises involved in this proceeding.

. . . Because of that incident and some others, we decided that we would form some kind of an association to protect ourselves. The West Side Improvement Association was formed in 1922 and 1923, and the objective of the association is to protect the neighborhood from encroachment of all kinds, and particularly to preserve it as a place for white people to live.

. . . [W]e decided that the only method of real protection was to have the property restricted by a covenant, providing that none of the property could be occupied by negroes or sold to negroes. . . . "

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION (FHA)

Government Endorsement of Racial Segregation

When the federal government began to regulate the market in home mortgages under the National Housing Act of 1934, it devalued property in nonwhite or mixed-race neighborhoods — that is, assigned lower property values to neighborhoods where people of color lived. This policy reinforced the segregation of American cities and suburbs by race and by class. Here, in one of its 1936 manuals, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) explains that "inharmonious racial groups" should be regarded as a threat to property values.

SOURCE: Federal Housing Administration, *Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedure Under Title II of the National Housing Act with Revisions to April 1, 1936* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), Part II, Section 2, 229, 233.

"The Valuator [property assessor] should investigate areas surrounding the location to determine whether or not incompatible racial and social groups are present, to the end that an intelligent prediction may be made regarding the possibility or probability of the location being invaded by such groups. If a neighborhood is to retain stability it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial classes. A change in social or racial occupancy generally leads to instability and a reduction in values. . . . Once the character of a neighborhood has been established it is usually impossible to induce a higher social class than those already in the neighborhood to purchase and occupy properties in its various locations. . . .

The Valuator should consider carefully the immunity or lack of immunity offered to the location because of its geographical position within the city. Natural or artificially established barriers will prove effective in protecting a neighborhood and the locations within it from adverse influences. Usually the protection against adverse influences afforded by these means include prevention of the infiltration of business and industrial uses, lower-class occupancy, and inharmonious racial groups. "

JANE JACOBS

Urban Renewal

Jane Jacobs was one of the most widely known critics of American urban policy in the twentieth century. Her book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), contended that American urban policy had produced lifeless cities that separated people by status. It remains influential even today. In this excerpt, she charges that the federal policy known as "urban renewal," which was implemented primarily in the 1950s and 1960s, had worsened rather than improved urban conditions.

SOURCE: Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961), 4.

"Look what we have built with the first several billions [of federal urban renewal spending]: Low-income projects that become worse centers of delinquency, vandalism and general social hopelessness than the slums they were supposed to replace. Middle-income housing projects which are truly marvels of dullness and regimentation, sealed against any buoyancy or vitality of city life. Luxury housing projects that mitigate their inanity, or try to, with a vapid vulgarity. Cultural centers that are unable to support a good bookstore. Civic centers that are avoided by everyone but bums, who have fewer choices of loitering place than others. Commercial centers that are lackluster imitations of standardized suburban chain-store shopping. Promenades that go from no place to nowhere and have no promenaders. Expressways that eviscerate great cities. This is not the rebuilding of cities. This is the sacking of cities."

HERBERT HILL

Race and the Urban Crisis

Herbert Hill, a prominent black NAACP official, testified before Congress in 1967, alongside dozens of witnesses to what many called the "urban crisis" or the "crisis in American cities." Hill believed that the continued isolation of African Americans in impoverished, declining neighborhoods required an urgent response from Congress.

SOURCE: Herbert Hill, "Demographic Change and Racial Ghettos: The Crisis of American Cities," in *Urban America: Goals and Problems, Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Urban Affairs of the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1967), 99–153.

"Current civil rights struggles are rooted in three major demographic developments in the American Negro community: accelerated growth, increasing mobility, and rapid urbanization. Almost half of the Negro population now lives in the North, but the response of American cities to this development has been a vast increase and rigidity in the patterns of residential segregation. Thus the Negro finds that he has left the segregated South for the segregated northern slum. The growth of housing segregation has been accompanied by an extension of the ghetto pattern in major cities together with vast urban blight and the decay of central city areas. . . .

The dual migration of Negroes from the rural South to the urban North and from the rural South to the urban South is one of the major demographic changes of our time with great social and political implications for the future of American society. . . .

If migrating Negroes had freedom of choice and the economic means to acquire adequate housing on a nonsegregated basis, then it is possible that our large cities would be able to absorb their entry and provide decent living conditions. But the opposite has been the case. . . .

An abundance of evidence — social, economic, political, and moral — now suggests that the time has come to give first priority to the racial problems of our great cities. But the problems of our large urban areas are inextricably intertwined with the problems of the racial ghetto. Therefore, the solution to one set of problems is, in effect, the solution of the other."

KERNER COMMISSION

Two Societies

In the aftermath of major disturbances in Detroit, Michigan, and Newark, New Jersey, during the summer of 1967, President Johnson appointed a commission to study the causes of what some called riots and others have called uprisings. It was widely known as the Kerner Commission for its chair, Otto Kerner, the Democratic governor of Illinois. When the commission was launched, black observers wondered if it would deal honestly with the roles white Americans played in producing urban and suburban racial segregation. It did, and the report became known for its forthright account of race in American cities.

SOURCE: *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York: The New York Times Company, 1968), 1–2.

"The summer of 1967 again brought racial disorders to American cities, and with them shock, fear and bewilderment to the nation. . . .

On July 28, 1967, the President of the United States established this Commission and directed us to answer three basic questions:

What happened?

Why did it happen?

What can be done to prevent it from happening again? . . .

This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal.

Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. Discrimination and segregation have long permeated much of American life; they now threaten the future of every American. . . .

What white Americans have never fully understood — but what the Negro can never forget — is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.

It is now time to turn with all the purpose at our command to the unfinished business of this nation. It is time to adopt strategies for action that will produce quick and visible progress. It is time to make good the promises of American democracy to all citizens — urban and rural, white and black, Spanish-surname, American Indian, and every minority group."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. How did the way neighborhoods were evaluated by government agencies in the 1930s and 1940s perpetuate racial segregation?
2. Consider how the themes of identity and geography intersect in these excerpts. How did the geographic landscapes of cities and suburbs shape racial identity? Additionally, consider the economic context. How did those geographic landscapes affect the economic resources available to different groups of people?
3. What did the Kerner Commission mean by "two societies"?

Was Martin Luther King Jr. a Radical or a Reformer?

In 1983, when Congress established the national holiday that celebrates Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday each January, members of Congress acknowledged King's pioneering work to advance the cause of black civil rights. But what did King's work involve? For the past few decades, scholars of the civil rights movement have debated how best to understand the movement and King's particular role in it. Some scholars have characterized King as a reformer who "dreamed" of an integrated America where, as he said on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, "little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers." Others have argued that King's vision was far more radical than racial integration alone. So who was King — a radical or a reformer?

In the excerpts below, Thomas F. Jackson and Barbara Ransby present differing portraits of King. In his book, Jackson discusses King's work in the context of a campaign for human rights. Ransby, who wrote a biography of King's civil rights contemporary Ella Baker, draws a distinction between their approaches to the movement.

THOMAS F. JACKSON

SOURCE: Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 2.

By 1965, King's radical voice rang more clearly when he confessed that his dream had turned into a "nightmare." The dream shattered when whites murdered voting rights workers in Alabama, when police battled blacks in Los Angeles, when he met jobless and "hopeless" blacks on desperate Chicago streets, and when he saw hunger and poverty in rural Mississippi and Appalachia. But King picked up the shards of his shattered dreams and reassembled them into more radical visions of emancipation for all poor people. . . . Dreams of decent jobs, affordable integrated housing, and adequate family incomes remained central to King's public ministry until his death.

BARBARA RANSBY

SOURCE: Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 189–191.

The conflict between [King and Baker] reveals more fundamental conflicts between black politics and African American culture over the meanings of American democracy and the pathways toward social change. . . . Baker described [King] as a pampered member of Atlanta's black elite . . . a member of a coddled "silver spoon brigade." . . . In Baker's eyes, King did not identify closely enough with the people he sought to lead. He did not situate himself among them but remained above them. . . . Baker and King . . . translated religious faith into their political identities in profoundly different ways. Above all, they defined the confluence of their roles as individuals and their roles as participants in a mass movement for social change quite distinctly. Baker was a militant egalitarian, and King was a sophisticated southern Baptist preacher.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

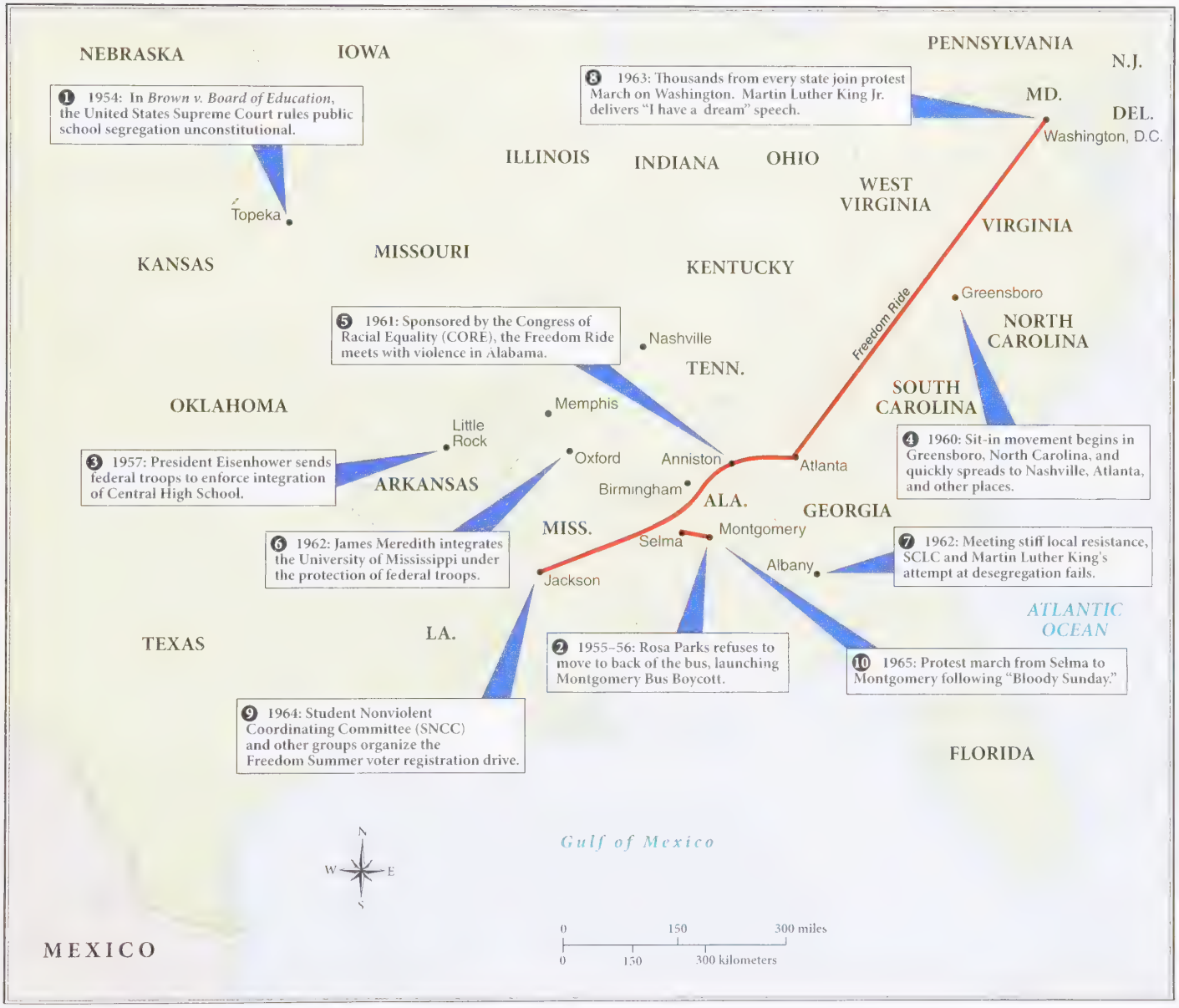
1. Name one key difference in the way these two historians describe King and his work in the civil rights movement.
2. What qualities does each of these historians use in defining a "radical" and a "reformer"?
3. Based on your reading of the excerpts and Chapter 26's discussion of the civil rights movement, why do you think Congress singled out King from among the many civil rights leaders and activists?

marchers protested employment discrimination in Birmingham's department stores. Eugene "Bull" Connor, the city's public safety commissioner, ordered the city's police troops to meet the marchers with violent force: snarling dogs, electric cattle prods, and high-pressure fire hoses. Television cameras captured the scene for the evening news.

While serving a jail sentence for leading the march, King, scribbling in pencil on any paper he could find, composed one of the classic documents of nonviolent direct action: "Letter from Birmingham Jail." "Why direct action?" King asked. "There is a type of constructive, nonviolent tension that is necessary for growth," he began his answer. The civil rights movement sought, King continued, "to create such a crisis and establish such a creative tension." Grounding his appeal in equal parts Christian brotherhood and

democratic liberalism, King argued that Americans confronted a moral choice: they could "preserve the evil system of segregation" or take the side of "those great wells of democracy . . . the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence."

Outraged by the brutality in Birmingham and embarrassed by King's imprisonment for leading a nonviolent march, President Kennedy decided that it was time to act. On June 11, 1963, after newly elected Alabama governor George Wallace barred two black students from the state university, Kennedy went on television to denounce racism and promise a new civil rights bill. Many black leaders felt Kennedy's action was long overdue, but they nonetheless hailed this "Second Emancipation Proclamation." That night, Medgar Evers, president of the Mississippi chapter of the NAACP, was shot in the back in his driveway in Jackson by a white supremacist. Evers's martyrdom became a spur to further action (Map 26.3).



MAP 26.3 The Civil Rights Struggle, 1954–1965
In the postwar battle for black civil rights, the first major victory was the NAACP litigation of *Brown v. Board of Education*, which declared public school segregation unconstitutional. As indicated on this map, the struggle then quickly spread, raising other issues and seeding new organizations. Other organizations quickly joined the battle and shifted the focus away from the courts to mass action and organization. The year 1965 marked the high point, when violence against the Selma, Alabama, marchers spurred the passage of the Voting Rights Act.

The March on Washington To marshal support for Kennedy's bill, civil rights leaders took advantage of a long-planned event set for that August. It was the massive demonstration in Washington that had first been proposed by A. Philip Randolph in 1941. Working with Bayard Rustin, Randolph revived the idea and in early 1963 called for a march to mark the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation. Under the leadership of Randolph and Rustin, thousands of volunteers across the country coordinated car pools, "freedom buses," and "freedom trains," and on August 28, 1963, delivered a quarter of a million people to the Lincoln Memorial for the **March on Washington**, officially named the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

Although Randolph and Rustin planned the event, Martin Luther King Jr. was the public face of the march. It was King's dramatic "I Have a Dream" speech, beginning with his admonition that too many black people lived "on a lonely island of poverty" and ending with the exclamation from a traditional black spiritual — "Free at last! Free at last! Thank God almighty, we are free at last!" — that captured the nation's imagination. The sight of 250,000 blacks and whites marching solemnly together marked the high point of the civil rights movement and confirmed King's position as the leading spokesperson for the cause.

To have any chance of getting the civil rights bill through Congress, King, Randolph, and Rustin knew they had to sustain this broad coalition of blacks and whites. They could afford to alienate no one. Reflecting a younger, more militant set of activists, however, SNCC member John Lewis had prepared a provocative speech for that afternoon. In his original draft of the speech, Lewis wrote, "The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the Heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did." Signaling a growing restlessness among black youth, Lewis warned: "We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together again in the image of democracy." Fearing the speech would alienate white supporters, Rustin and others implored Lewis to tone down his rhetoric. With only minutes to spare before he stepped up to the podium, Lewis agreed. He delivered a more conciliatory speech, but his conflict with march organizers signaled an emerging rift in the movement (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

Although the March on Washington galvanized public opinion, it changed few congressional votes. Southern senators continued to block Kennedy's legislation. Georgia senator Richard Russell, a leader of the opposition, refused to support any bill that would in his words "bring about social equality and intermingling and amalgamation of the races." Then, tragedies began to pile up, one on another. In September, white supremacists bombed a Baptist church in Birmingham, killing four black girls in Sunday school. Less than two months later, Kennedy himself lay dead, the victim of assassination.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of Congress in supporting greater racial equality in the U.S.

On assuming the presidency, Lyndon Johnson made passing the civil rights bill a priority. A southerner and former Senate majority leader, Johnson was renowned for his fierce persuasive style and tough political bargaining. By appealing to the white South's conscience, invoking the memory of the slain JFK, and practicing his own brand of hardball politics, Johnson overcame the filibuster. In June 1964, Congress approved the most far-reaching civil rights law since Reconstruction. The keystone of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, Title VII, outlawed discrimination in employment on the basis of race, religion, national origin, and sex. Another section guaranteed equal access to public accommodations and schools. The law granted new enforcement powers to the U.S. attorney general and established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to implement the prohibition against job discrimination.

Freedom Summer The Civil Rights Act was a law with real teeth, but it left untouched the obstacles to black voting. So protesters went back into the streets. In 1964, in what came to be known as Freedom Summer, black organizations mounted a major campaign in Mississippi. The effort drew several thousand volunteers from across the country, including nearly one thousand white college students from the North. Led by

the charismatic SNCC activist Robert "Bob" Moses, the four major civil rights organizations (SNCC, CORE, NAACP, and SCLC) spread out across the state. They established freedom schools for black children and conducted a major voter registration drive. Yet so determined was the opposition that only about twelve hundred black voters were registered that summer, at a cost of four murdered civil rights workers and thirty-seven black churches bombed or burned.

The murders strengthened the resolve of the **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party** (MFDP), which had been founded during Freedom Summer. Banned from the "whites only" Mississippi Democratic Party, MFDP leaders were determined to attend the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, as the legitimate representatives of their state. Inspired by Fannie Lou Hamer, a former sharecropper turned civil rights activist, the MFDP challenged the most powerful figures in the Democratic Party, including President Johnson himself. "Is this America?" Hamer asked party officials when she demanded that the MFDP, and not the all-white Mississippi delegation, be recognized by the convention. Democratic leaders, however, seated the white Mississippi delegation and refused to recognize the MFDP. Demoralized and convinced that the Democratic Party would not change, Bob Moses told television reporters: "I will have nothing to do with the political system any longer." Freedom Summer began with optimism but ended with bitter disappointment.

Selma and the Voting Rights Act Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC did not share Moses's skepticism. They believed that another confrontation with southern injustice could provoke further congressional action. In March 1965, James Bevel of

Women in the Movement Though often overshadowed by men in the public spotlight, women were crucial to the black freedom movement. Here, protesting at the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, are (left to right) Fannie Lou Hamer, Eleanor Holmes, and Ella Baker. The men are (left to right) Emory Harris, Stokely Carmichael, and Sam Block. Hamer had been a sharecropper before she became a leader under Baker's tutelage, and Holmes was a Yale University–trained lawyer who went on to become the first female chair of the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 1976 George Ballis/Take Stock/The Image Work

Civil Rights and Black Power: Strategy and Ideology

The documents collected below reveal the range of perspectives and ideas at work within the broad civil rights, or "black freedom," struggle in the 1960s.

1. **Martin Luther King Jr., "If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins" speech, 1962.** ***King, speaking to a meeting of the nation's trade union leaders, explained the economic objectives of the black freedom struggle.***

   If we do not advance, the crushing burden of centuries of neglect and economic deprivation will destroy our will, our spirits and our hopes. In this way labor's historic tradition of moving forward to create vital people as consumers and citizens has become our own tradition, and for the same reasons.

   This unity of purpose is not an historical coincidence. Negroes are almost entirely a working people. There are pitifully few Negro millionaires and few Negro employers. Our needs are identical with labor's needs: decent wages, fair working conditions, livable housing, old age security, health and welfare measures, conditions in which families can grow, have education for their children and respect in the community. That is why Negroes support labor's demands and fight laws which curb labor. . . .

   The two most dynamic and cohesive liberal forces in the country are the labor movement and the Negro freedom movement. Together we can be architects of democracy in a South now rapidly industrializing.

2. **Police in Birmingham, Alabama, use trained German shepherds against peaceful African American protesters, 1963.**

© AP Photo/Bill Hudson

3. **Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics,"** ***Commentary,*** **February 1965.**

   . . . it would be hard to quarrel with the assertion that the elaborate legal structure of segregation and discrimination, particularly in relation to public accommodations, has virtually collapsed. On the other hand, without making light of the human sacrifices involved in the direct-action tactics (sit-ins, freedom rides, and the rest) that were so instrumental to this achievement, we must recognize that in desegregating public accommodations, we affected institutions which are relatively peripheral both to the American socio-economic order and to the fundamental conditions of life of the Negro people. In a highly-industrialized, 20th-century civilization, we hit Jim Crow precisely where it was most anachronistic, dispensable, and vulnerable — in hotels, lunch counters, terminals, libraries, swimming pools, and the like. . . . At issue, after all, is not civil rights, strictly speaking, but social and economic conditions.

4. **James Farmer,** ***Freedom, When?,*** **1965.**

   "But when will the demonstrations end?" The perpetual question. And a serious question. Actually, it is several questions, for the meaning of the question differs, depending upon who asks it.

   Coming from those whose dominant consideration is peace — public peace and peace of mind — the question means: "When are you going to stop tempting violence and rioting?" Some put it more strongly: "When are you going to stop sponsoring violence?" Assumed is the necessary connection between demonstration and violence. . . .

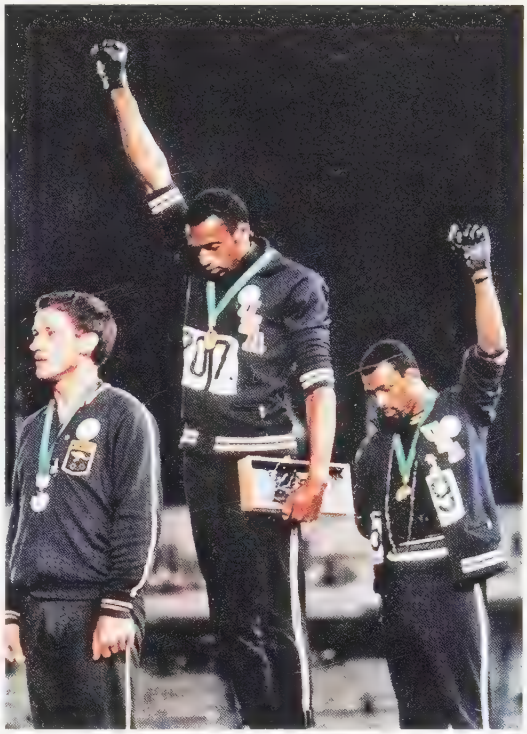
   "Isn't the patience of the white majority wearing thin? Why nourish the displeasure of 90 percent of the population with provocative demonstrations? Remember, you need allies." And the assumptions of these Cassandras of the backlash is that freedom and equality are, in the last analysis, wholly gifts in the white man's power to bestow. . . .

What the public must realize is that in a demonstration more things are happening, at more levels of human activity, than meets the eye. Demonstrations in the last few years have provided literally millions of Negroes with their first taste of self-determination and political self-expression.

5. Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*, 1967.

Black people must redefine themselves, and only they can do that. Throughout this country, vast segments of the black communities are beginning to recognize the need to assert their own definitions, to reclaim their history, their culture; to create their own sense of community and togetherness. There is a growing resentment of the word "Negro," for example, because this term is the invention of our oppressor; it is his image of us that he describes. . . .

The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society.



6. Black Power salute at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. ***Tommie Smith and John Carolos (right) won gold and bronze medals in the 200 meters. The silver medalist, Australian Peter Norman (left), is wearing an Olympic Project for Human Rights badge to show his support.***

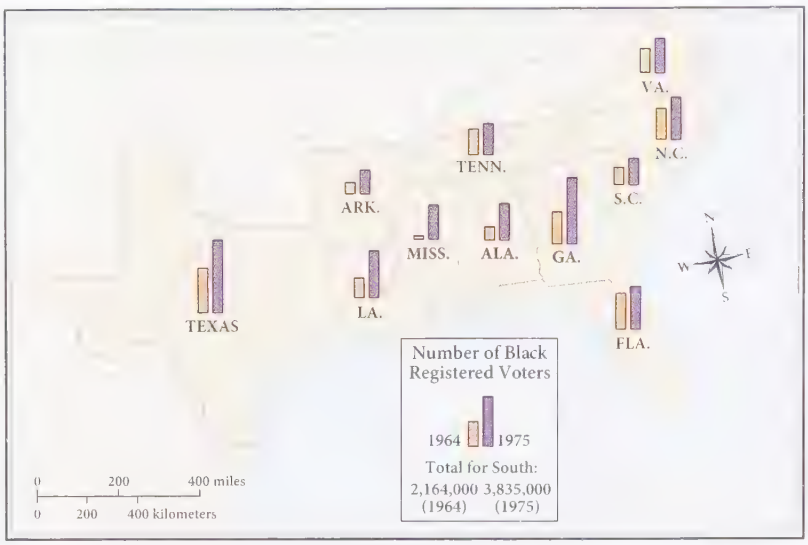
SOURCES: (1) "If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins," by Martin Luther King Jr. delivered February 12, 1962. Reprinted by arrangement with the Heirs to the Estate of Martin Luther King Jr., c/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor, New York, NY. Copyright © 1962 Martin Luther King Jr. Copyright renewed 1991 Coretta Scott King; (3) *Commentary*, February 1965; (4) James Farmer, *Freedom, When?* (New York: Random House, 1965), 25–27, 42–47; (5) Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage, 1992, orig. 1967), 37, 44.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 1 and 3. What does Rustin mean when he says that ending segregation in public accommodations has not affected the "fundamental conditions" of African American life? How does King's point in source 1 address such issues?
2. Examine the two photographs. What do they reveal about different kinds of protest? About different perspectives among African Americans?
3. What does "self-determination" mean for Farmer and Carmichael and Hamilton?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Compose an essay in which you use the documents above, in addition to your reading of the chapter, to explore and explain different approaches to African American rights in the 1960s. In particular, think about how all of the documents come from a single movement, yet each expresses a distinct viewpoint and a distinct way of conceiving what "the struggle" is about. How do these approaches compare to the tactics of earlier struggles for civil rights?



MAP 26.4 Black Voter Registration in the South, 1964 and 1975
After passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, black registration in the South increased dramatically. The bars on the map show the number of African Americans registered in 1964, before the act was passed, and in 1975, after it had been in effect for ten years. States in the Deep South, such as Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, had the biggest increases.

the SCLC called for a march from Selma, Alabama, to the state capital, Montgomery, to protest the murder of a voting-rights activist. As soon as the six hundred marchers left Selma, crossing over the Edmund Pettus Bridge, mounted state troopers attacked them with tear gas and clubs. The scene was shown on national television that night, and the day became known as Bloody Sunday. Calling the episode "an American tragedy," President Johnson went back to Congress.

The **Voting Rights Act of 1965**, which was signed by President Johnson on August 6, outlawed the literacy tests and other devices that prevented African Americans from registering to vote, and authorized the attorney general to send federal examiners to register voters in any county where registration was less than 50 percent. Together with the Twenty-Fourth Amendment (ratified in 1964), which outlawed the poll tax in federal elections, the Voting Rights Act enabled millions of African Americans to vote for the first time since Reconstruction.

AP® EXAM TIP
Compare the impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

In the South, the results were stunning. In 1960, only 20 percent of black citizens had been registered to vote; by 1971, registration reached 62 percent (see Map 26.4). Moreover, across the nation the number of black elected officials began to climb, almost quadrupling from 1,400 to 4,900 between 1970 and 1980 and doubling again by the early 1990s. Most of those elected held local offices — from sheriff to county commissioner — but nonetheless embodied a shift in political representation nearly unimaginable a generation earlier. As Hartman Turnbow, a Mississippi farmer who risked his life to register in 1964, later declared, "It won't never go back where it was."

Something else would never go back either: the liberal New Deal coalition. By the second half of the 1960s, the liberal wing of the Democratic Party had won its battle with the conservative, segregationist wing. Democrats had embraced the civil rights movement and made black equality a cornerstone of a new "rights" liberalism. But over the next generation, between the 1960s and the 1980s, southern whites and many conservative northern whites would respond by switching to the Republican Party. Strom Thurmond, the segregationist senator from South Carolina, symbolically led the revolt by renouncing the Democratic Party and becoming a Republican in 1964. The New Deal coalition — which had joined working-class whites, northern African Americans, urban professionals, and white southern segregationists together in a fragile political alliance since the 1930s — was beginning to crumble.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
COMPARE & CONTRAST
In what ways did white resistance hinder the civil rights movement? In what ways did it help?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did the civil rights movement achieve its major legal and legislative victories between 1954 and 1965?

Beyond Civil Rights, 1966–1973

Supreme Court decisions and new laws do not automatically produce changes in society. But in the mid-1960s, civil rights advocates confronted a more profound issue: perhaps even protests were not enough. In 1965, Bayard Rustin wrote of the need to move "from protest to politics" in order to build institutional black power. Some black

leaders, such as the young SNCC activists Stokely Carmichael, Frances Beal, and John Lewis, grew frustrated with the slow pace of reform and the stubborn resistance of whites. Still others believed that addressing black poverty and economic disadvantage remained the most important objective. Neither new laws nor long marches appeared capable of meeting these varied and complex challenges.

The conviction that civil rights alone were incapable of guaranteeing equality took hold in many communities of color in this period. African Americans were joined by Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. They came at the problem of inequality from different perspectives, but each group asked a similar question: As crucial as legal equality was, how much did it matter if most people of color remained in or close to poverty, if white society still regarded nonwhites as inferior, and if the major social and political institutions in the country were run by whites? Black leaders and representatives of other nonwhite communities increasingly asked themselves this question as they searched for ways to build on the achievements of the civil rights decade of 1954–1965.

Black Nationalism

Seeking answers to these questions led many African Americans to embrace **black nationalism**. The philosophy of black nationalism signified many things in the 1960s. It could mean everything from pride in one's community to total separatism, from building African American–owned businesses to wearing dashikis in honor of African traditions. Historically, nationalism had emphasized black pride, "self-help" (African Americans creating their own community institutions), and black people's right to shape their own destiny. In the late nineteenth century, Frederick Douglass stood as a primary inspiration, and nationalists founded the Back to Africa movement. In the 1920s the nationalist Marcus Garvey inspired African Americans to take pride in their racial heritage (Chapter 21).

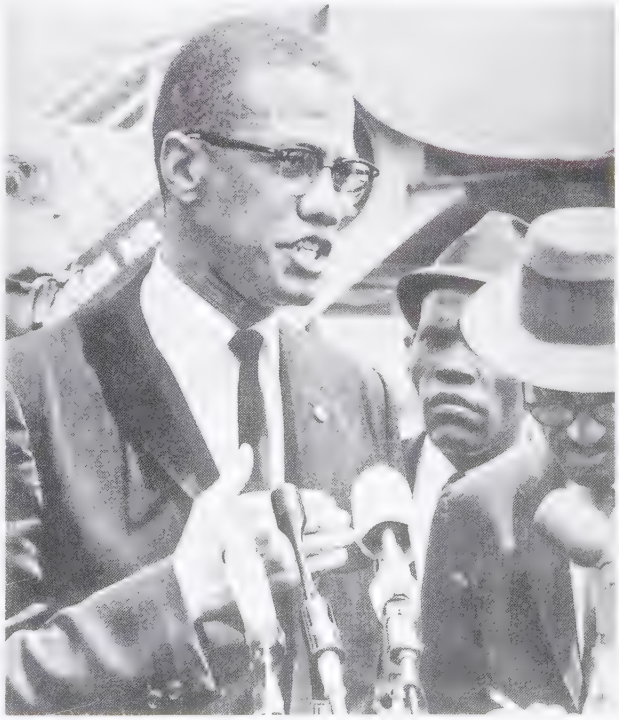
AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the divergent views of the civil rights movement that emerged after 1965.

In the early 1960s, the leading exponent of black nationalism was the **Nation of Islam**, which fused a rejection of Christianity with a strong philosophy of self-improvement. Black Muslims, as they were known, adhered to a strict code of personal behavior; men were recognizable by their dark suits, white shirts, and ties, women by their long dresses and head coverings. Black Muslims preached an apocalyptic brand of Islam, anticipating the day when Allah would banish the white "devils" and give the black nation justice. Although its full converts numbered only about ten thousand, the Nation of Islam had a wide popular following among African Americans in northern cities.

Malcolm X The most charismatic Black Muslim was Malcolm X (the *X* stood for his African family name, lost under slavery). A spellbinding speaker, Malcolm X preached a philosophy of militant separatism, although he advocated violence only for self-defense. Hostile to mainstream civil rights organizations, he caustically referred to the 1963 March on Washington as the "Farce on Washington." Malcolm X said plainly, "I believe in the brotherhood of man, all men, but I don't believe in brotherhood with anybody who doesn't want brotherhood with me." Malcolm X had little interest in changing the minds of hostile whites. Strengthening the black community, he believed, represented a surer path to freedom and equality.

In 1964, after a power struggle with founder Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X broke with the Nation of Islam. While he



Malcolm X Until his murder in 1965, Malcolm X was the leading proponent of black nationalism in the United States. A brilliant and dynamic orator, Malcolm had been a minister in the Nation of Islam for nearly thirteen years before he broke with the Nation in 1964. His emphasis on black pride and self-help and his unrelenting criticism of white supremacy made him one of the freedom movement's most inspirational figures, both in life and well after his death. © Topham/The Image Work

remained a black nationalist, he moderated his antiwhite views and began to talk of a class struggle uniting poor whites and blacks. Following an inspiring trip to the Middle East, where he saw Muslims of all races worshipping together, Malcolm X formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity to promote black pride and to work with traditional civil rights groups. But he got no further. On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated while delivering a speech in Harlem. Three Black Muslims were later convicted of his murder.

Black Power A more secular brand of black nationalism emerged in 1966 when SNCC and CORE activists, following the lead of Stokely Carmichael, began to call for black self-reliance under the banner of Black Power. Advocates of Black Power asked fundamental questions: If alliances with whites were necessary to achieve racial justice, as King believed they were, did that make African Americans dependent on the good intentions of whites? If so, could black people trust those good intentions in the long run? Increasingly, those inclined toward Black Power believed that African Americans should build economic and political power in their own communities. Such power would translate into a less dependent relationship with white America. "For once," Carmichael wrote, "black people are going to use the words they want to use — not the words whites want to hear."

Spurred by the Black Power slogan, African American activists turned their attention to the poverty and social injustice faced by so many black people. President Johnson had declared the War on Poverty, and black organizers joined, setting up day care centers, running community job training programs, and working to improve housing and health care in urban neighborhoods. In major cities such as Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, and Pittsburgh, activists sought to open jobs in police and fire departments and in construction and transportation to black workers, who had been excluded from these occupations for decades. Others worked to end police harassment — a major problem in urban black communities — and to help black entrepreneurs receive small-business loans. CORE leader Floyd McKissick explained, "Black Power is not Black Supremacy; it is a united Black Voice reflecting racial pride."

The attention to racial pride led some African Americans to reject white society and to pursue more authentic cultural forms. In addition to focusing on economic disadvantage, Black Power emphasized black pride and self-determination. Those subscribing to these beliefs wore African clothing, chose natural hairstyles, and celebrated black history, art, and literature. The Black Arts movement thrived, and musical tastes shifted from the crossover sounds of Motown to the soul music of Philadelphia, Memphis, and Chicago.

Black Panther Party One of the most radical nationalist groups was the **Black Panther Party**, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by two college students, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. A militant organization dedicated to protecting African Americans from police violence, the Panthers took their cue from the slain Malcolm X. They vehemently opposed the Vietnam War and declared their affinity for Third World revolutionary movements and armed struggle (Map 26.5). In their manifesto, "What We Want, What We Believe," the Panthers outlined their Ten Point Program for black liberation.

The Panthers' organization spread to other cities in the late 1960s, where members undertook a wide range of community-organizing projects. Their free breakfast program for children and their testing program for sickle-cell anemia, an inherited disease with a high incidence among African Americans, were especially popular. However, the Panthers' radicalism and belief in armed self-defense resulted in violent clashes with police. Newton was charged with murdering a police officer, several Panthers were killed by police, and dozens went to prison. Moreover, under its domestic counterintelligence program, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had begun disrupting party activities.

The Black Panther Party One of the most radical organizations of the 1960s, the Black Panther Party was founded in 1966 by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton (shown together in the photograph on the left) in Oakland, California. Its members carried weapons, advocated socialism, and fought police brutality in black communities, but they also ran into their own trouble with the law. Nevertheless, the party had great success in reaching ordinary people, often with programs targeted at the poor. On the right, party members distribute a free meal to the public in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1969. LEFT: © Bruno Barbey/Magnum Photos. RIGHT: David Fenton/Getty Images

Young Lords Among those inspired by the Black Panthers were Puerto Ricans in New York. Their vehicle was the **Young Lords Organization** (YLO), later renamed the Young Lords Party. Like the Black Panthers, YLO activists sought self-determination for Puerto Ricans, both those in the United States and those on the island in the Caribbean. In practical terms, the YLO focused on improving neighborhood conditions: city garbage collection was notoriously poor in East Harlem, where most Puerto Ricans lived, and slumlords had allowed the housing to become **squalid**. Women in the YLO were especially active, protesting sterilization campaigns against Puerto Rican women and fighting to improve access to health care. As was true of so many nationalist groups, immediate victories for the YLO were few, but their dedicated community organizing produced a generation of leaders (many of whom later went into politics) and awakened community consciousness.

The New Urban Politics Black Power also inspired African Americans to work within the political system. By the mid-1960s, black residents neared 50 percent of the population in several major American cities—such as Atlanta, Cleveland, Detroit, and Washington, D.C. Black Power in these cities was not abstract; it counted in real votes. Residents of Gary, Indiana, and Cleveland, Ohio, elected the first black mayors of large cities in 1967. Richard Hatcher in Gary and Carl Stokes in Cleveland helped forge a new urban politics in the United States. Their campaign teams registered thousands of black voters and made alliances with enough whites to create a working majority. Many saw Stokes's victory, in particular, as heralding a new day. As one of Stokes's campaign staffers said: "If Carl Stokes could run for mayor in the eighth largest city in America, then maybe who knows. We could be senators. We could be anything we wanted."

MAP 26.5 Decolonization and the Third World, 1943–1990
In the decades after World War II, African nations threw off the yoke of European colonialism. Some new nations, such as Ghana, the former British colony of Gold Coast, achieved independence rather peacefully. Others, such as Algeria and Mozambique, did so only after bloody anticolonial wars. American civil rights activists watched African decolonization with great enthusiasm, seeing the two struggles as linked. "Sure we identified with the blacks in Africa," civil rights leader John Lewis said. "Here were black people, talking of freedom and liberation and independence thousands of miles away." In 1960 alone, the year that student sit-ins swept across the American South, more than a dozen African nations gained independence.

Having met with some political success, black leaders gathered in Gary for the 1972 National Black Political Convention. In a meeting that brought together radicals, liberals, and centrists, debate centered on whether to form a third political party. Hatcher recalled that many in attendance believed that "there was going to be a black third party." In the end, however, delegates decided to "give the Democratic Party one more chance." Instead of creating a third party, the convention issued the National Black Political Agenda, which included calls for community control of schools in black neighborhoods, national health insurance, and the elimination of the death penalty.

Democrats failed to enact the National Black Political Agenda, but African Americans were increasingly integrated into American political institutions. By the end of the century, black elected officials had become commonplace in major American cities. There were forty-seven African American big-city mayors by the 1990s, and blacks had led most of the nation's most prominent cities: Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. These politicians had translated black power not into a wholesale rejection of white society but into a revitalized liberalism that would remain an **indelible** feature of urban politics for the rest of the century.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What did Black Power and black nationalism represent to many African Americans?

Urban Disorder

Black Power was not, fundamentally, a violent political ideology. But violence did play a decisive role in the politics of black liberation in the mid-1960s. Too many Americans, white and black, had little knowledge or understanding of the rage that existed just below the surface in many poor northern black neighborhoods. That rage boiled over in a wave of riots that struck the nation's cities in mid-decade. The first "long hot

summer" began in July 1964 in New York City when police shot a black criminal suspect in Harlem. Angry youths looted and rioted there for a week. Over the next four years, the volatile issue of police brutality set off riots in dozens of cities.

In August 1965, the arrest of a young black motorist in the Watts section of Los Angeles sparked six days of rioting that left thirty-four people dead. "There is a different type of Negro emerging," one riot participant told investigators. "They are not going to wait for the evolutionary process for their rights to be a man." The riots of 1967, however, were the most serious, engulfing twenty-two cities in July and August. Forty-three people were killed in Detroit alone, nearly all of them black, and $50 million worth of property was destroyed. President Johnson called in the National Guard and U.S. Army troops, many of them having just returned from Vietnam, to restore order.

AP® EXAM TIP

Summarize the ways that social and political unrest impacted the civil rights movement.

Johnson, who believed that the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act had immeasurably helped African Americans, was stunned by the rioting. **Despondent** at the news from Watts, "he refused to look at the cables from Los Angeles," recalled one aide. Virtually all black leaders condemned the rioting, though they understood its origins in poverty and deprivation. At a meeting in Watts, Martin Luther King Jr. admitted that he had "failed to take the civil rights movement to the masses of the people." His appearance appeased few. "We don't need your dreams; we need jobs!" one heckler shouted at King.

Following the gut-wrenching riots in Detroit and Newark in 1967, Johnson appointed a presidential commission, headed by Illinois governor Otto Kerner, to investigate the causes of the violence. Released in 1968, the Kerner Commission Report was a searing look at race in America, the most honest and forthright government document about race since the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights' 1947 report "To Secure These Rights." "Our nation is moving toward two societies," the Kerner Commission Report concluded, "one black, one white—separate and unequal." The report did not excuse the brick-throwing, firebombing, and looting of the previous summers, but it placed the riots in sociological context. Shut out of white-dominated society, impoverished African Americans felt they had no stake in the social order.

Stirred by turmoil in the cities, and seeing the limitations of his civil rights achievements, Martin Luther King Jr. began to expand his vision beyond civil rights to confront the deep-seated problems of poverty and racism in America as a whole. He criticized President Johnson and Congress for prioritizing the war in Vietnam over the fight against poverty at home, and he planned a massive movement called the Poor People's Campaign to fight economic injustice. To advance that cause, he went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike by predominantly black sanitation workers. There, on April 4, 1968, he was assassinated by escaped white convict James Earl Ray. King's death set off a further round of urban rioting, with major violence breaking out in more than a hundred cities.

Tragically, King was murdered before achieving the transformations he sought: an end to racial injustice and a solution to poverty. The civil rights movement had helped set in motion permanent, indeed revolutionary, changes in American race relations. Jim Crow segregation ended, federal legislation ensured black Americans' most basic civil rights, and the white monopoly on political power in the South was broken. However, by 1968, the fight over civil rights had also divided the nation. The Democratic Party was splitting, and a new conservatism was gaining strength. Many whites felt that the issue of civil rights was receiving too much attention, to the detriment of other national concerns. The riots of 1965, 1967, and 1968 further alienated many whites, who blamed the violence on the inability of Democratic officials to maintain law and order.

Rise of the Chicano Movement

Mexican Americans had something of a counterpart to Martin Luther King Jr.: Cesar Chavez. In Chavez's case, however, economic struggle in community organizations and the labor movement had shaped his approach to mobilizing society's disadvantaged. He

Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez Dolores Huerta and Cesar Chavez were two of the leading Mexican American civil rights and social justice advocates of the 1960s. Huerta, influenced by community-organizing traditions, founded two social justice and workers' rights organization before she joined with Chavez in 1962 to cofound the United Farm Workers (UFW), a union of primarily Mexican American agricultural laborers in California. Chavez, influenced equally by the Catholic Church and Mahatma Gandhi, and Huerta led the UFW's massive national grape boycott, an attempt by the UFW to force the nation's grape growers — and, by extension, the larger agriculture industry — to improve wages and working conditions and to bargain in good faith with the union.

and Dolores Huerta had worked for the Community Service Organization (CSO), a California group founded in the 1950s to promote Mexican political participation and civil rights. Leaving that organization in 1962, Chavez concentrated on the agricultural region around Delano, California. With Huerta, he organized the **United Farm Workers (UFW)**, a union for migrant workers.

Huerta was a brilliant organizer, but the deeply spiritual and **ascetic** Chavez embodied the moral force behind what was popularly called La Causa. A 1965 grape pickers' strike led the UFW to call a nationwide boycott of table grapes, bringing Chavez huge publicity and backing from the AFL-CIO. In a bid for attention to the struggle, Chavez staged a hunger strike in 1968, which ended dramatically after twenty-eight days with Senator Robert F. Kennedy at his side to break the fast. Victory came in 1970 when California grape growers signed contracts recognizing the UFW.

Mexican Americans shared many economic circumstances with African Americans — especially access to jobs — but they also had unique concerns: the status of the Spanish language in schools, for instance, and immigration policy. Mexican Americans had been politically active since the 1940s, aiming to surmount factors that obstructed their political involvement: poverty, language barriers, and discrimination. Their efforts began to pay off in the 1960s, when the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) mobilized support for John F. Kennedy and worked successfully with other organizations to elect Mexican American candidates such as Edward Roybal of California and Henry Gonzalez of Texas to Congress. Two other organizations, the **Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF)** and the Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, carried the fight against discrimination to Washington, D.C., and mobilized Mexican Americans into an increasingly powerful voting bloc.

Younger Mexican Americans grew impatient with civil rights groups such as MAPA and MALDEF, however. The barrios of Los Angeles and other western cities produced the militant Brown Berets, modeled on the Black Panthers (who wore black berets). Rejecting their elders' assimilationist approach (that is, a belief in adapting to Anglo society), fifteen hundred Mexican American students met in Denver in 1969 to hammer out a new political and cultural agenda. They proclaimed a new term, *Chicano* (and its feminine form, *Chicana*), to replace *Mexican American*, and later organized a political party, **La Raza Unida** (People United), to promote Chicano interests. Young Chicana feminists formed a number of organizations, including Las Hijas (The Daughters), that organized women both on college campuses and in the barrios. In California and many southwestern states, students staged demonstrations to press for bilingual education, the hiring of more Chicano teachers, and the creation of Chicano studies programs. By the 1970s, dozens of such programs were offered at universities throughout the region.

The American Indian Movement

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the goals and accomplishments of the African American, Chicano, and American Indian civil rights movements.

American Indians, inspired by the Black Power and Chicano movements, organized to address their unique circumstances. Numbering nearly 800,000 in the 1960s, native people were exceedingly diverse — divided by language, tribal history, region, and degree of integration into American life. As a group, they shared a staggering unemployment rate — ten times the national average — and were the worst off in housing, disease rates, and access to education. Native people also had an often troubling relationship with the

federal government. In the 1960s, the prevailing spirit of protest swept through Native communities. Young militants challenged their elders in the National Congress of American Indians. Beginning in 1960, the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), under the slogan "For a Greater Indian America," promoted the ideal of Native Americans as a single ethnic group. The effort to both unite Indians and celebrate individual tribal culture proved a difficult balancing act.

The NIYC had substantial influence within tribal communities, but two other organizations, the militant Indians of All Tribes (IAT) and the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**, attracted more attention in the larger society. These groups embraced the concept of Red Power, and beginning in 1968 they staged escalating protests to draw attention to Indian concerns, especially the concerns of urban Indians, many of whom had been encouraged, or forced, to leave reservations by the federal government in earlier decades. In 1969, members of the IAT occupied the deserted federal penitentiary on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and proclaimed: "We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island [Manhattan] about 300 years ago." In 1972, AIM members joined the Trail of Broken Treaties, a march sponsored by a number of Indian groups. When AIM activists seized the headquarters of the hated Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., and ransacked the building, older tribal leaders denounced them.

However, AIM managed to focus national media attention on Native American issues with a siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in February 1973. The site of the infamous 1890 massacre of the Sioux by the U.S. military, Wounded Knee was situated on the Pine Ridge Reservation, where young AIM activists had cultivated ties to sympathetic elders. For more than two months, AIM members occupied a small collection of buildings, surrounded by a cordon of FBI agents and U.S. marshals. Several gun battles left two dead, and the siege was finally brought to a negotiated end. Although upsetting to many white onlookers and Indian elders alike, AIM protests attracted widespread mainstream media coverage and spurred government action on tribal issues.

Native American Activism Founded in 1968, the American Indian Movement (AIM) was among a variety of Native American groups fighting for indigenous rights in the 1960s and 1970. In 1969, AIM was part of a coalition of Native peoples (called Indians of All Tribes) that occupied Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, claiming the land under a nineteenth-century treaty. In 1972, AIM members briefly occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. And in 1973, AIM activists occupied the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, one of the poorest such Native reservations in the country. Pictured here is a guard looking down on the town from an occupied Catholic Church. Wounded Knee had great symbolic significance in Indian Country, because a massacre by the U.S. Army in 1890 had killed more than 150 Lakota people (some historians place the estimated number of victims at twice that figure). Dave Bu[illegible] Getty Images

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What social conditions prompted many Americans to seek remedies beyond formal legal equality on the basis of race? How successful were those remedies?**

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

What did the Chicano and American Indian movements have in common with the black freedom movement?

To read the Indians of All Tribes proclamation, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

SUMMARY

African Americans and others who fought for civil rights from World War II through the early 1970s sought equal rights and economic opportunity. That quest was also inspired by various forms of nationalism that called for self-determination for minority groups. For most of the first half of the twentieth century, African Americans faced a harsh Jim Crow system in the South and a segregated, though more open, society in the North. Segregation was maintained by a widespread belief in black inferiority and by a southern political system that denied African Americans the vote. In the Southwest and

West, Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and Americans of Asian descent faced discriminatory laws and social practices that marginalized them.

The civil rights movement attacked racial inequality in three ways. First, the movement sought equality under the law for all Americans, regardless of race. This required patient work through the judicial system and the more arduous task of winning congressional legislation, such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Second, grassroots activists, using nonviolent protest, pushed all levels of government (from city to federal) to abide by Supreme Court decisions (such as *Brown v. Board of Education*) and civil rights laws. Third, the movement worked to open economic opportunity for minority populations. This was embodied in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Ultimately, the civil rights movement successfully established the principle of legal equality, but it faced more difficult problems in fighting poverty and creating widespread economic opportunity.

The limitations of the civil rights model led black activists — along with Mexican Americans, Native Americans, and others — to adopt a more nationalist stance after 1966. Nationalism stressed the creation of political and economic power in communities of color, the celebration of racial heritage, and the rejection of white cultural standards.

CHAPTER 26 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What factors best explain why and how the civil rights movement developed between 1941 and 1954?
2. How did the civil rights movement achieve its major legal and legislative victories between 1954 and 1965?
3. What social conditions prompted many Americans to seek remedies beyond formal legal equality on the basis of race? How successful were those remedies?
4. One of the most significant themes of the period from 1945 to the 1980s is the growth of the power of the federal government. (See "Politics and Power" and "American and National Identity" on the thematic timeline on p. 746.) In what ways is the civil rights movement also part of that story?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

rights liberalism (p. 810)

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (p. 814)

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) (p. 815)

"To Secure These Rights" (p. 816)

States' Rights Democratic Party (p. 817)

American GI Forum (p. 819)

Community Services Organization (CSO) (p. 819)

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (p. 821)

Montgomery Bus Boycott (p. 824)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) (p. 824)

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) (p. 824)

March on Washington (p. 830)

Civil Rights Act of 1964 (p. 830)

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (p. 831)

Voting Rights Act of 1965 (p. 834)

black nationalism (p. 835)

Nation of Islam (p. 835)

Black Panther Party (p. 836)

Young Lords Organization (p. 837)

United Farm Workers (UFW) (p. 840)

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) (p. 840)

La Raza Unida (p. 840)

American Indian Movement (AIM) (p. 841)

Key People

A. Philip Randolph (p. 814)
James Farmer (p. 815)
Cesar Chavez (p. 819)
Dolores Huerta (p. 819)
Thurgood Marshall (p. 819)
Rosa Parks (p. 823)
Martin Luther King Jr. (p. 823)
Stokely Carmichael (p. 835)
Malcolm X (p. 835)

Key Academic Terms

commensurate (p. 813)
materiel (p. 814)
heinous (p. 823)
squalid (p. 837)
indelible (p. 838)
despondent (p. 839)
ascetic (p. 840)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Why is the decade of the 1960s often referred to as the "second Reconstruction"? Think broadly about the century between the end of the Civil War in 1865 and the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. What are the key turning points in African American history in that long period?
2. Examine the photograph of a confrontation at North Little Rock High School on page 822. How does this photograph reveal the role that the media played in the civil rights struggle? Can you find similar evidence in other photographs from this chapter?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 812 for help in answering the question below.

The history of the civil rights movement is more than a list of significant events. Pick two or three events from this timeline and explain how their timing and the broader historical context contributed to the precise role each played in the movement as a whole.

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Little Rock's Central High School is still under military occupation. The troops are still there — on the campus, in the building.
>
> The troops are still there, despite the fact that their presence is resented by the big majority of the students, the parents, and the people in general throughout the South.
>
> The troops continue to stand guard during school hours, despite the fact that there is no law or precedent — Federal or State — that permits them to do so.
>
> There is not even an order, or so much as a sanction, from the U.S. Supreme Court that makes its own 'laws' on mixing of races in the public schools. . . .
>
> Education, or attempted education, under the scrutiny of armed troops is un-American, un-Godly. . . .
>
> How much longer will Congress sit idly by and let such brazen violation of American principle and law continue on and on and on?"
>
> Editorial — "Anti-Little Rock Intervention" by Karr Shannon in *Arkansas Democrat* (March 10, 1958). Reproduced with permission.

1. In making mention of "'laws' on mixing of races," the author refers most directly to the Supreme Court's
   a. *Brown v. Board of Education* case.
   b. Dred Scott case.
   c. *Plessy v. Ferguson* case.
   d. rulings against New Deal programs.
2. Shannon's ideas show the greatest similarity to
   a. antebellum advocates of states' rights.
   b. proponents of Reconstruction in the 1860s and 1870s.
   c. supporters of desegregation of the United States armed forces in the 1940s.
   d. those calling for a Great Society in the 1960s.
3. Support for Shannon's ideas would most likely have been greatest in
   a. newly politicized Protestant evangelical organizations.
   b. movements for Hispanic rights.
   c. groups organizing for gay and lesbian rights.
   d. increasingly activist environmental organizations.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "This is our basic conclusion: our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal.
>
> "Reaction to last summer's disorders has quickened the movement and deepened the division. . . .
>
> The alternative is . . . the realization of common opportunities for all within a single society.
>
> This alternative will require a commitment to national action — compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and richest nation on earth. From every American it will require new attitudes, new understanding, and, above all, new will. . . .
>
> What white Americans have never fully understood — but what the Negro can never forget — is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it. . . .
>
> We cannot escape responsibility for choosing the future of our metropolitan areas and the human relations which develop within them. . . .
>
> Excerpt from the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, 1968

4. The "division" after World War II referred to in the excerpt resulted most directly from
   a. suburbanization.
   b. economic growth.
   c. growing public confidence in government's ability to solve social problems.
   d. the baby boom.
5. The excerpt most directly demonstrates that after World War II
   a. liberals sought greater changes to society.
   b. conservatives resisted a perceived moral and cultural decline.
   c. Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program ended social conflict over race.
   d. free trade agreements improved social mobility in the United States.
6. The excerpt can best be understood as originating most directly from
   a. persistent economic equality.
   b. nationwide efforts of the Ku Klux Klan.
   c. the protest tactics of the civil rights movement.
   d. political efforts of newly politicized Protestant evangelicalism.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

> "The conflict between [Martin Luther King Jr. and Ella Baker] reveals more fundamental conflicts between black politics and African American culture over the meanings of American democracy and the pathways toward social change. . . . Baker described [King] as a pampered member of Atlanta's black elite . . . a member of a coddled 'silver spoon brigade.' . . . In Baker's eyes, King did not identify closely enough with the people he sought to lead. He did not situate himself among them but remained above them. . . . Baker and King . . . translated religious faith into their political identities in profoundly different ways. Above all, they defined the confluence of their roles as individuals and their roles as participants in a mass movement for social change quite distinctly. Baker was a militant egalitarian, and King was a sophisticated southern Baptist preacher."
>
> Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 2003

> "By 1965, King's radical voice rang more clearly when he confessed that his dream had turned into a 'nightmare.' The dream shattered when whites murdered voting rights workers in Alabama, when police battled blacks in Los Angeles, when he met jobless and "hopeless" blacks on desperate Chicago streets, and when he saw hunger and poverty in rural Mississippi and Appalachia. But King picked up the shards of his shattered dreams and reassembled them into more radical visions of emancipation for all poor people. . . . Dreams of decent jobs, affordable integrated housing, and adequate family incomes remained central to King's public ministry until his death."
>
> Thomas F. Jackson, *From Civil Rights to Human Rights: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Struggle for Economic Justice*, 2013

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Ransby's and Jackson's historical interpretations of Martin Luther King Jr.'s leadership within the civil rights movement.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Ransby's argument.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Jackson's argument.

2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain why ONE of the following developments was the most significant factor in advancing racial equality in the U.S. from 1950 to 1970.
      - The Montgomery Bus Boycott
      - The Voting Rights Act of 1965
      - The *Brown v. Board of Education* decision
   b. Explain ONE specific historical event or development to support your argument in (a).
   c. Briefly explain why ONE of the other options is less convincing as a significant factor in advancing racial equality.

3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE important historical difference in the civil rights struggle of American Indians from the civil rights struggle of Asian Americans in the period 1941–1973.
   b. Briefly explain ONE important historical similarity between the civil rights struggle of American Indians to the civil rights struggle of Asian Americans in the period 1941–1973.
   c. Briefly explain ONE important historical factor that accounts for EITHER the similarity OR the difference that you indicated in (a) or (b).

CHAPTER 27

Uncivil Wars: Liberal Crisis and Conservative Rebirth

1961–1972

Liberalism at High Tide

John F. Kennedy's Promise

Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society

Rebirth of the Women's Movement

The Vietnam War Begins

Escalation Under Johnson

Public Opinion and the War

The Student Movement

Days of Rage, 1968–1972

War Abroad, Tragedy at Home

The Antiwar Movement and the 1968 Election

The Nationalist Turn

Women's Liberation and Black and Chicana Feminism

Stonewall and Gay Liberation

Rise of the Silent Majority

Nixon in Vietnam

The Silent Majority Speaks Out

The 1972 Election

AP® LEARNING FOCUS

What were liberalism's social and political achievements in the 1960s, and how did debates over liberal values contribute to conflict at home and reflect war abroad?

The civil rights movement stirred American liberals and pushed them to launch bold new government initiatives to advance racial equality. That progressive spirit inspired an expansive reform agenda that came to include women's rights, new social programs for the poor and the aged, job training, environmental laws, and other educational and social benefits for the middle class. All told, Congress passed more liberal legislation between 1964 and 1972 than in any period since the 1930s. The great bulk of it came during the 1965–1966 legislative session, one of the most active in American history. Liberalism was at high tide.

It did not stay there long. Liberalism quickly came under assault from two directions. First, young, left-leaning activists became frustrated with slow progress on civil rights and rebelled against the Vietnam War. Some of them had been among the young idealists inspired by President John F. Kennedy's inaugural address and the civil rights movement. Now they rejected everything that Cold War liberalism stood for. Their rebellion was symbolized by protests at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, where police teargassed and clubbed antiwar demonstrators, who chanted (as the TV cameras rolled), "The whole world is watching!" Inside the convention hall, the proceedings were chaotic, the atmosphere poisonous, the delegates bitterly divided over Vietnam.

A second assault on liberalism came from conservatives, who found their footing after being marginalized during the 1950s. Conservatives opposed the dramatic expansion of the federal government under President Lyndon B. Johnson and disdained the "permissive society" they believed liberalism had encouraged. Advocating law and order, belittling welfare, and resisting key civil rights reforms, conservatives leaped back to political life in the sixties. Their champion was Barry Goldwater, a Republican senator from Arizona, who warned that "a government big enough to give you everything you want is also big enough to take away everything you have."

The clashing of left, right, and center made the years between the inauguration of President Kennedy in 1961 and the landslide reelection of Richard Nixon in 1972 one of the most contentious, complicated, and explosive eras in American history. There were thousands of marches and demonstrations; massive new federal programs aimed at achieving civil rights, ending poverty, and extending the welfare state; and new voices among women, African Americans, Latinos, and gay men and lesbians demanding to be heard. With heated, **vitriolic** rhetoric on all sides, these developments overlapped with political assassinations and violence both overseas and at home. In this chapter, we undertake to explain how the rekindling of liberal reform under the twin **auspices** of the civil rights movement and the leadership of President Johnson gave way to a profound liberal crisis and the resurgence of conservatism.

"I Want Out" Protest movements of all kinds shook the foundations of American society and national politics in the 1960s. No issue was more controversial and divisive than the war in Vietnam. Priva

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1961
- John F. Kennedy inaugurated as president

1963
- John F. Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson assumes presidency

1964
- Civil Rights Act
- Economic Opportunity Act inaugurates War on Poverty
- Free Speech Movement at Berkeley
- Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

1965
- Immigration Act abolishes national quota system
- Medicare and Medicaid programs established
- Operation Rolling Thunder escalates bombing campaign (March)
- First U.S. combat troops arrive in Vietnam

1967
- Counterculture's "Summer of Love"
- 100,000 march in antiwar protest in Washington, D.C. (October)

1968
- Tet offensive begins (January)
- Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy assassinated
- Women's liberation protest at Miss America pageant
- Riot at Democratic National Convention in Chicago (August)
- Richard Nixon elected president

1969
- Stonewall riots (June)

1970
- National Women's Strike for Equality

1971
- *Swan v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* approves countywide busing

1972
- Nixon visits China (February)
- Nixon wins a second term (November 7)

1973
- Paris Peace Accords end Vietnam War

1974
- *Milliken v. Bradley* limits busing to school district boundaries

1975
- Vietnam reunified under Communist rule

Liberalism at High Tide

To see a longer excerpt from President Johnson's "Great Society" speech, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

In May 1964, Lyndon B. Johnson, president for barely six months, delivered the commencement address at the University of Michigan, where he offered a grand and inspirational vision of a new liberal age. "We have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society," Johnson continued, "but upward to the **Great Society**." As the graduates listened, Johnson spelled out what he meant: "The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice." Even this, Johnson declared, was just the beginning. He would push to renew American education, rebuild the cities, and restore the natural environment. Ambitious, even audacious, Johnson's vision was a New Deal for a new era. A tragic irony, however, was that he held the presidency at all.

John F. Kennedy's Promise

In 1961, three years before Johnson's Great Society speech, John F. Kennedy declared at his presidential inauguration: "Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans." He challenged his fellow citizens to "ask what you can do for your country," a call to service that inspired many Americans. The British journalist Henry Fairley called Kennedy's activism "the politics of expectation." Over time, the expectations Kennedy embodied, combined with his ability to inspire a younger generation, encouraged the emerging spirit of liberal reform.

Kennedy's legislative record did not live up to his promising image. This was not entirely his fault; congressional partisanship and resistance stymied many presidents in the twentieth century. Kennedy's domestic advisors devised bold plans for health insurance for the aged, a new antipoverty program, and a tax cut. After enormous pressure from Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders — and pushed by the demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963 — they added a civil rights bill. None of these initiatives went anywhere in the Senate, where powerful conservative interests practiced an old legislative art: delay, delay, delay. All Kennedy's bills were at a virtual standstill when tragedy struck.

On November 22, 1963, Kennedy was in Dallas, Texas, on a political trip. As he and his wife, Jacqueline, rode in an open car past the Texas School Book Depository, he was shot through the head and neck by a sniper. He died within the hour. (The accused

killer, twenty-four-year-old Lee Harvey Oswald, was himself killed while in custody a few days later by an assassin, a Dallas nightclub owner named Jack Ruby.) Before Air Force One left Dallas to take the president's body back to Washington, a grim-faced Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as Kennedy's successor.

Kennedy's youthful image, the trauma of his assassination, and the nation's sense of loss contributed to a powerful Kennedy mystique. His canonization after death capped what had been an extraordinarily stage-managed presidency. An admiring country saw in Jack and Jackie Kennedy an ideal American marriage (though JFK was, in fact, an obsessive womanizer); in Kennedy the epitome of robust good health (though he was actually afflicted by Addison's disease); and in the Kennedy White House a glamorous world of high fashion and celebrity. No other presidency ever matched the Kennedy aura, but every president after him embraced the idea that image mattered as much as reality in conducting a politically effective presidency.

Lyndon B. Johnson and the Great Society

In many ways, Lyndon Johnson was the opposite of Kennedy. A seasoned Texas politician and longtime Senate leader, Johnson was most at home in the back rooms of power. He was a rough-edged character who had scrambled his way up, with few scruples, to wealth and political eminence. But he never forgot his modest, hill-country origins or lost his sympathy for the downtrodden. Johnson lacked Kennedy's style, but he rose to the political challenge after Kennedy's assassination, applying his astonishing energy and negotiating skills to revive several of Kennedy's stalled programs, and many more of his own, in the ambitious Great Society.

On assuming the presidency, Johnson promptly pushed for civil rights legislation as a memorial to his slain predecessor. His motives were complex. As a southerner who had previously opposed civil rights for African Americans, Johnson wished to prove that he was more than a regional figure—he would be the president of all the people. He also wanted to make a mark on history, telling Martin Luther King Jr. and other black leaders to lace up their sneakers because he would move so fast on civil rights they would be running to catch up. Politically, the choice was risky. Johnson would please the Democratic Party's liberal wing, but because most northern African Americans already voted Democratic, the party would gain few additional votes. Moreover, southern white Democrats would likely revolt, dividing the party at a time when Johnson's legislative agenda most required unanimity. But Johnson pushed ahead, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act stands, in part, as a testament to the president's political risk-taking.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing the expression of liberal ideas in Lyndon Johnson's Great Society is critical for success on the AP® exam.

More than civil rights, what drove Johnson hardest was his determination to "end poverty in our time." The president called it a national disgrace that in the midst of plenty, one-fifth of all Americans—hidden from most people's sight in Appalachia, urban ghettos, migrant labor camps, and Indian reservations—lived in poverty. But, Johnson declared, "for the first time in our history, it is possible to conquer poverty."

The Great Society President Lyndon Johnson toured poverty-stricken regions of the country in 1964. Here he visits with Tom Fletcher, a father of eight children in Martin County, Kentucky. Johnson envisioned a dramatic expansion of liberal social programs, both to assist the needy and to strengthen the middle class, that he called the Great Society. Bettmann Getty Images

The **Economic Opportunity Act** of 1964, which created a series of programs to reach these Americans, was the president's answer — what he called the War on Poverty. This legislation included several different initiatives. Head Start provided free nursery schools to prepare disadvantaged preschoolers for kindergarten. The Job Corps and Upward Bound provided young people with training and employment. Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), modeled on the Peace Corps, offered technical assistance to the urban and rural poor. An array of regional development programs focused on spurring economic growth in impoverished areas. On balance, the 1964 legislation provided services to the poor rather than jobs, leading some critics to charge the War on Poverty with doing too little.

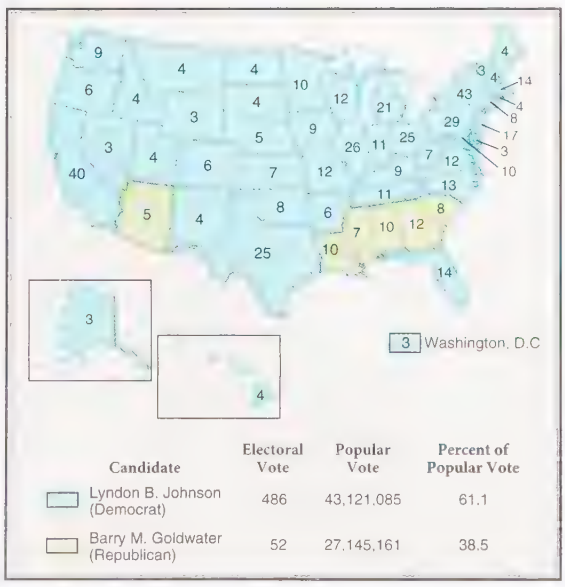
AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of federal legislation designed to address social and economic inequality.

The 1964 Election With the Civil Rights Act passed and his War on Poverty initiatives off the ground, Johnson turned his attention to the upcoming presidential election. Not content to govern in Kennedy's shadow, he wanted a national mandate of his own. Privately, Johnson saw himself less as akin Kennedy than as the heir of Franklin Roosevelt, whose political skills he had long admired, and the expansive liberalism of the 1930s. He reminded his advisors never to forget "the meek and the humble and the lowly," because "President Roosevelt never did."

In the 1964 election, Johnson faced Republican Barry Goldwater of Arizona. An archconservative, Goldwater ran on an anticommunist, antigovernment platform, offering "a choice, not an echo" — meaning he represented a genuinely conservative alternative to liberalism rather than the echo of liberalism offered by the moderate wing of the Republican Party (Chapter 24). Goldwater campaigned against the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and promised a more vigorous Cold War foreign policy. Among those supporting him was former actor Ronald Reagan, whose speech on behalf of Goldwater at the Republican convention, called "A Time for Choosing," made him a rising star in the party.

But Goldwater's strident foreign policy alienated voters. "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice," he told Republicans at the convention. Moreover, there remained strong national sentiment for Kennedy. Telling Americans that he was running to fulfill Kennedy's legacy, Johnson and his running mate, Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota, won in a landslide (Map 27.1). In the long run, Goldwater's candidacy marked the beginning of a grassroots conservative revolt that would eventually transform the Republican Party. In the short run, however, Johnson's sweeping victory gave him a popular mandate and, equally important, congressional majorities that rivaled FDR's in 1935 — just what he and liberal Democrats needed to push the Great Society forward (Table 27.1).



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Lyndon B. Johnson (Democrat)	486	43,121,085	61.1
Barry M. Goldwater (Republican)	52	27,145,161	38.5

MAP 27.1 The Presidential Election of 1964
This map reveals how one-sided was the victory of Lyndon Johnson over Barry Goldwater in 1964. Except for Arizona, his home state, Goldwater won only five states in the Deep South — not of much immediate consolation to him, but a sure indicator that the South was cutting its historic ties to the Democratic Party. Moreover, although soundly rejected in 1964, Goldwater's far-right critique of "big government" laid the foundation for a Republican resurgence in the 1980s.

Great Society Initiatives One of Johnson's first successes was breaking a congressional deadlock on education and health care. Passed in April 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorized $1 billion in federal funds for teacher training and other educational programs. Standing in his old Texas schoolhouse, Johnson, a former teacher, said: "I believe no law I have signed or will ever sign means more to the future of America." Six months later, Johnson signed the Higher Education Act, providing federal scholarships for college students. Johnson also had the votes he needed to achieve some form of national health insurance. That year, he won passage of two new programs: **Medicare**, a health plan for the elderly funded by a surcharge on Social Security payroll taxes, and **Medicaid**, a health plan for the poor paid for by general tax revenues and administered by the states.

The Great Society's agenda included environmental reform as well: an expanded national park system, improvement of the nation's air and water, protection for endangered species, stronger land-use

TABLE 27.1

Major Great Society Legislation

Civil Rights		
1964	Twenty-fourth Amendment	Outlawed poll tax in federal elections
	Civil Rights Act	Banned discrimination in employment and public accommodations on the basis of race, religion, sex, or national origin
1965	Voting Rights Act	Outlawed literacy tests for voting; provided federal supervision of registration in historically low-registration areas
Social Welfare		
1964	Economic Opportunity Act	Created Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) to administer War on Poverty programs such as Head Start, Job Corps, and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA)
1965	Medical Care Act	Provided medical care for the poor (Medicaid) and the elderly (Medicare)
1966	Minimum Wage Act	Raised hourly minimum wage from $1.25 to $1.40 and expanded coverage to new groups
Education		
1965	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	Granted federal aid for education of poor children
	National Endowment for the Arts and Humanities	Provided federal funding and support for artists and scholars
	Higher Education Act	Provided federal scholarships for postsecondary education
Housing and Urban Development		
1964	Urban Mass Transportation Act	Provided federal aid to urban mass transit
	Omnibus Housing Act	Provided federal funds for public housing and rent subsidies for low-income families
1965	Housing and Urban Development Act	Created Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)
1966	Metropolitan Area Redevelopment and Demonstration Cities Acts	Designated 150 "model cities" for combined programs of public housing, social services, and job training
Environment		
1964	Wilderness Preservation Act	Designated 9.1 million acres of federal lands as "wilderness areas," barring future roads, buildings, or commercial use
1965	Air and Water Quality Acts	Set tougher air quality standards; required states to enforce water quality standards for interstate waters
Miscellaneous		
1964	Tax Reduction Act	Reduced personal and corporate income tax rates
1965	Immigration Act	Abandoned national quotas of 1924 law, allowing more non-European immigration
	Appalachian Regional and Development Act	Provided federal funding for roads, health clinics, and other public works projects in economically depressed regions

planning, and highway beautification. Hardly pausing for breath, Johnson oversaw the creation of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD); won funding for hundreds of thousands of units of public housing; made investments in urban rapid transit such as the new Washington, D.C., Metro and the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system in San Francisco; ushered child safety and consumer protection laws

through Congress; and helped create the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities to support the work of artists, writers, and scholars.

It even became possible, at this moment of reform zeal, to tackle the nation's discriminatory immigration policy. The Immigration Act of 1965 abandoned the quota system that favored northern Europeans, replacing it with numerical limits that did not discriminate among nations. To promote family reunification, the law also stipulated that close relatives of legal residents in the United States could be admitted outside the numerical limits, an exception that especially benefitted Asian and Latin American immigrants. Since 1965, as a result, immigrants from those regions have become increasingly prominent in American society (Chapter 30).

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the response of conservative critics to Great Society programs.

Assessing the Great Society The Great Society enjoyed mixed results. The proportion of Americans living below the poverty line dropped from 20 percent to 13 percent between 1963 and 1968 (Figure 27.1). Medicare and Medicaid, the most enduring of the Great Society programs, helped millions of elderly and poor citizens afford necessary health care. Further, as millions of African Americans moved into the middle class, the black poverty rate fell by half. Liberals believed they were on the right track.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What new roles did the federal government assume under Great Society initiatives, and how did they extend the New Deal tradition?

Conservatives, however, gave more credit for these changes to the decade's booming economy than to government programs. Indeed, conservative critics accused Johnson and other liberals of believing that every social problem could be solved with a government program. In the final analysis, the Great Society dramatically improved the financial situation of the elderly, reached millions of children, and increased the racial diversity of American society and workplaces. However, entrenched poverty remained, racial segregation in the largest cities worsened, and the national distribution of wealth remained highly skewed. In relative terms, the bottom 20 percent remained as far behind as ever. In these arenas, the Great Society made little progress.

Rebirth of the Women's Movement

In the new era of liberal reform the women's movement reawakened. Inspired by the civil rights movement and legislative advances under the Great Society, but frustrated by the lack of attention both gave to women, feminists entered the political fray and demanded not simply inclusion, but a rethinking of national priorities (AP® Interpreting the Past).

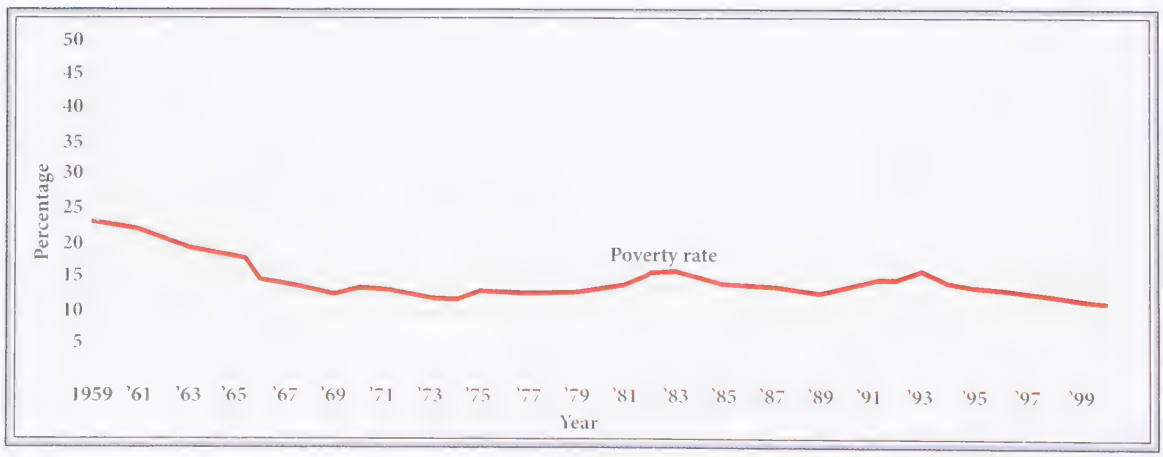


FIGURE 27.1 Americans in Poverty, 1959–2000

Between 1959 and 1973 the poverty rate among American families dropped by more than half—from 23 percent to 11 percent. There was, however, sharp disagreement about the reasons for that notable decline. Liberals credited the War on Poverty, while conservatives favored the high-performing economy, with the significant poverty dip of 1965–1966 caused by military spending, not Johnson's domestic programs.

AP® INTERPRETING THE PAST

What Are the Origins of 1960s Feminism?

The women's rights movement has a long history, but scholars and activists talk about a "second wave" of feminist activism emerging in the 1960s. Unlike early-twentieth-century feminism, which focused on gaining the right to vote for women, this later phase attacked discrimination and gender inequalities in the workplace, in schools, and within the home and marriage. Many scholars argue that the second wave emerged in response to the 1950s "return to domesticity" following World War II, when women were expected to embrace their roles as wives and mothers. Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* critiqued popular depictions of women's domestic roles and argued that gender discrimination limited women's potential.

Friedan's book was a catalyst for many activists who achieved such milestones as the Equal Pay Act, Title IX, and legalized abortion, but are scholars right to locate the movement's origins there? Were all feminist activists in the 1960s shaped by the constraints of domesticity? Sara Evans and Paula Giddings offer contrasting perspectives on 1960s feminism when they highlight the life experiences, work, and class characteristics of different groups of feminists.

SARA EVANS

SOURCE: Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 22–23.

Within the context of cultural unrest and the attack on tradition made by women like Friedan, the catalyst for a profounder criticism and a mass mobilization of American women proved to be the young female participants in the social movements of the 1960s. These daughters of the middle class had received mixed, paradoxical messages about what it meant to grow up to be women in America. On the one hand, the cultural ideal . . . informed them that their only true happiness lay in the twin roles of wife and mother. At the same time they could observe the reality that housewifery was distinctly unsatisfactory for millions of suburban women. . . . Such contradictions left young, educated women in the 1960s dry tinder for the spark of revolt. . . . [Their] experiences in the southern civil rights movement and parts of the student new left catalyzed a new feminist consciousness.

PAULA GIDDINGS

SOURCE: Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), 6–7.

In the course of my research, several themes emerged. One of them, clearly exposed through the experience of Black women, is the relationship between sexism and racism. . . . Of course, Black women could understand the relationship between racism and sexism because they had to strive against both. In doing so, they became the linchpin between the two most important social reform movements in American history: the struggles for Black rights and women's rights. In the course of defying the imposed limitations on race and sex, they loosened the chains around both.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How do Evans and Giddings differ in their explanation of the chronology and pioneers of 1960s feminism?
2. To what extent do these scholars see the domestic ideal for women as a factor in shaping second-wave feminism?
3. How does the discussion in Chapters 26 and 27 of the civil rights movement and women's activism shed light on the arguments about the origins of feminism that these two scholars make?

Labor Feminists The women's movement had not languished entirely in the postwar years. Feminist concerns were kept alive in the 1950s and early 1960s by working women, who campaigned for such policies as maternity leave and equal pay for equal work. One historian has called these women "labor feminists," because they belonged to trade unions and fought for equality and dignity in the workplace. "It became apparent to me why so many employers could legally discriminate against women — because it was written right into the law," said one female labor activist. Trade-union women were especially critical in pushing for, and winning, congressional passage of the 1963 **Equal Pay Act**, which established the principle of equal pay for equal work.

AP® EXAM TIP

Identify the causes and explain the impact of the resurgence of feminism in the 1950s and 1960s.

Labor feminists were responding to the times. More women — including married women (40 percent by 1970) and mothers with young children (30 percent by 1970) — were working outside the home than ever before. But they faced a labor market that undervalued their contributions. Moreover, most working women faced the "double day": they were expected to earn a paycheck and then return home to domestic labor. One woman put the problem succinctly: "The working mother has no 'wife' to care for her children."

AP® EXAM TIP

The significance of *The Feminine Mystique* is a "must know" for the AP® exam.

Betty Friedan and the National Organization for Women When Betty Friedan's indictment of suburban domesticity, ***The Feminine Mystique***, appeared in 1963, it targeted a different audience: college-educated, middle-class women who found themselves not working for wages but rather stifled by their domestic routine. Tens of thousands of women read Friedan's book and thought, "She's talking about me." *The Feminine Mystique* became a runaway best-seller. Friedan persuaded middle-class women that they needed more than the convenience foods, improved diapers, and better laundry detergents that magazines and television urged them to buy. To live rich and fulfilling lives, they needed education and work outside the home.

Paradoxically, the domesticity described in *The Feminine Mystique* was already crumbling. After the postwar baby boom, women were again having fewer children, aided now by the birth control pill, first marketed in 1960. And as states liberalized divorce laws, more women were divorcing. Educational levels were also rising: by 1970, women made up 42 percent of the college population. All of these changes undermined traditional gender roles and enabled many women to embrace *The Feminine Mystique*'s liberating prescriptions.

Government action also made a difference. In 1961, Kennedy had appointed the **Presidential Commission on the Status of Women**, which issued a 1963 report documenting job and educational discrimination. A bigger breakthrough came when Congress added the word *sex* to the categories protected against discrimination in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Women suddenly had a powerful legal tool for fighting gender discrimination.

To force compliance with the new act, Friedan and others, including many labor feminists from around the country, founded the **National Organization for Women (NOW)** in 1966. Modeled on the NAACP, NOW intended to be a civil rights organization for women, with the aim of bringing "women into full participation in . . . American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men." Under Friedan's leadership, membership grew to fifteen thousand by 1971, and NOW became a powerful voice for equal rights.

One of the ironies of the 1960s was the enormous strain that all of this liberal activism placed on the New Deal coalition. Faced with often competing demands from the civil rights movement, feminists, the poor, labor unions, conservative southern Democrats, the suburban middle class, and urban political machines, the old Rooseveltian coalition had begun to fray. Johnson hoped that the

National Women's Political Caucus Leaders of the National Women's Political Caucus speak with the press in 1971. From left to right are: activist and journalist Gloria Steinem, Congresswoman Bella Abzug, Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, and author and activist Betty Friedan. Founded to advance a broad political program on behalf of American women, the Caucus called for reproductive and economic rights, women's social and legal equality, and an increase in women's participation in local, state, and national government. AP Photo/Charles Gorry

New Deal coalition was strong enough to negotiate competing demands among its own constituents while simultaneously resisting conservative attacks. In 1965, that still seemed possible. It would not remain so for long.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What explains the surge in liberal politics and social policy in the early 1960s?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What factors accounted for the resurgence of feminism in the 1960s?

The Vietnam War Begins

As the accelerating rights revolution placed strain on the Democratic coalition, the war in Vietnam divided the country. In a CBS interview before his death, Kennedy remarked that it was up to the South Vietnamese whether "their war" would be won or lost. But the young president had already placed the United States on a course that would make retreat difficult. Like other U.S. presidents, Kennedy believed that giving up in Vietnam would weaken America's "credibility." Withdrawal "would be a great mistake," he said.

It is impossible to know how JFK would have managed Vietnam had he lived. What is known is that in the fall of 1963, Kennedy had lost patience with Ngo Dinh Diem, the dictatorial head of South Vietnam whom the United States had supported since 1955 (Chapter 24). The president let it be known in Saigon that the United States would support a military coup. Kennedy's hope was that if Diem, **reviled** throughout the South because of his brutal repression of political opponents, could be replaced by a popular general or other military figure, a stable government would emerge — one strong enough to repel the South Vietnam National Liberati on Front (NLF), or Vietcong.

That calculation proved overly optimistic. Emboldened by Kennedy's approval of their plan, a handful of South Vietnamese generals overthrew Diem on November 1, and then brutally killed him and his brother. Rather than stability, the coup brought chaos. South Vietnam fell into a period of turmoil marked by the increasing ungovernability of both the cities and countryside. Kennedy himself was assassinated in late November and would not live to see the grim results of Diem's murder: American engagement in a long and costly civil conflict in the name of fighting communism.

MAP 27.2 The Vietnam War, 1968

The Vietnam War was a guerrilla war, fought in skirmishes rather than set-piece battles. Despite repeated airstrikes, the United States was never able to halt the flow of North Vietnamese troops and supplies down the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which wound through Laos and Cambodia. In January 1968, Vietcong forces launched the Tet offensive, a surprise attack on cities and provincial centers across South Vietnam. Although the attackers were pushed back with heavy losses, the Tet offensive revealed the futility of American efforts to suppress the Vietcong guerrillas and marked a turning point in the war.

Escalation Under Johnson

Just as Kennedy had inherited Vietnam from Eisenhower, so Lyndon Johnson inherited Vietnam from Kennedy. Johnson's inheritance was more burdensome, however, for by now only massive American intervention could prevent the collapse of South Vietnam (Map 27.2). Johnson, like Kennedy, was a

subscriber to the Cold War tenets of global containment. "I am not going to lose Vietnam," he vowed on taking office. "I am not going to be the President who saw Southeast Asia go the way China went" (Chapter 24).

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the role of the Vietnam War in expanding the role of the president in military actions.

Gulf of Tonkin It did not take long for Johnson to place his stamp on the war. During the summer of 1964, the president got reports that North Vietnamese torpedo boats had fired on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* in the Gulf of Tonkin. In the first attack, on August 2, the damage inflicted was limited to a single bullet hole; a second attack, on August 4, later proved to be only misread radar sightings. To Johnson, it didn't matter if the attack was real or imagined; the president believed a wider war was inevitable and issued a call to arms, sending his national approval rating from 42 to 72 percent. In the entire Congress, only two senators voted against his request for authorization to "take all necessary measures to repel any armed attack against the forces of the United States and to prevent further aggression." The **Gulf of Tonkin Resolution**, as it became known, gave Johnson the freedom to conduct operations in Vietnam as he saw fit.

Despite his congressional mandate, Johnson was initially cautious about revealing his plans to the American people. "I had no choice but to keep my foreign policy in the wings . . . ," Johnson later said. "I knew that the day it exploded into a major debate on the war, that day would be the beginning of the end of the Great Society." So he ran in 1964 on the pledge that there would be no escalation — no "American boys" fighting Vietnam's fight, he said. Privately, he doubted the pledge could be kept.

American Escalation With the 1964 election safely behind him, Johnson began an American takeover of the war in Vietnam (AP® Analyzing Voices). The escalation, beginning in the early months of 1965, took two forms: deployment of American ground troops and intensive bombing of North Vietnam.

On March 8, 1965, the first marines waded ashore at Da Nang. By 1966, more than 380,000 American soldiers were stationed in Vietnam; by 1967, 485,000; and by 1968, 536,000 (Figure 27.2). General William Westmoreland, the commander of U.S. forces, and Robert McNamara, the secretary of defense, pushed Johnson to Americanize the ground war in an attempt to stabilize South Vietnam. "I can't run and pull a Chamberlain at Munich," Johnson privately told a reporter in early March 1965, referring to the British prime minister who had appeased Hitler in 1938.

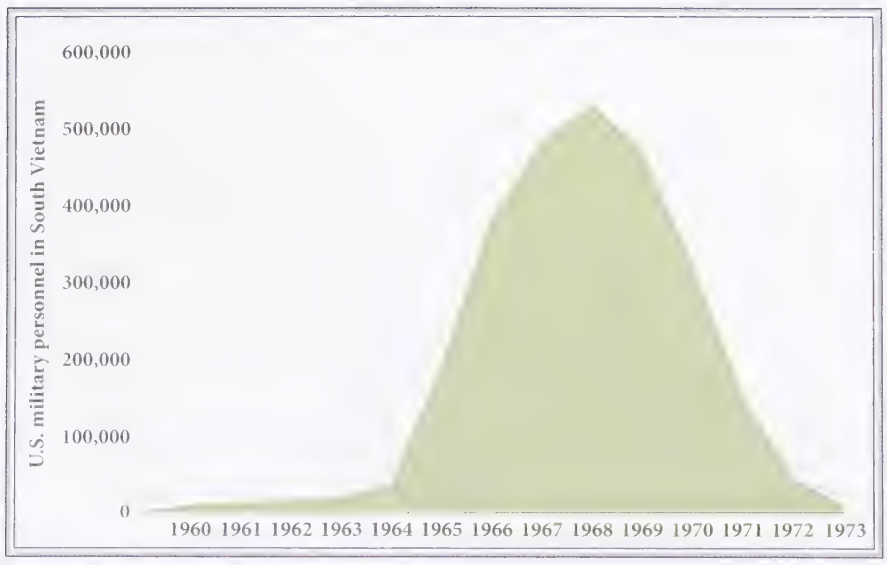


FIGURE 27.2 U.S. Troops in Vietnam, 1960–1973

This figure graphically tracks America's involvement in Vietnam. After Lyndon Johnson decided on escalation in 1964, troop levels jumped from 23,300 to a peak of 543,000 personnel in 1968. Under Richard Nixon's Vietnamization program, beginning in the summer of 1969, levels drastically declined; the last U.S. military forces left South Vietnam on March 29, 1973.

Meanwhile, Johnson authorized **Operation Rolling Thunder**, a massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam that began in 1965 and continued for three years. Over the entire course of the war, the United States dropped twice as many tons of bombs on Vietnam as the Allies had dropped in both Europe and the Pacific during the whole of World War II. To McNamara's surprise, the bombing had little effect on the Vietcong's ability to wage war in the South. The North Vietnamese quickly rebuilt roads and bridges and moved munitions plants underground. Instead of destroying the morale of the North Vietnamese, Operation Rolling Thunder hardened their will to fight. The massive commitment of ground troops and air power devastated Vietnam's countryside, however. After

one harsh but not unusual engagement, a commanding officer reported that "it became necessary to destroy the town in order to save it"—a statement that came to symbolize the terrible logic of the war.

The Johnson administration gambled that American superiority in personnel and weaponry would ultimately triumph. This strategy was inextricably tied to political considerations. For domestic reasons, policymakers searched for an elusive middle ground between all-out invasion of North Vietnam, which included the possibility of war with China, and disengagement. "In effect, we are fighting a war of attrition," said General Westmoreland. "The only alternative is a war of annihilation."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

In what larger context did President Johnson view the Vietnam conflict, and why was he determined to support South Vietnam?

Public Opinion and the War

Johnson gradually grew more confident that his Vietnam policy had the support of the American people. Both Democrats and Republicans approved Johnson's escalation in Vietnam, and so did public opinion polls in 1965 and 1966. But then opinion began to shift (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the causes and effects of the changing reactions of the American public to the Vietnam War over time.

Every night, Americans saw the carnage of war on their television screens, including images of dead and wounded Americans. One such incident occurred in the first months of fighting in 1965. Television reporter Morley Safer witnessed a marine unit burning the village of Cam Ne to the ground. "Today's operation is the frustration of Vietnam in miniature," Safer explained. America can "win a military victory here, but to a Vietnamese peasant whose home is [destroyed] it will take more than presidential promises to convince him that we are on his side."

With such firsthand knowledge of the war, journalists began to write about a "credibility gap." The Johnson administration, they charged, was concealing bad news about the war's progress. In February 1966, television coverage of hearings by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (chaired by J. William Fulbright, an outspoken critic of the war) raised further questions about the administration's policy. Johnson complained to his staff in 1966 that "our people can't stand firm in the face of heavy losses, and they can bring down the government." Economic problems put Johnson even more on the defensive. The Vietnam War cost taxpayers $27 billion in 1967, pushing the federal deficit from $9.8 billion to $23 billion. By then, military spending had set in motion the inflationary spiral that would plague the U.S. economy throughout the 1970s.

Out of these troubling developments, an antiwar movement began to crystallize. Little opposition had materialized in 1964, even after Johnson won passage of the Tonkin Resolution. But following the escalation in 1965, groups of students, clergy, civil rights advocates, antinuclear proponents, and even Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose book on child care had helped raise many of the younger activists, began to protest. Their launchpad was an April march of 15,000 people in Washington, D.C., that included a picket line around the White House and speeches denouncing what antiwar activist Paul Potter called "this mad war." Despite their diversity, these opponents of the war shared a skepticism about U.S. policy in Vietnam. They charged variously that intervention was antithetical to American ideals; that an independent, anticommunist South Vietnam was unattainable; and that no American objective justified the suffering that was being inflicted on the Vietnamese people.

The Student Movement

College students, many of them inspired by the civil rights movement, had already begun to organize and agitate for social change prior to the first antiwar march in 1965. In Ann Arbor, Michigan, they founded **Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)** in 1960. Two years later, they held the first national SDS convention in Port Huron, Michigan. Tom Hayden penned a manifesto, the **Port Huron Statement**, expressing students' disillusionment with the nation's consumer culture and the gulf between rich and poor. "We are people of this generation," Hayden wrote, "bred in at least modest

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain the role of the Port Huron Statement in expressing the discontent of the Left with both domestic and foreign policies.

The Toll of War

The Vietnam War drew Americans from many backgrounds and different walks of life into the military to serve in Southeast Asia. These brief selections suggest the war's profound, often horrific, impact on those Americans who experienced it firsthand.

VINCENT OKAMOTO

Vincent Okamoto was a lieutenant with the 25th Infantry Division in 1968; he was interviewed some years after the war.

SOURCE: Vincent Okamoto, "Damn, I'm a Gook," in *Patriots: The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*, ed. Christian G. Appy (New York: Penguin, 2003), 357–362.

"I am the last of ten children, the seventh son of Japanese immigrants. I was born in Poston Relocation Camp in Arizona. In World War II, two of my older brothers served with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team. My whole life I grew up on the tradition of the 442nd. I was convinced that one of the reasons we were allowed to get out of the camps and accepted in American society to the degree that we were, was the blood shed by the 442nd. So growing up, I thought military service was an inevitable rite of passage. . . .

When I got there [Vietnam] my guys were talking about gooks, and zipperheads, and slants, and I said to myself, 'Damn, I'm a gook, I'm a zipperhead, I'm a slant.' But it didn't take too long before my mentality was just like theirs. I should have known better, yet within a relatively short time we were all thinking alike. If it became a question of maximizing protection for your men or giving some Vietnamese civilian the benefit of the doubt, after a while there was no choice. I just went with protecting my people. Even so, I was nearly killed by Americans who mistook me for a Vietnamese."

GEORGE OLSEN

George Olsen served in Vietnam from August 1969 to March 1970, when he was killed in action. He wrote this letter to a close female friend.

SOURCE: *Dear America: Letters Home from Vietnam*, ed. Bernard Edelman for the New York Vietnam Veterans Memorial Commission (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985), 117–118.

"31 Aug '69
Dear Red,
Last Monday I went on my first hunter-killer operation. . . . The frightening thing about it all is that it is so very easy to kill in war. There's no remorse, no theatrical 'washing of the hands' to get rid of nonexistent blood, not even any regrets. When it happens, you are more afraid than you've ever been in your life — my hands shook so much I had trouble reloading. . . . You're scared, really scared, and there's no thinking about it. You kill because that little SOB is doing his best to kill you and you desperately want to live, to go home, to get drunk or walk down the street on a date again. And suddenly the grenades aren't going off any more, the weapons stop and, unbelievably fast it seems, it's all over. . . .

I have truly come to envy the honest pacifist who honestly believes that no killing is permissible and can, with a clear conscience, stay home and not take part in these conflicts. I wish I could do the same, but I can't see letting another take my place and my risks over here. . . . The only reason pacifists such as the Amish can even live in an orderly society is because someone — be they police or soldiers — is taking risks to keep the wolves away. . . . I guess that's why I'm over here, why I fought so hard to come here, and why, even though I'm scared most of the time, I'm content to be here."

LILY ADAMS

Lily Adams, an army nurse stationed at the 12th Evacuation Hospital near what is today Ho Chi Minh City, had an Italian American mother and a Chinese Amerian father. She spoke with a researcher some years after the war.

SOURCE: *In the Combat Zone: An Oral History of American Women in Vietnam, 1966–1975*, ed. Kathryn Marshall (Boston: Little, Brown, 1987), 206–229.

"The majority of the people that I learned about the Vietnamese from were the infantry men. The ones that had been out in the field — yea, a lot of them had respect for the Vietnamese. I also worked with a corpsman who was a Quaker and wouldn't put up with anything — he got sent out of the field because he would call in med-evacs for [enemy] POWs, and I mean foot soldiers, nobody important. The thinking was that POWs were a waste of your time and energy, uness they were the good ones: the ones with information. . . .

I didn't realize my own strength back then — I was real proud that I could resist all the racism around me, but I didn't know my own strength as a noncomformist. It is easy to be racist, even for Asians to be racist against Asians. No, you don't have to be Ku Klux Klan to be racist.

My last two weeks in Cu Chi I was put on the surgical ward. They wanted to keep me out of trouble. Because I was hysterical — it's called short-timer's syndrome. You know, you're feeling guilty at leaving because now you're so highly skilled you can do everything blindfolded with your hands

tied behind your back. New people coming in means that they are not as skilled, because the new people learn as they go. And there's a lot of ambivalence. You want to stay so you can devote yourself to the guys, but you want to leave because you want to live. ”

ARTHUR E. WOODLEY JR.

Special Forces Ranger Arthur E. Woodley Jr. gave this interview a decade after his return.

SOURCE: Wallace Terry, *Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War by Black Veterans* (New York: Ballantine, 1984), 243–263.

“ You had to fight to survive where I grew up. Lower east Baltimore. . . . It was a mixed-up neighborhood of Puerto Ricans, Indians, Italians, and blacks. Being that I'm lightskinned, curly hair, I wasn't readily accepted in the black community. I was more accepted by Puerto Ricans and some rednecks. They didn't ask what my race classification was. I went with them to white movies, white restaurants, and so forth. But after I got older, I came to the realization that I was what I am and came to deal with my black peers. . . .

I figured I was just what my country needed. A black patriot who could do any physical job they could come up with. Six feet, one hundred and ninety pounds, and healthy. . . .

I didn't ask no questions about the war. I thought communism was spreading, and as an American citizen, it was my part to do as much as I could to defeat the Communist from coming here. Whatever America states is correct was the tradition that I was brought up in. And I thought the only way I could possibly make it out of the ghetto was to be the best soldier I possibly could. . . .

Then came the second week of February of '69. . . . We recon this area, and we came across this fella, a white guy, who was staked to the ground. His arms and legs tied down to stakes. . . . He had numerous scars on his face where he might have been beaten and mutilated. And he had been peeled from his upper part of chest to down to his waist.

Skinned. Like they slit your skin with a knife. And they take a pair of pliers or a instrument similar, and they just peel the skin off your body and expose it to the elements. . . .

And he start to cryin', beggin' to die.

He said, 'I can't go back like this. I can't live like this. I'm dying. You can't leave me here like this dying.' . . .

It took me somewhere close to 20 minutes to get my mind together. Not because I was squeamish about killing someone, because I had at that time numerous body counts. Killing someone wasn't the issue. It was killing another American citizen, another GI. . . . We buried him. We buried him. Very deep. Then I cried. . . .

When we first started going into the fields, I would not wear a finger, ear, or mutilate another person's body. Until I had the misfortune to come upon those American soldiers who were castrated. Then it got to be a game between the Communists and ourselves to see how many fingers and ears that we could capture from each other. After a kill we would cut his finger or ear off as a trophy, stuff our unit patch in his mouth, and let him die.

With 89 days left in country, I came out of the field. What I now felt was emptiness. . . . I started seeing the atrocities that we caused each other as human beings. I came to the realization that I was committing crimes against humanity and myself. That I really didn't believe in these things I was doin'. I changed. ”

GAYLE SMITH

Gayle Smith was a nurse in a surgical unit in Vietnam in 1970–1971 and gave this interview a few years later.

SOURCE: Albert Santoli, ed., *Everything We Had* (New York: Random House, 1981), 141–148.

“ I objected to the war and I got the idea into my head of going there to bring people back. I started thinking about it in 1966 and knew that I would eventually go when I felt I was prepared enough. . . .

Boy, I remember how they came in all torn up. It was incredible. The first time a medevac came in, I got right into it. I didn't have a lot of feeling at that time. It was later on that I began to have a lot of feeling about it, after I'd seen it over and over and over again. . . . I turned that pain into anger and hatred and placed it onto the Vietnamese. . . . I did not consider the Vietnamese to be people. They were human, but they weren't people. They weren't like us, so it was okay to kill them. It was okay to hate them. . . .

I would have dreams about putting a .45 to someone's head and see it blow away over and over again. And for a long time I swore that if the Vietnamese ever came to this country I'd kill them.

It was in a Vietnam veterans group that I realized that all my hatred for the Vietnamese and my wanting to kill them was really a reflection of all the pain that I had felt for seeing all those young men die and hurt. . . . I would stand there and look at them and think to myself, 'You've just lost your leg for no reason at all.' Or 'You're going to die and it's for nothing.' For nothing. I would never, never say that to them, but they knew it. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did these five young people end up in Vietnam? How are their reasons for going to war similar and different?
2. How would you describe their experiences there?
3. What are their attitudes about the war, and how were they changed by it? What do their reflections suggest about Vietnam's impact on American society?

Debating the War in Vietnam

The war in Vietnam divided Americans and ultimately divided world opinion. A product of the Cold War policy of containment, the war led many to question the application of that policy to Southeast Asia. Yet every American president from Truman to Nixon believed that opposing the unification of Vietnam under communist rule was essential. Historians continue to research, and debate, what led to the war and what effects the war had on both Vietnam and the United States. The following documents help us to consider different views of the war.

1. **President Dwight Eisenhower's "Domino Theory" speech, April 7, 1954.**

   Finally, you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the "falling domino" principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences. . . .

   But when we come to the possible sequence of events, the loss of Indochina, of Burma, of Thailand, of the Peninsula, and Indonesia following, now you begin to talk about areas that not only multiply the disadvantages that you would suffer through loss of materials, sources of materials, but now you're talking about millions and millions and millions of people.

2. **Manifesto of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (NLF), 1968.**

   Over the past hundred years the Vietnamese people repeatedly rose up to fight against foreign aggression for the independence and freedom of their fatherland. In 1945, the people throughout the country surged up in an armed uprising, overthrew the Japanese and French domination, and seized power. . . .

   However, the American imperialists, who had in the past helped the French colonialists to massacre our people, have now replaced the French in enslaving the southern part of our country through a disguised colonial regime. They have been using their stooge — the Ngo Dinh Diem administration — in their downright repression and exploitation of our compatriots, in their maneuvers to permanently divide our country and to turn its southern part into a base in preparation for war in Southeast Asia.

3. **President Lyndon Johnson, Johns Hopkins University speech, April 7, 1965.**

   Over this war — and all Asia — is another reality: the deepening shadow of Communist China. The rulers in Hanoi are urged on by Peiping [Peiking]. This is a regime which has destroyed freedom in Tibet, which has attacked India, and has been condemned by the United Nations for aggression in Korea. It is helping the forces of violence in almost every continent. The contest in Viet-Nam is part of a wider pattern of aggressive purposes.

4. **James Fallows, "What Did You Do in the Class War, Daddy?" *Washington Monthly*, October 1975.** *The journalist Fallows highlighted the economic unfairness of the Vietnam-era draft.*

   The children of the bright, good parents were spared the more immediate sort of suffering that our inferiors were undergoing. And because of that, when our parents were opposed to the war, they were opposed in a bloodless, theoretical fashion, as they might be opposed to political corruption or racism in South Africa. As long as the little gold stars [sent to parents whose son was killed in war] kept going to homes in Chelsea [a working-class part of Boston] and the backwoods of West Virginia, the mothers of Beverly Hills and Chevy Chase and Great Neck and Belmont [all affluent suburbs] were not on the telephone to their congressman screaming, "*You killed my boy.*" . . . It is clear by now that if the men of Harvard had wanted to do the very most they could to help shorten the war, they should have been drafted or imprisoned en masse.

5. Students for a Democratic Society, Call for a March on Washington to End the War, 1965.

The current war in Vietnam is being waged on behalf of a succession of unpopular South Vietnamese dictatorships, not in behalf of freedom. No American-supported South Vietnamese regime in the past few years has gained the support of its people, for the simple reason that the people overwhelmingly want peace, self-determination, and the opportunity for development. American prosecution of the war has deprived them of all three.

The war is fundamentally a *civil* war. . . .
It is a *losing* war. . . .
It is a *self-defeating* war. . . .
It is a *dangerous* war. . . .
It is a war never declared by Congress. . . .
It is a hideously *immoral* war.

6. Richard Nixon, address to the nation on the Vietnam War, November 3, 1969.

. . . President Eisenhower sent economic aid and military equipment to assist the people of South Vietnam in their efforts to prevent a Communist takeover. Seven years ago, President Kennedy sent 16,000 military personnel to Vietnam as combat advisors. Four years ago, President Johnson sent American combat forces to South Vietnam. . . .

For these reasons, I reject the recommendation that I should end the war by immediately withdrawing all our forces. I choose instead to change American policy on both the negotiating front and the battlefront. . . .

7. Evacuation of Vietnamese civilians in a burning village, c. 1965.

Source: Dominique BERRETTY/Gamma Rapho via Getty Images

SOURCES: (1) George Katsiaficas, ed., *Vietnam Documents: American and Vietnamese Views of the War* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, Inc., 1992), pp. 120–121. Used by permission of the author; (2) Katsiaficas, 43–44; (3) John Clark Pratt, *Vietnam Voices: Perspectives on the War Years, 1941–1982* (New York: Penguin Books, 1984), 201; (4) *The Washington Monthly*, October 1975, 5–19; (5) Katsiaficas, 120–121; (6) Katsiaficas, 147.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Three of the sources (1, 3, and 6) feature remarks by U.S. presidents. What common feature do they share? Are there differences among the comments? Source 2 is also an attempt by a political figure to persuade. How should historians evaluate such documents?
2. In source 4, which Americans does the author believe have sacrificed the most in fighting the war in Vietnam?
3. Compare sources 2 and 5. What is the intended audience of each? What common features do they share?
4. Journalists and electronic media (photography and television) played an important role in the war. How would images, such as that in source 7, shape opinion about the war both in the United States and globally?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using the knowledge you have gained from this chapter, analyze the documents above to construct an essay in which you explore the Vietnam War's causes and effects, both domestic and international. Choose at least one domestic and one international theme and use the documents to provide evidence for your conclusions.

comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." Hayden and SDS sought to shake up what they saw as a complacent nation.

The New Left The founders of SDS referred to their movement as the **New Left** to distinguish themselves from the Old Left — communists and socialists of the 1930s and 1940s. As New Left influence spread, it hit major university towns first — places such as Madison, Wisconsin, and Berkeley, California. One of the first notable demonstrations erupted in the fall of 1964 at the University of California at Berkeley after administrators banned student political activity on university grounds. In protest, student organizations formed the Free Speech Movement and organized a sit-in at the administration building. Some students had just returned from Freedom Summer in Mississippi, radicalized by their experience. One such student, Mario Savio, spoke for many when he compared the conflict in Berkeley to the civil rights struggle in the South: "The same rights are at stake in both places — the right to participate as citizens in a democratic society and to struggle against the same enemy."

Emboldened by the Berkeley movement, students across the nation were soon protesting their universities' academic policies and then, beginning in 1965, the Vietnam War. Students were on the front lines as the campaign against the war escalated. The 1967 Mobilization to End the War brought 100,000 protesters into the streets of San Francisco, while more than 250,000 followed Martin Luther King Jr. from Central Park to the United Nations in New York. Another 100,000 marched on the Pentagon. President Johnson absorbed the blows and counterpunched — "The enemy's hope for victory . . . is in our division, our weariness, our uncertainty," he proclaimed — but it had become clear that Johnson's war, as many began calling it, was no longer uniting the country.

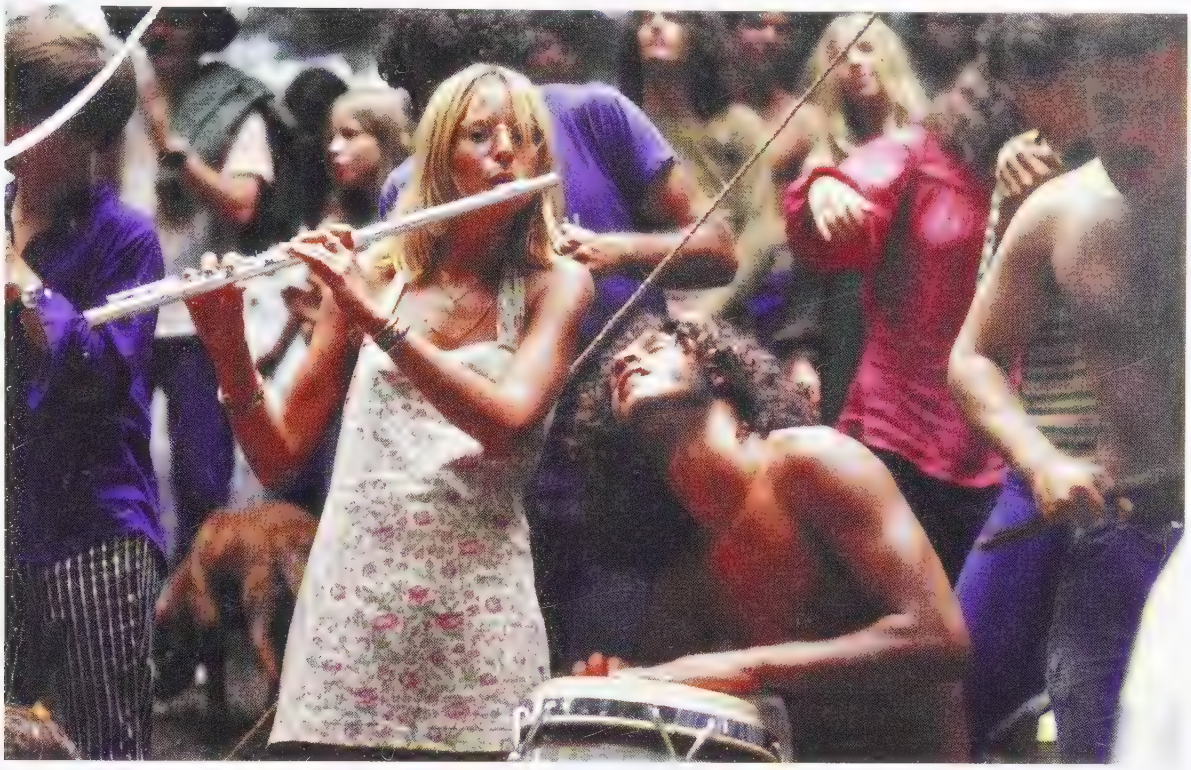
One spur to student protest was the military's Selective Service System, which in 1967 abolished automatic student **deferments**. To avoid the draft, some young men enlisted in the National Guard or applied for conscientious objector status; others left the country, most often for Canada or Sweden. In public demonstrations, opponents of the war burned their draft cards, picketed induction centers, and on a few occasions broke into Selective Service offices and destroyed records. Antiwar demonstrators numbered in the tens or, at most, hundreds of thousands — a small fraction of American youth — but they were vocal, visible, and determined.

Young Americans for Freedom The New Left was not the only political force on college campuses. Conservative students were less noisy but equally numerous. For them, the 1960s was not about protesting Vietnam, staging student strikes, and idolizing Black Power. Inspired by the group **Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)**, conservative students asserted their faith in "God-given free will" and their concern that the federal government "accumulates power which tends to diminish order and liberty." The YAF, the largest student political organization in the country, defended free enterprise and supported the war in Vietnam. Its founding principles were outlined in "The **Sharon Statement**," drafted (in Sharon, Connecticut) two years before the Port Huron Statement. Young conservatives, many of whom would play important roles in the Reagan administration in the 1980s, rallied to the YAF's call.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the role of the counterculture in challenging the status quo and expectations of a homogeneous American culture in the 1960s.

The Counterculture While the New Left organized against the political and economic system and the YAF defended it, many other young Americans embarked on a general revolt against authority and middle-class respectability. The "hippie" — identified by ragged blue jeans or army fatigues, flowing skirts, shirts, and blouses, beads, and long unkempt hair — symbolized the new **counterculture**. With roots in the 1950s Beat culture of New York's Greenwich Village and San Francisco's North Beach, the 1960s counterculture was composed largely of white youth alienated from the staid predictability and formality of an older generation. Seeking an ethic of personal freedom and authenticity, they initially turned to folk music for inspiration. Pete Seeger set the tone for the era's idealism with songs such as the 1961 antiwar ballad "Where Have All the



The Counterculture The three-day outdoor Woodstock concert in August 1969 was a defining moment in the rise of the counterculture. The event attracted 400,000 young people, like those pictured here, to Bethel, New York, for a weekend of music, drugs, and sex. The counterculture was distinct from the New Left and was less a political movement than a shifting set of cultural styles, attitudes, and practices. It rejected conformity of all kinds and placed rebellion and contrariness among its highest values. Another concept held dear by the counterculture was, simply, "love." In an era of military violence abroad and police violence at home, many in the counterculture hoped that "peace and love" would prevail instead. Bill Eppridge/The LIFE Picture Collection/Getty Images

Flowers Gone?" In 1963, the year of the civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham and President Kennedy's assassination, Bob Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind" reflected the impatience of people whose faith in America was wearing thin. Judy Collins and Joan Baez emerged alongside Dylan and pioneered a folk sound that inspired a generation of female musicians.

By the mid-1960s, other winds of change in popular music came from the Beatles, four working-class Brits whose awe-inspiring music, by turns lyrical and driving, spawned a commercial and cultural phenomenon known as Beatlemania. American youths' embrace of the Beatles, as well as even more rebellious bands such as the Rolling Stones, the Who, and the Doors, deepened the generational divide between young people and their elders. So did the recreational use of drugs — especially marijuana and the hallucinogen popularly known as LSD or acid — which was celebrated in popular music in the second half of the 1960s.

For a brief time, **adherents** of the counterculture believed that a new age was dawning. In 1967, the "world's first Human Be-In" drew 20,000 people to Golden Gate Park in San Francisco. That summer — known as the Summer of Love — San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury, New York's East Village, Chicago's Uptown neighborhoods, and the Sunset Strip in Los Angeles swelled with young dropouts, drifters, and teenage runaways whom the media dubbed "flower children." Although most young people had little interest in all-out revolt, media coverage made it seem as though all of American youth was rejecting the nation's social and cultural norms.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What led President Johnson to escalate the war in Vietnam, and how did Americans respond?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

Contrast the political views of the SDS, the YAF, and the counterculture. How would you explain the differences?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

What major developments between 1965 and 1968 reshaped national politics?

Days of Rage, 1968–1972

By 1968, a sense of crisis gripped the country. Riots in the cities, campus unrest, and a nose-thumbing counterculture escalated into a general youth rebellion that seemed on the verge of tearing America apart. Calling 1968 "the watershed year for a generation," SDS founder Tom Hayden wrote that it "started with legendary events, then raised hopes, only to end by immersing innocence in tragedy." It was perhaps the most shocking year in all the postwar decades. Violent clashes both in Vietnam and back home in the United States combined with political assassinations to produce a palpable sense of despair and hopelessness (AP® America in the World).

War Abroad, Tragedy at Home

President Johnson had gambled in 1965 on a quick victory in Vietnam, before the political cost of escalation came due. But there was no quick victory. North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces fought on, the South Vietnamese government repeatedly collapsed, and American casualties mounted. By early 1968, the death rate of U.S. troops had reached several hundred a week. Johnson and his generals kept insisting that there was "light at the end of the tunnel." Facts on the ground showed otherwise.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the Tet offensive as a turning point for the war in Vietnam and the antiwar movement at home.

The Tet Offensive On January 30, 1968, the Vietcong unleashed a massive, well-coordinated assault in South Vietnam. Timed to coincide with Tet, the Vietnamese new year, the offensive struck thirty-six provincial capitals and five of the six major cities, including Saigon, where the Vietcong nearly overran the U.S. embassy. In strictly military terms, the Tet offensive was a failure, with very heavy Vietcong losses. But psychologically, the effect was devastating. Television brought into American homes shocking live images: the American embassy under siege and the Saigon police chief placing a pistol to the head of a Vietcong suspect and executing him.

The **Tet offensive** made a mockery of official pronouncements that the United States was winning the war. How could an enemy on the run manage such a large-scale, complex, and coordinated attack? Just before Tet, a Gallup poll found that 56 percent of Americans considered themselves "hawks" (supporters of the war), while only 28 percent identified with the "doves" (war opponents). Three months later, doves outnumbered hawks 42 to 41 percent. Without embracing the peace movement, many Americans simply concluded that the war was unwinnable.

The Tet offensive undermined Johnson and discredited his war policies. When the 1968 presidential primary season got under way in March, antiwar senators Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota and Robert Kennedy of New York, JFK's brother, challenged Johnson for the Democratic nomination. Discouraged, perhaps even physically exhausted, on March 31 Johnson stunned the nation by announcing that he would not seek reelection.

Political Assassinations Americans had barely adjusted to the news that a sitting president would not stand for reelection when, on April 4, James Earl Ray shot and killed Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis. Riots erupted in more than a hundred cities. The worst of them, in Baltimore, Chicago, and Washington, D.C., left dozens dead and hundreds of millions of dollars in property damaged or destroyed. The violence on the streets of Saigon had found an eerie parallel on the streets of the United States.

One city that did not erupt was Indianapolis. There, Robert Kennedy, in town campaigning in the Indiana primary, gave a quiet, somber speech to the black community on the night of King's assassination. Americans could continue to move toward "greater polarization," Kennedy said, "black people amongst blacks, white amongst whites," or "we can replace that violence . . . with an effort to understand, compassion and love." Kennedy sympathized with African Americans' outrage at whites, but he begged them

The Global Protests of 1968

Nineteen sixty-eight was a year of youthful protest, political unrest, and violence across the globe. The year of massive antiwar protests at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago as well as the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy saw equal or greater turmoil around the world. Half of Italy's universities were occupied; a massive student strike in France turned into a violent confrontation with police; prodemocracy students in Mexico City led huge protests that drew police gunfire; and protests and street battles with police took place in Prague, Berlin, Tokyo, Rome, and London.

RENÉ BOURRIGAUD, FRENCH STUDENT

SOURCE: Ronald Fraser, *1968: A Student Generation in Revolt* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 9.

My most vivid memory of May '68? The new-found ability for everyone to speak — to speak of anything with anyone. In that month of talking during May you learnt more than in the whole of your five years of studying.

THE "TWO THOUSAND WORDS" MANIFESTO, JUNE 27, 1968, PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SOURCE: Jaromír Navrátil, *The Prague Spring 1968: A National Security Archive Documents Reader* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 1998), 181.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1968, the government of Czechoslovakia, under new communist leadership, pursued reforms pushed by students and other protesters. In August, the Soviet Union invaded and put an end to the new openness.

This spring a great opportunity was given to us once again, as it was at the end of the war [World War II]. Again we have the chance to take into our own hands our common cause, which for working purposes we will call socialism, and give it a form more appropriate to our once-good reputation and to the fairly good opinion we used to have of ourselves.

INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPANTS IN 1968 PROTESTS IN MEXICO CITY

SOURCE: Produced by Radio Diaries (radiodiaries.org) and originally broadcast on NPR's *All Things Considered*. To hear the entire documentary, visit radiodiaries.org. Used by permission of Radio Diaries.

During the summer of 1968, hundreds of thousands of students protested against Mexico's authoritarian national government and brutal police repression.

Sergio Aguayo: It was, in a symbolic way, the clash of a new Mexico and an old Mexico.
Antonio Azuela: You have a middle class with eyes closed and a group of students saying, this was not a democracy. And this is not working.
Marcela Fernandez de Violante: And so we were together hundreds and hundreds and hundreds. We had these big, big meetings at the campus crowded, crowded. And people singing, Que Vivan los Estudiantes . . . ta-ri-ra-ra-ra-ra.
Marcela Fernandez de Violante: We were very young, very naive. But for the first time, you had this notion that this country was going to be changed by the power of our convictions.
Miguel Breseda: You would get in a bus and give a speech and inform the people. Because newspaper wouldn't publish anything. And people would give you money, they would congratulate you and they would say, "We are with you young people. . . ."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Why did free speech figure so prominently in the protests of the 1960s?
2. What do all of these activists seem to be struggling for, or against? How do their struggles seem similar to — or different from — those occurring simultaneously in the United States?

not to strike back in retribution. Impromptu and heartfelt, Kennedy's speech was a plea to follow King's nonviolent example, even as the nation descended into greater violence.

But two months later, having emerged as the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, Kennedy, too, would be gone. On June 5, as he was celebrating his victory in the California primary over Eugene McCarthy, Kennedy was shot dead by a young Palestinian named Sirhan Sirhan. Amid the national mourning for yet another political murder, one newspaper columnist declared that "the country does not work anymore." *Newsweek* asked, "Has violence become a way of life?"

Robert Kennedy After the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. and with President Johnson out of the presidential race, Robert Kennedy emerged in 1968 as the leading liberal figure in the nation. A critic of the Vietnam War, a strong supporter of civil rights, and committed to fighting poverty, Kennedy (the brother of the late President John Kennedy) ran a progressive campaign for president. In this photograph he is shown shaking hands with supporters in Detroit in May 1968. However, less than three weeks after this picture was taken, Kennedy, too, was dead, the victim of yet another assassination. Andrew Sacks/Getty Images

Kennedy's assassination was a calamity for the Democratic Party because only he had seemed able to surmount the party's fissures over Vietnam. In the space of eight weeks, American liberals had lost their two most important national figures, King and Kennedy. The third, Johnson, was unpopular and politically damaged. Without these unifying leaders, the crisis of liberalism had become unmanageable.

The Antiwar Movement and the 1968 Election

Before their deaths, Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy had spoken eloquently against the Vietnam War. To antiwar activists, however, bold speeches and marches had not produced the desired effect. "We are no longer interested in merely protesting the war," declared one. "We are out to stop it." They sought nothing short of an immediate American withdrawal. Their anger at Johnson and the Democratic Party — fueled by news of the Tet offensive, the murders of King and Kennedy, and the general youth rebellion — had radicalized the movement.

Democratic Convention In August, at the **1968 Democratic National Convention** in Chicago, the political divisions generated by the war consumed the party. Thousands of protesters descended on the city. The most visible group, led by Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman, a remarkable pair of troublemakers, claimed to represent the Youth International Party (whose members were known as "Yippies"). To mock those inside the convention hall, they nominated a live pig, Pigasus, for president. The Yippies' stunts were geared toward maximum media exposure. But a far larger and more serious group of activists had come to Chicago to demonstrate against the war as well — and they staged what many came to call the Siege of Chicago.

Democratic mayor Richard J. Daley ordered the police to break up the demonstrations. Several nights of skirmishes between protesters and police culminated on the evening of the nominations. In what an official report later described as a "police riot," police officers attacked protesters with tear gas and clubs. As the nominating speeches proceeded, television networks broadcast scenes of the riot, cementing a popular impression of the Democrats as the party of disorder. "They are going to be spending the next four years picking up the pieces," one Republican said gleefully. Inside the hall, the party dispiritedly nominated Hubert H. Humphrey, Johnson's vice president. The delegates approved a middle-of-the-road platform that endorsed continued fighting in Vietnam while urging a diplomatic solution to the conflict.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the resurgence of conservative ideas in the late 1960s.

Richard Nixon On the Republican side, Richard M. Nixon had engineered a remarkable political comeback. After losing the presidential campaign in 1960 and the California gubernatorial race in 1962, he won the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. Sensing weakness in the Democratic Party, Nixon and his advisors believed there were two groups of voters whose long political loyalty to Democrats was wavering: working-class white voters in the North and southern whites of all social classes.

Offended by the antiwar movement and the counterculture, and disturbed by urban riots, northern blue-collar voters, especially Catholics, had drifted away from the Democratic Party. Growing up in the Great Depression, these families were admirers of FDR and perhaps even had his picture on their living-room wall. But times had changed over three decades. To show how much they had changed, the social scientists Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard Scammon profiled blue-collar workers in their study *The Real Majority* (1970). Wattenberg and Scammon asked their readers to consider people such as a forty-seven-year-old working-class woman from Dayton, Ohio: "[She] is afraid to walk the streets alone at night. . . . She has a mixed view about blacks and civil rights." Moreover, they wrote, "she is deeply distressed that her son is going to a community junior college where LSD was found on campus." Such northern blue-collar families were once reliable Democratic voters, but their political loyalties were increasingly up for grabs — a fact Republicans knew well.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why might a Democratic supporter of FDR in the 1940s have decided to vote for Republican Richard Nixon in 1968?

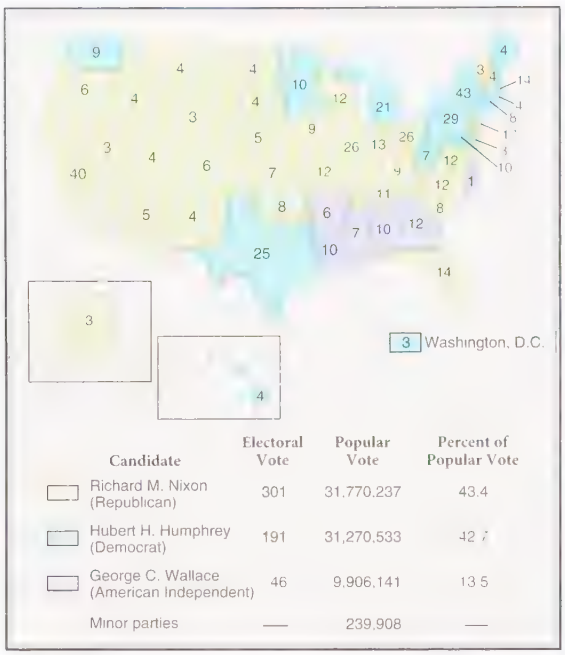
George Wallace Working-class anxieties over student protests and urban riots were first exploited by the controversial governor of Alabama, George C. Wallace. Running in 1968 as a third-party presidential candidate, Wallace traded on his fame as a segregationist governor. He had tried to stop the federal government from desegregating the University of Alabama in 1963, and he was equally obstructive during the Selma crisis of 1965. Appealing to whites in both the North and the South, Wallace called for "law and order" and attacked welfare programs; he claimed that mothers on public assistance were, thanks to Johnson's Great Society, "breeding children as a cash crop."

Wallace's hope was that by carrying the South, he could deny a major candidate an electoral majority and force the election into the House of Representatives. He fell short of that objective, finishing with just 13.5 percent of the popular vote. But he had defined hot-button issues — liberal elitism, welfare policies, and law and order — that became hallmarks for the next generation of mainstream conservatives.

Nixon's Strategy Nixon offered a subtler version of Wallace's populism in a two-pronged approach to the campaign. He adopted what his advisors called the "southern strategy," which aimed at attracting southern white voters still smarting over the civil rights gains by African Americans. Nixon won over the key southerner, Democrat-turned-Republican senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, the 1948 Dixiecrat presidential nominee. Nixon informed Thurmond that while formally he had to support civil rights, his administration would go easy on enforcement. He also campaigned against the antiwar movement, urban riots, and protests, calling for a strict adherence to "law and order." He pledged to represent the "quiet voice" of the "great majority of Americans, the forgotten Americans, the nonshouters, the nondemonstrators." Here Nixon was speaking not just to the South, but to the many millions of anxious suburban voters across the country concerned that social disorder had gripped the nation.

These political strategies — southern and suburban — worked. Nixon received 43.4 percent of the vote to Humphrey's 42.7 percent, defeating him by a scant

George Wallace George Wallace had become famous as the segregationist governor who stood "in the schoolhouse door" to prevent black students from enrolling at the University of Alabama in 1963 (though after being confronted by federal marshals, he stepped aside). In 1968, he campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination on a populist "law and order" platform that appealed to many blue-collar voters concerned about antiwar protests, urban riots, and the rise of the counterculture. In this 1968 photograph, Wallace greets supporters on the campaign trail. Lee Balterman/The LIFE Picture Collection



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Richard M. Nixon (Republican)	301	31,770,237	43.4
Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat)	191	31,270,533	42.7
George C. Wallace (American Independent)	46	9,906,141	13.5
Minor parties	—	239,908	—

MAP 27.3 The Presidential Election of 1968
With Lyndon B. Johnson's surprise withdrawal and the assassination of the party's most charismatic contender, Robert Kennedy, the Democrats faced the election of 1968 in disarray. Governor George Wallace of Alabama, who left the Democrats to run as a third-party candidate, campaigned on the backlash against the civil rights movement. As late as mid-September Wallace held the support of 21 percent of the voters. But in November he received only 13.5 percent of the vote, winning five southern states. Republican Richard M. Nixon, who like Wallace emphasized "law and order" in his campaign, defeated Hubert H. Humphrey with only 43.4 percent of the popular vote, but it was now clear, given that Wallace's southern support would otherwise have gone to Nixon, that the South had shifted decisively to the Republican side.

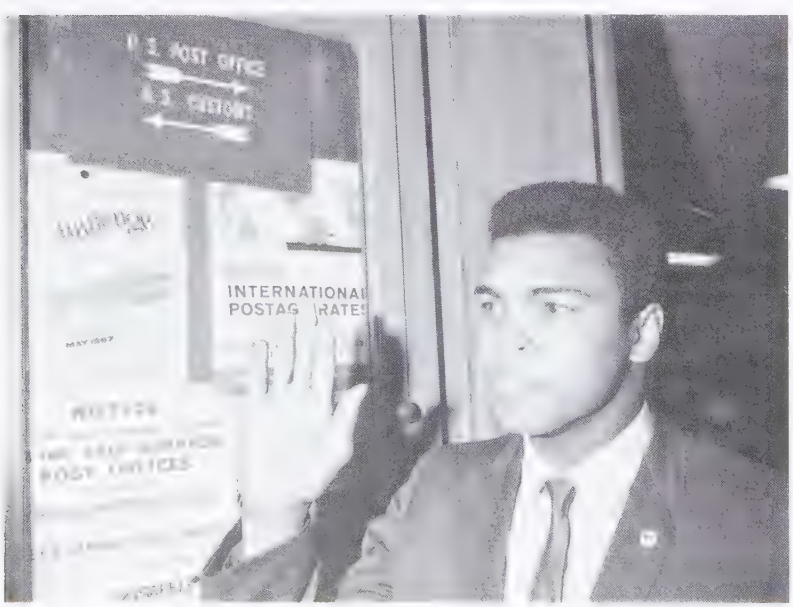
500,000 votes out of the 73 million that were cast (Map 27.3). But the numerical closeness of the race could not disguise the devastating blow to the Democrats. Humphrey received almost 12 million fewer votes than Johnson had in 1964. The white South largely abandoned the Democratic Party, an exodus that would accelerate in the 1970s. In the North, meanwhile, Nixon and Wallace made significant inroads among traditionally Democratic voters. The result was that New Deal Democrats lost the unity of purpose that had served them for thirty years. A nation exhausted by months of turmoil and violence had chosen a new direction. Nixon's victory in 1968 foreshadowed—and helped propel—a national electoral realignment in the coming decade.

The Nationalist Turn

Vietnam and the increasingly radical youth rebellion intersected with the turn toward racial and ethnic nationalism by young African American and Chicano activists. As we saw in Chapter 26, the Black Power and Chicano movements broke with the liberal "rights" politics of an older generation of leaders. These new activists expressed fury at the poverty and white racism that were beyond the reach of civil rights laws; they also saw Vietnam as an unjust war against other people of color.

In this spirit, the **Chicano Moratorium Committee** organized demonstrations against the war. Chanting "Viva la Raza, Afuera Vietnam" ("Long live the Chicano people, Get out of Vietnam"), 20,000 Mexican Americans marched in Los Angeles in August 1970. At another rally, Cesar Chavez said: "For the poor it is a terrible irony that they should rise out of their misery to do battle against other poor people." He and other Mexican American activists charged that the draft was biased against those who had little—like most wars in history, Vietnam was, in the words of one retired army colonel, "a poor boy's fight."

Among African Americans, the Black Panther Party and the National Black Antiwar Antidraft League spoke out against the war. "Black Americans are considered to be the world's biggest fools," Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party wrote in his typically acerbic style, "to go to another country to fight for something they don't have for themselves." Muhammad Ali, the most famous boxer in the world, refused his army induction. Sentenced to prison, Ali was eventually acquitted on appeal. But his action cost him his heavyweight title, and for years he was not allowed to box professionally in the United States.



Muhammad Ali Refuses Army Induction On April 28, 1967, heavyweight champion boxer Muhammad Ali refused to be drafted into the U.S. Army, claiming that the war in Vietnam was immoral and that as a member of the Nation of Islam he was a conscientious objector. In this photograph, Ali stands outside the U.S. Army induction center in Houston, Texas. Ali's refusal, which was applauded by the antiwar movement, led to a five-year prison sentence. Though that conviction was overturned in 1971 after numerous appeals, Ali's stand against the war cost him his heavyweight boxing title. Bettmann/Getty Images

Women's Liberation and Black and Chicana Feminism

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the degree of continuity and change in the feminist movement in the twentieth century.

Among women, 1968 also marked a break with the past. The late 1960s spawned new expressions of feminism: **women's liberation** and black and Chicana feminisms. Activists for the former were primarily younger, college-educated women fresh from the New Left, antiwar, and civil rights movements. Those movements' male leaders, they discovered, considered women little more than pretty helpers who typed memos and fetched coffee. Women who tried to raise feminist issues at civil rights and antiwar events were shouted off the platform with jeers such as "Move on, little girl, we have more important issues to talk about here than women's liberation."

Fed up with second-class status, and well versed in the tactics of organization and protest, women radicals broke away and organized on their own. Unlike the National Organization for Women (NOW), the women's liberation movement was loosely structured, comprising an alliance of collectives in New York, San Francisco, Boston, and other big cities and college towns. "Women's lib," as it was dubbed by a skeptical media, went public in 1968 at the Miss America pageant. Demonstrators carried posters of women's bodies labeled as slabs of beef — implying that society treated them as meat. Mirroring the identity politics of Black Power activists and the self-dramatization of the counterculture, women's liberation sought an end to the **denigration** and exploitation of women. "Sisterhood is powerful!" read one women's liberationist manifesto. The national Women's Strike for Equality in August 1970 brought hundreds of thousands of women into the streets of the nation's cities for marches and demonstrations.

By that year, new terms such as *sexism* and *male chauvinism* had become part of the national vocabulary. As converts flooded in, two branches of the women's movement began to converge. Radical women realized that key feminist goals — child care, equal pay, and reproduction rights — could best be achieved in the political arena. At the same time, more traditional activists, often known as "liberal feminists" and exemplified by Betty Friedan, developed a broader view of women's oppression. They came to understand that women required more than equal opportunity: the culture that regarded women as nothing more than sexual objects and helpmates to men had to change as well. Although still largely white and middle class, feminists began to think of themselves as part of a broad social crusade.

"Sisterhood" did not unite all women, however. Black and Latina women continued to work within the larger framework of the civil rights movement, their feminism linked to the crusade for racial justice. New groups such as the Combahee River Collective and the National Black Feminist Organization arose to speak for the concerns of black women. They criticized sexism but were reluctant to break completely with black men and the struggle for racial equality. Mexican American feminists, or Chicana feminists as they called themselves, came from Catholic backgrounds in which motherhood and family were held in high regard. "We want to walk hand in hand with the Chicano brothers, with our children, our *viejitos* [elders], our Familia de la Raza," one Chicana feminist wrote. Black and Chicana feminists embraced the larger movement for women's rights but carried on their own struggles to address specific needs in their communities.

One of the most important contributions of all the new feminisms was to raise awareness about what feminist Kate Millett called sexual politics. Liberationists, along with black and Chicana feminists, argued that unless women had control over their own bodies, they could not freely shape their destinies. They campaigned for reproductive rights, especially access to abortion, and railed against a culture that blamed women for their own sexual assault and turned a blind eye to sexual harassment in the workplace.

Meanwhile, women's opportunities expanded dramatically in higher education. Dozens of formerly all-male **bastions** such as Yale, Princeton, and the U.S. military

academies admitted women undergraduates for the first time. Colleges started women's studies programs, which eventually numbered in the hundreds, and the proportion of women attending graduate and professional schools rose markedly. With the adoption of **Title IX** in 1972, Congress broadened the 1964 Civil Rights Act to include educational institutions, prohibiting colleges and universities that received federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex. By requiring comparable funding for sports programs, Title IX made women's athletics a real presence on college campuses.

Women also became increasingly visible in public life. Congresswomen Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm joined Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem, the founder of *Ms.* magazine, to create the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971. Abzug and Chisholm, both from New York, joined Congresswomen Patsy Mink from Hawaii and Martha Griffiths from Michigan to sponsor equal rights legislation. Congress authorized child-care tax deductions for working parents in 1972 and in 1974 passed the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, which enabled married women to get credit, including credit cards and mortgages, in their own names.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did feminist movements after 1968 differ from the women's movement of the early 1960s?

A Lesbian and Gay Rights Protest in Greenwich Village, New York City, 1970 Building on the momentum of the Black Power and women's liberation movements of the late 1960s, a gay liberation movement had emerged by the early 1970s. Its history was longer than most Americans recognized, dating to the homophile movement of the 1950s, but the struggle for gay and lesbian rights and freedoms gained new adherents after the Stonewall riots of 1969. Under the banner of "coming out," lesbian and gay Americans refused to accept second-class citizenship. Rue des Archives/The Granger Collection

Stonewall and Gay Liberation

The liberationist impulse transformed the gay rights movement as well. Homophile activists in the 1960s (Chapter 25) had pursued rights by protesting, but they adopted the respectable dress and behavior they knew straight society demanded. Meanwhile, the vast majority of gay men, lesbians, and transgender persons remained "in the closet." So many were closeted because homosexuality was considered immoral and was even illegal in the vast majority of states — sodomy statutes outlawed same-sex relations, and police used other morals laws to harass and arrest gay men and lesbians. In the late 1960s, however, inspired by the Black Power and women's movements, gay activists increasingly demanded immediate and unconditional recognition of their rights. A gay newspaper in New York bore the title *Come Out!*

The new gay liberation found multiple expressions in major cities across the country, but a defining event occurred in New York's Greenwich Village. Police had raided gay bars for decades, making arrests, publicizing the names of patrons, and harassing customers simply for being gay. When a local gay bar called the **Stonewall Inn** was raided by police in the summer of 1969, however, its patrons rioted for two days, setting the establishment on fire and battling with police in the narrow streets of the Village. Decades of police repression had taken their toll. Few commentators excused the violence, and the Stonewall riots were not repeated, but activists celebrated them as a symbolic demand for full citizenship. The gay liberation movement grew quickly after Stonewall. Local gay, lesbian, and transgender organizations proliferated, and activists began pushing for nondiscrimination ordinances and consensual sex laws at the state level. By 1975, the National Gay Task Force and other national organizations were lobbying Congress, serving as media watchdogs, and advancing suits in the courts. Despite all the activity, progress was slow; in most arenas of American life, gay men, lesbians, and

transgender people did not enjoy the same legal protections and rights as other Americans.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What factors best explain the rising militancy of social change and protest movements in 1968 and afterward?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the antiwar movement, women's liberation, and gay liberation break with an earlier liberal politics?

Rise of the Silent Majority

Vietnam abroad and the antiwar movement at home tore at the fabric of the Democratic coalition. Lyndon Johnson could not stitch the party back together. Richard Nixon, in contrast, showed himself adept at taking advantage of the nation's unrest through carefully timed speeches and displays of moral outrage. A centrist by nature and temperament, Nixon was not part of the conservative Goldwater wing of the Republican Party. Though he was an ardent anticommunist like Goldwater, Nixon also shared some of Eisenhower's traits, including a basic acceptance of government's role in economic matters. Nixon is thus most profitably viewed as a transitional figure, a national politician who formed a bridge between the liberal postwar era and the much more conservative decades that followed the 1970s.

In late 1969, following a massive antiwar rally in Washington, President Nixon gave a televised speech in which he referred to his supporters as the **silent majority**. It was classic Nixonian rhetoric. In a single phrase, he summed up a generational and cultural struggle, placing himself on the side of ordinary Americans against the rabble-rousers

Richard Nixon Richard Nixon completed one of the more remarkable political rehabilitations in modern times. He had lost the 1960 presidential election and the 1962 California gubernatorial election. But he came back strong in 1968 to ride — and help direct — a growing wave of reaction among conservative Americans against Great Society liberalism, the antiwar movement, civil rights, and the counterculture. In this photograph, President Nixon greets supporters in June 1969, just a few months after his inauguration. © Wally McNamee/Corbis/Corbis via Getty Images

and troublemakers. It was an oversimplification, but the label *silent majority* stuck, and Nixon had defined a political phenomenon. For the remainder of his presidency, Nixon projected himself to the public as the defender of a reasonable middle ground under assault from the radical left.

Nixon in Vietnam

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the policies implemented in Vietnam by Richard Nixon to those enacted by previous American presidents.

In Vietnam, Nixon picked up where Johnson had left off. Cold War assumptions continued to dictate presidential policy. Abandoning Vietnam, Nixon insisted, would damage America's "credibility" and make the country seem "a pitiful, helpless giant." Nixon wanted peace, but only "peace with honor." The North Vietnamese were not about to oblige him. The only reasonable outcome, from their standpoint, was a unified Vietnam under their control.

Vietnamization and Cambodia To neutralize criticism at home, Nixon began delegating the ground fighting to the South Vietnamese. Under this new policy of **Vietnamization**, American troop levels dropped from 543,000 in 1968 to 334,000 in 1971 to barely 24,000 by early 1973. American casualties dropped correspondingly. But the killing in Vietnam continued. As Ellsworth Bunker, the U.S. ambassador to Vietnam, noted cynically, it was just a matter of changing "the color of the bodies."

Prowar Rally Under a sea of American flags, construction workers in New York City march in support of the Vietnam War. Wearing hard hats, tens of thousands of marchers jammed Broadway for four blocks opposite City Hall, and the overflow crammed the side streets. Working-class patriotism became a main source of support for Nixon's Vietnam policy.

Far from abating, however, the antiwar movement intensified. First, in November 1969, half a million demonstrators staged a huge protest in Washington called the Vietnam Moratorium, one of the largest protests ever held in the capital. Then, on April 30, 1970, as part of a secret bombing campaign against Vietcong supply lines, American troops destroyed enemy bases in neutral Cambodia. When news of the invasion of Cambodia came out, American campuses exploded in outrage — and, for the first time, students died. On May 4, 1970, at Kent State University in Ohio, panicky National Guardsmen fired into an antiwar rally, wounding eleven students and killing four. (At least 61 shots were fired in about 13 seconds; of the 13 people hit, the nearest was 60 feet from the Guardsmen.) Less than two weeks later, at Jackson State College in Mississippi, Guardsmen stormed a dormitory, killing two black students. More than 450 colleges closed in protest. Across the country, the spring semester was essentially canceled.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How was President Nixon's Vietnam policy different from President Johnson's?

My Lai Massacre Meanwhile, one of the worst atrocities of the war had become public. In 1968, U.S. Army troops had executed nearly five hundred people in the South Vietnamese village of **My Lai**, including a large number of women and children. The massacre was known only within the military until 1969, when journalist Seymour Hersh broke the story and photos of the massacre appeared in *Life* magazine, discrediting the United States around the world. Americans, *Time* observed, "must stand in the larger dock of guilt and human conscience." Although high-ranking officers participated in the My Lai massacre and its cover-up, only one soldier, a low-ranking second lieutenant named William Calley, was convicted.

Believing that Calley had been made a fall guy for official U.S. policies that inevitably brought death to innocent civilians, a group called Vietnam Veterans Against the War publicized other atrocities committed by U.S troops. In a controversial protest in 1971, they returned their combat medals at demonstrations outside the U.S. Capitol, literally hurling them onto the Capitol steps. "Here's my merit badge for murder," one vet said. Supporters of the war called these veterans cowardly and un-American, but their heartfelt antiwar protest exposed the deep personal torment that Vietnam had caused many soldiers.

Détente As protests continued at home, Nixon pursued two strategies to achieve his declared "peace with honor," one diplomatic and the other military. First, he sought **détente** (a lessening of tensions) with the Soviet Union and a new openness with China. In a series of meetings between 1970 and 1972, Nixon and Soviet premier Leonid Brezhnev resolved tensions over Cuba and Berlin and signed the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I), the latter a symbolic step toward ending the Cold War arms race. Heavily influenced by his national security advisor, the Harvard professor Henry Kissinger, Nixon believed that he could break the Cold War impasse that had kept the United States from productive dialogue with the Soviet Union.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the degree to which détente fostered change and illustrated continuity in the policy of containment.

Then, in 1972, Nixon visited China, becoming the first sitting U.S. president to do so. In a televised weeklong trip, the president pledged better relations with China and declared that the two nations — one capitalist, the other communist — could peacefully coexist. This was the man who had risen to prominence in the 1950s by railing against the Democrats for "losing" China and by hounding Communists and fellow travelers. Indeed, the president's impeccable anticommunist credentials gave him the political cover to travel to Beijing. Praised for his efforts to lessen Cold War tensions, Nixon also had tactical objectives in mind. He hoped that by befriending both the Soviet Union and China, he could play one against the other and strike a better deal over Vietnam at the ongoing peace talks in Paris. His second strategy, however, would prove less praiseworthy and cost more lives.

Exit America In April 1972, in an attempt to strengthen his negotiating position, Nixon ordered large-scale bombing raids against North Vietnam. A month later, he

approved the mining of North Vietnamese ports, something Johnson had never dared to do. The North Vietnamese were not isolated, however: supplies from China and the Soviet Union continued, and the Vietcong fought on.

With the 1972 presidential election approaching, Nixon sent Kissinger back to the Paris peace talks, which had been initiated under Johnson. In a key concession, Kissinger accepted the presence of North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. North Vietnam then agreed to an interim arrangement whereby the South Vietnamese government in Saigon would stay in power while a special commission arranged a final settlement. With Kissinger's announcement that "peace is at hand," Nixon got the election lift he wanted, but the agreement was then sabotaged by General Nguyen Van Thieu, the South Vietnamese president. So Nixon, in one final spasm of bloodletting, unleashed the two-week "Christmas bombing," the most intense of the entire war. On January 27, 1973, the two sides signed the Paris Peace Accords.

Nixon hoped that with massive U.S. aid the Thieu regime might survive. But Congress was in revolt. It refused appropriations for bombing Cambodia after August 15, 1973, and gradually cut back aid to South Vietnam. In March 1975, North Vietnamese forces launched a final offensive, and on April 30, Vietnam was reunited. Saigon, the South Vietnamese capital, was renamed Ho Chi Minh City, after the founding father of the communist regime.

The collapse of South Vietnam in 1975 produced a powerful, and tragic, historical irony: an outcome little different from what would likely have resulted from the unification vote in 1954 (Chapter 24). In other words, America's most disastrous military adventure of the twentieth century barely altered the geopolitical realities in Southeast Asia. The Hanoi regime called itself communist but never intended to be a satellite of any country, least of all China, Vietnam's ancient enemy.

The price paid for the Vietnam War was steep. America's Vietnamese friends lost jobs and property, spent years in "reeducation" camps, or had to flee the country. Millions of Vietnamese died in more than a decade of war, which included some of the most intensive aerial bombing of the twentieth century. In bordering Cambodia, the maniacal Khmer Rouge, followers of Cambodia's ruling Communist Party, took power and murdered 1.7 million people in bloody purges. And in the United States, more than 58,000 Americans had given their lives, and 300,000 had been wounded. On top of the war's $150 billion price tag, slow-to-heal internal wounds divided the country, and Americans increasingly lost confidence in their political leaders.

The Silent Majority Speaks Out

Nixon placed himself on the side of what he called "the nonshouters, the nondemonstrators." But moderate and conservative Americans were not in the mood to simply remain silent. They increasingly spoke out. During Nixon's first presidential term, those opposed to the direction liberalism had taken since the early 1960s focused their discontent on what they believed to be the excesses of the "rights revolution" — the enormous changes in American law and society initiated by the civil rights movement and advanced by feminists and others thereafter.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the Supreme Court in extending liberal values through judicial decisions.

Law and Order and the Supreme Court The rights revolution had found an ally in an unexpected place: the U.S. Supreme Court. The decision that stood as a landmark in the civil rights movement, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), triggered a larger judicial revolution. Following *Brown*, the Court increasingly agreed to hear human rights and civil liberties cases — as opposed to its previous focus on property-related suits. Surprisingly, this shift was led by the man whom President Dwight Eisenhower had appointed chief justice in 1953: Earl Warren. A popular Republican governor of California, Warren surprised many, including Eisenhower himself, with his robust advocacy of civil rights and civil liberties. The **Warren Court** lasted from 1954

until 1969 and established some of the most far-reaching liberal jurisprudence in U.S. history.

Right-wing activists fiercely opposed the Warren Court, which they accused of "legislating from the bench" and contributing to social breakdown. They pointed, for instance, to the Court's rulings that people who are arrested have a constitutional right to counsel (1963, 1964) and, in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), that arrestees have to be informed by police of their right to remain silent. Compounding conservatives' frustration was a series of decisions that liberalized restrictions on pornography. Trying to walk the fine line between censorship and obscenity, the Court ruled in *Roth v. United States* (1957) that obscene material had to be "utterly without redeeming social importance" to be banned. The "social importance" test, however, proved nearly impossible to define and left wide latitude for pornography to flourish.

That constitutional test was finally abandoned in 1972, when the Court ruled in *Miller v. California* that "contemporary community standards" were the rightful measure of obscenity. But *Miller*, too, little slowed the proliferation of pornographic magazines, films, and live shows in the 1970s. Conservatives found these decisions especially distasteful, since the Court had also ruled that religious ritual of any kind in public schools — including prayers and Bible reading — violated the constitutional separation of church and state. To many religious Americans, the Court had taken the side of immorality over Christian values.

Supreme Court critics blamed rising crime rates and social breakdown on the Warren Court's liberal judicial record. Every category of crime was up in the 1970s, but especially disconcerting was the doubling of the murder rate since the 1950s and the 76 percent increase in burglary and theft between 1967 and 1976. Sensational crimes had always grabbed headlines, but now "crime" itself preoccupied politicians, the media, and the public. However, no one could establish a direct causal link between increases in crime and Supreme Court decisions, given a myriad of other social factors, including drugs, income inequality, enhanced statistical record-keeping, and the proliferation of guns. But when many Americans looked at their cities in the 1970s, they saw pornographic theaters, X-rated bookstores, and rising crime rates. Where, they wondered, was law and order?

Busing Another major civil rights objective — desegregating schools — produced even more controversy and fireworks. For fifteen years, southern states, by a variety of stratagems, had fended off court directives that they desegregate "with all deliberate speed." In 1968, only about one-third of all black children in the South attended schools with whites. At that point, the federal courts got serious and, in a series of stiff decisions, ordered an end to "dual school systems."

Where schools remained highly segregated, the courts increasingly endorsed the strategy of busing students to achieve integration. Plans differed across the country. In some states, black children rode buses from their neighborhoods to attend previously all-white schools. In others, white children were bused to black or Latino neighborhoods. In an important 1971 decision, *Swan v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg*, the Supreme Court upheld a countywide busing plan for Charlotte-Mecklenburg, a North Carolina school district. Despite local opposition, desegregation proceeded, and many cities in the South followed suit. By the mid-1970s, 86 percent of southern black children were attending school with whites. (In recent years, this trend toward desegregation has reversed.)

In the North, where segregated schooling was also a fact of life — arising from suburban residential patterns — busing orders proved less effective. Detroit dramatized the problem. To integrate Detroit schools would have required merging city and suburban school districts. A lower court ordered just such a merger in 1971, but in *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974), the Supreme Court reversed the ruling, requiring busing plans to remain within the boundaries of a single school district. Without including the largely

An Antibusing Confrontation in Boston Where busing was implemented, it often faced stiff resistance. Many white communities resented judges dictating which children would attend which neighborhood school. In working-class Irish South Boston, mobs attacked African American students bused in from Roxbury in 1974. A police presence was required to keep South Boston High School open. When lawyer and civil rights activist Ted Landsmark tried to enter Boston's city hall during a 1976 antibusing demonstration, he was assaulted. Stanley Forman's Pulitzer Prize–winning photo for the Boston *Herald-American* — titled *The Soiling of Old Glory* — shows Joseph Rakes lunging at Landsmark with an American flag. Busing also had the perverse effect of speeding up "white flight" to city suburbs. Pulitzer Prize, 1977, www.stanleyformanphotos.com

white suburbs in busing efforts, however, achieving racial balance in Detroit, and other major northern cities, was all but impossible. Postwar suburbanization had produced in the North what law had mandated in the South: entrenched racial segregation of schools.

As the 1972 election approached, President Nixon took advantage of rising discontent over "law and order" and busing. In so doing, he was the political beneficiary of a growing reaction against liberalism that had begun to take hold between 1968 and the early 1970s.

The 1972 Election

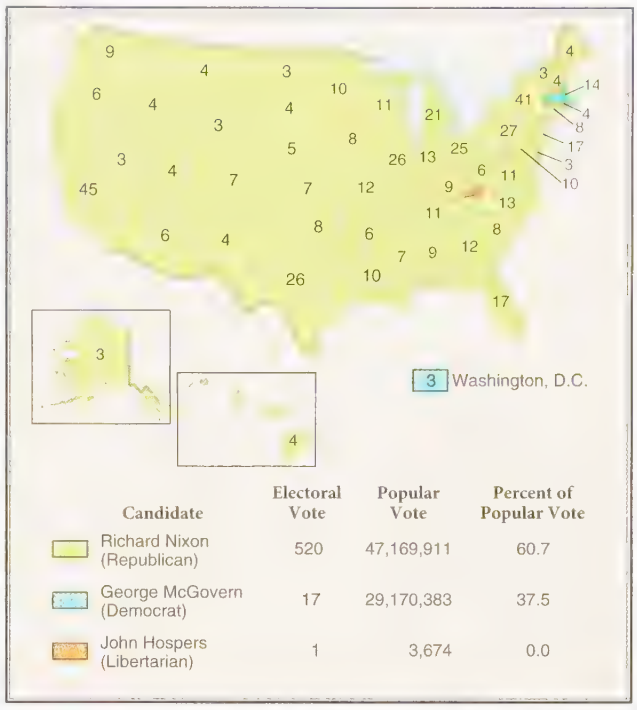
Political realignments have been infrequent in American history. One occurred between 1932 and 1936, when many Republicans, despairing over the Great Depression, had switched sides and voted for FDR. The years between 1968 and 1972 were another such pivotal moment. This time, Democrats were the ones who abandoned their party.

After the 1968 elections, the Democrats fell into disarray. Bent on sweeping away the party's old guard, reformers took over, adopting new rules that granted women, African Americans, and young people delegate seats at the convention "in reasonable relation to their presence in the population." In the past, an alliance of urban machines, labor unions, and white ethnic groups — the heart of the New Deal coalition — dominated the presidential nominating process. But at the 1972 convention, few of the party

faithful qualified as delegates under the changed rules. The crowning insult came when the convention rejected the credentials of Chicago mayor Richard Daley and his delegation, seating instead an Illinois delegation led by Jesse Jackson, a firebrand young black minister and former aide to Martin Luther King Jr.

Capturing the party was one thing; beating the Republicans was quite another. These party reforms opened the door for George McGovern, a liberal South Dakota senator and favorite of the antiwar and women's movements, to capture the nomination. But McGovern took a number of missteps, including failing to mollify key party backers such as the AFL-CIO, which, for the first time in memory, refused to endorse the Democratic ticket. A weak campaigner, McGovern was also no match for Nixon, who pulled out all the stops. Using the advantages of incumbency, Nixon gave the economy a well-timed lift and proclaimed (prematurely) a cease-fire in Vietnam. Nixon's appeal to the "silent majority"—people who "care about a strong United States, about patriotism, about moral and spiritual values"—was by now well honed.

Nixon won in a landslide, receiving nearly 61 percent of the popular vote and carrying every state except Massachusetts and the District of Columbia (Map 27.4). The returns revealed how fractured traditional Democratic voting blocs had become. McGovern received only 38 percent of the big-city Catholic vote and lost 42 percent of self-identified Democrats overall. The 1972 election marked a pivotal moment in the country's shift to the right. Yet observers legitimately wondered whether the 1972 election results proved the popularity of conservatism or merely showed that the country had grown weary of liberalism and the changes it had wrought in national life.



MAP 27.4 The Presidential Election of 1972
In one of the most lopsided presidential elections of the twentieth century, Republican Richard Nixon defeated Democrat George McGovern in a landslide in 1972. It was a reversal of the 1964 election, just eight years before, in which Republican Barry Goldwater had been defeated by a similar margin. Nixon hoped that his victory signaled what Kevin Phillips called "the emerging Republican majority," but the president's missteps and criminal actions in the Watergate scandal would soon bring an end to his tenure in office.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What social issues divided Americans in the early 1970s, and how did those divisions affect the two major political parties?**

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we saw that the combined pressures of the Vietnam War and racial, gender, and cultural conflict fractured and split the New Deal coalition. Following John Kennedy's assassination in 1963, Lyndon Johnson advanced the most ambitious liberal reform program since the New Deal, securing not only civil rights legislation but also many programs in education, medical care, transportation, environmental protection, and, above all, his War on Poverty. But the Great Society fell short of its promise as Johnson escalated American involvement in Vietnam.

The war bitterly divided Americans. Galvanized by the carnage of war and the draft, the antiwar movement spread rapidly among young people, and the spirit of rebellion spilled beyond the war. The New Left took the lead among college students, while the more apolitical counterculture preached liberation through sex, drugs, music, and personal transformation. Women's liberationists broke from the New Left and raised new concerns about society's sexism. Conservative students rallied in support of the war and on behalf of conservative principles, but they were often drowned out by the more vocal and demonstrative liberals and radicals.

In 1968, the nation was rocked by the assassinations of Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy, as well as by a wave of urban riots, fueling a growing popular desire for law and order. Adding to the national disquiet was the Democratic National Convention that summer, which was divided by the Vietnam War and besieged by street riots outside. The stage was set for a new cycle of conservative politics to take hold of the country and a resurgence of the Republican Party under Richard Nixon between 1968 and 1972. President Nixon ended the war in Vietnam, but only after four more years and many more casualties.

CHAPTER 27 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What explains the surge in liberal politics and social policy in the early 1960s?
2. What led President Johnson to escalate the war in Vietnam, and how did Americans respond?
3. What factors best explain the rising militancy of social change and protest movements in 1968 and afterward?
4. What social issues divided Americans in the early 1970s, and how did those divisions affect the two major political parties?
5. Look at the events listed under "America in the World" on the thematic timeline on page 747. American global leadership is a major theme of Part 8. How did the global role of the United States shift in the 1960s?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Great Society (p. 846)
Economic Opportunity Act (p. 848)
Medicare and Medicaid (p. 848)
Equal Pay Act (p. 851)
The Feminine Mystique (p. 852)
Presidential Commission on the Status of Women (p. 852)
National Organization for Women (NOW) (p. 852)
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (p. 854)
Operation Rolling Thunder (p. 854)
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (p. 855)
Port Huron Statement (p. 855)
New Left (p. 860)
Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) (p. 860)
Sharon Statement (p. 860)
counterculture (p. 860)
Tet offensive (p. 862)
1968 Democratic National Convention (p. 864)
Chicano Moratorium Committee (p. 866)
women's liberation (p. 867)
Title IX (p. 868)
Stonewall Inn (p. 868)
silent majority (p. 869)
Vietnamization (p. 870)
My Lai (p. 871)
détente (p. 871)
Warren Court (p. 872)

Key People

Lyndon B. Johnson (p. 846)
Barry Goldwater (p. 848)
Betty Friedan (p. 852)
Ngo Dinh Diem (p. 853)
Robert Kennedy (p. 862)
Richard M. Nixon (p. 864)
George C. Wallace (p. 865)
Henry Kissinger (p. 871)

Key Academic Terms

vitriolic (p. 844)
auspices (p. 844)
revile (p. 853)
deferment (p. 860)
adherent (p. 861)
denigrate (p. 867)
bastion (p. 867)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. In what ways was the Great Society an extension of the New Deal? In what ways was it different? What factors made the period between 1932 and 1972 a "liberal" era in American politics? What events and developments would you use to explain your answer?

2. Compare the photographs of the prowar rally (p. 870) and the counterculture (p. 861). Why did clothing and appearance become so important to many social movements in the 1960s — the women's movement, the Black Power movement, the antiwar movement, and others? How are these visual images historical evidence?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 846 for helping in answering the question below.

Which specific developments from the chronology made the years 1964, 1965, and 1968 turning points in politics, foreign policy, and culture, and why?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–4 refer to the excerpt below.

> "On September 7th in Atlantic City, the Annual Miss America Pageant will again crown 'your ideal.' . . . We will protest the image of Miss America, an image that oppresses women in every area in which it purports to represent us. There will be: Picket Lines; Guerrilla Theater; Leafleting . . . a huge Freedom Trash Can (into which we will throw bras, girdles, curlers, false eyelashes, wigs, and representative issues of *Cosmopolitan*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Family Circle*, etc. . . . [W]e will also announce a Boycott of all those commercial products related to the Pageant. . . It should be a groovy day on the Boardwalk in the sun with our sisters. . . .
>
> Male reporters will be refused interviews. We reject patronizing reportage. Only newswomen will be recognized."
>
> "No More Miss America" press release for 1968 Pageant Protest. Excerpted with permission from *Sisterhood Is Powerful*, Robin Morgan, 1970 (Random House, NY).

1. The sentiments Morgan expressed in the excerpt are best understood as resulting from
   - **a.** court decisions expanding individual rights.
   - **b.** the rise of a youth counterculture.
   - **c.** the mass media.
   - **d.** declining public trust in the government.
2. The women's activists of the 1960s and 1970s represented by the excerpt from Morgan share the LEAST similarity with women advocates for
   - **a.** separate public and private spheres in the 1830s.
   - **b.** the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments in 1848.
   - **c.** social reform as demonstrated by Jane Addams in the 1890s.
   - **d.** the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution in the 1910s.
3. Which of the following developments resulted from women's activism as described in the excerpt?
   - **a.** A conservative backlash against the challenge to traditional values
   - **b.** Passage of the Equal Rights Amendment
   - **c.** Advances by women in the leadership of major corporations
   - **d.** The election of women to Senate and House of Representatives
4. Which rights movement most directly influenced the tactics and goals of the women's rights movement?
   - **a.** American Indian
   - **b.** Chicano/Latino
   - **c.** African American
   - **d.** Gay and Lesbian

Questions 5–7 refer to the excerpt below.

> "No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color."
>
> Voting Rights Act of 1965

5. The provisions in the Voting Rights Act share the greatest similarity in goals to the reform efforts of
   - **a.** abolitionists in the antebellum period from 1820 to 1860.
   - **b.** Republicans in the Reconstruction period from 1865 to 1877.
   - **c.** Progressives in the period from 1890 to 1920.
   - **d.** Democrats in the New Deal from 1933 to 1941.

6. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 resulted most directly from
   a. continued efforts of southern politicians to resist school desegregation.
   b. rulings of the Supreme Court broadening protections of civil liberties.
   c. successful use of the protest tactic of boycotting.
   d. President Johnson's attempt to create a Great Society.

7. The Voting Rights Act sought most directly to strengthen the
   a. Bill of Rights.
   b. Fourteenth Amendment.
   c. Fifteenth Amendment.
   d. Nineteenth Amendment.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

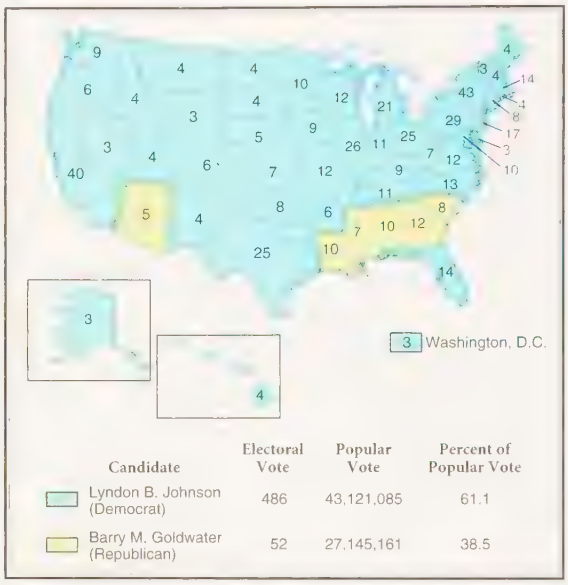
"Within the context of cultural unrest and the attack on tradition made by women like [Betty] Friedan, the catalyst for a profounder criticism and a mass mobilization of American women proved to be the young female participants in the social movements of the 1960s. These daughters of the middle class had received mixed, paradoxical messages about what it meant to grow up to be women in America. On the one hand, the cultural ideal . . . informed them that their only true happiness lay in the twin roles of wife and mother. At the same time they could observe the reality that housewifery was distinctly unsatisfactory for millions of suburban women. . . . Such contradictions left young, educated women in the 1960s dry tinder for the spark of revolt. . . . [Their] experiences in the southern civil rights movement and parts of the student new left catalyzed a new feminist consciousness."

Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*, 1979

"In the course of my research, several themes emerged. One of them, clearly exposed through the experience of Black women, is the relationship between sexism and racism. . . . Of course, Black women could understand the relationship between racism and sexism because they had to strive against both. In doing so, they became the linchpin between the two most important social reform movements in American history: the struggles for Black rights and women's rights. In the course of defying the imposed limitations on race and sex, they loosened the chains around both."

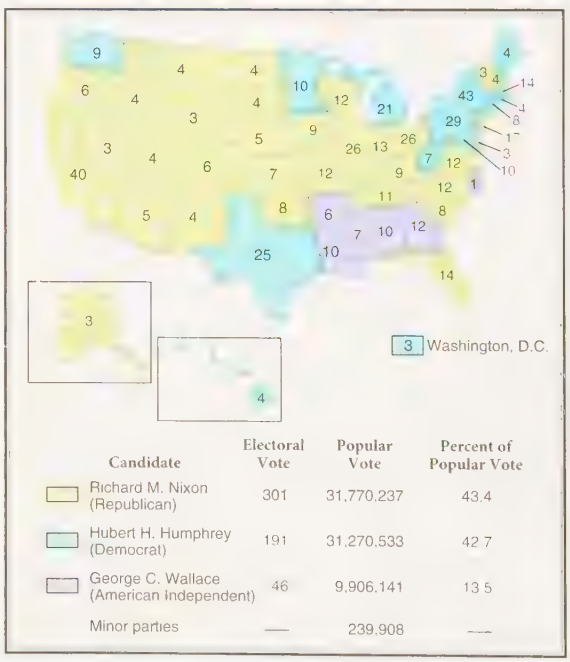
Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*, 1984

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Briefly explain ONE major difference between Evans's and Giddings's historical interpretations of the origins of 1960s feminism.
   b. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1945 to 1965 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Evans's interpretation.
   c. Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 1945 to 1965 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Giddings's interpretation.



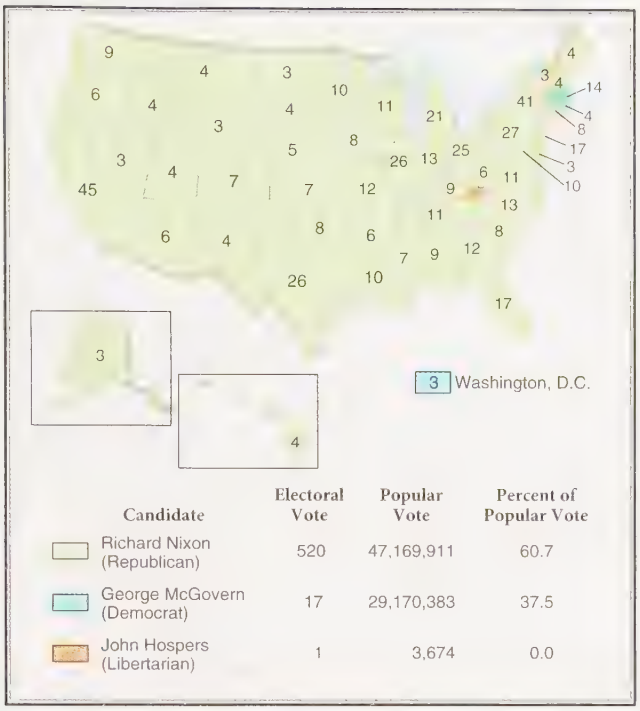
Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Lyndon B. Johnson (Democrat)	486	43,121,085	61.1
Barry M. Goldwater (Republican)	52	27,145,161	38.5

1964 Presidential Election Map



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Richard M. Nixon (Republican)	301	31,770,237	43.4
Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat)	191	31,270,533	42.7
George C. Wallace (American Independent)	46	9,906,141	13.5
Minor parties	—	239,908	—

1968 Presidential Election Map



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Richard Nixon (Republican)	520	47,169,911	60.7
George McGovern (Democrat)	17	29,170,383	37.5
John Hospers (Libertarian)	1	3,674	0.0

1972 Presidential Election Map

2. Using the three maps on the previous page and at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development that accounts for the change depicted in the maps.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ANOTHER specific historical event or development that accounts for the change depicted in the maps.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of the change depicted in the maps.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between President Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society.

CHAPTER 28

The Search for Order in an Era of Limits

1973–1980

An Era of Limits

Energy Crisis

Environmentalism

Economic Transformation

Urban Crisis and Suburban Revolt

Politics in Flux, 1973–1980

Watergate and the Fall of a President

Jimmy Carter: The Outsider as President

Reform and Reaction in the 1970s

Civil Rights in a New Era

The Women's Movement and Gay Rights

After the Warren Court

The American Family on Trial

Working Families in the Age of Deindustrialization

Navigating the Sexual Revolution

Religion in the 1970s: The New Evangelicalism

AP LEARNING FOCUS

How did the legacy of social changes in the 1960s — such as civil rights, shifting gender roles, and challenges to the family — continue to reverberate in the 1970s, leading to both new opportunities and political clashes?

Early in 1971, a new fictional character appeared on national television. Archie Bunker was a gruff blue-collar worker who berated his wife and bemoaned his daughter's marriage to a bearded hippie. Prone to bigoted and insensitive remarks, Archie and his wife Edith sang "Those Were the Days" at the opening of each episode of *All in the Family*, a half-hour comedy. The song celebrated a bygone era, when "girls were girls and men were men." Disdainful of the liberal social movements of the 1960s, Archie professed a conservative, hardscrabble view of the world.

Archie Bunker became a folk hero to many conservative Americans in the 1970s; he said what they felt. But his significance went beyond his politics. *All in the Family* gave voice to a national search for order. His feminist daughter, liberal son-in-law, and black neighbors brought a changing world into Archie's modest home in Queens, New York. Not all Americans were as resistant to change as Archie. Most were ordinary, middle-of-the-road people confronting the aftermath of the tumultuous late 1960s and early 1970s. The social movements of those years challenged Americans to think in new ways about race, gender roles, sexual morality, and the family. Vietnam and the Watergate scandal had compounded matters by producing a crisis of political authority. An "old order" had seemingly collapsed. But what would take its place was not yet clear.

Alongside cultural dislocation and political alienation, the country confronted economic setbacks. In 1973, inflation began to climb at a pace unprecedented in the post–World War II decades, and economic growth slowed. An energy crisis, aggravated by U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East, produced fuel shortages. Foreign competition in manufacturing brought less expensive, and often more reliable, goods into the U.S. market from nations such as Japan and West Germany. As a result, more American plants closed. The great economic ride enjoyed by the United States since World War II was coming to an end.

What distinguishes the period between the energy crisis (1973) and the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency (1980) is the collective national search for order in the midst of rapid social change, political realignment, and economic crisis. Virtually all the verities and touchstones of the postwar decades — Cold War liberalism, rising living standards, and the nuclear family — had come into question, and most Americans agreed on the urgency to act. For some, this search demanded new forms of liberal experimentation. For others, it led instead to the conservatism of the emerging New Right.

Shifting Gender Roles As American society underwent dramatic changes in the 1970s, women seized new opportunities and expanded their role in national life. Donna Wright, shown here on break from her work at the Blue Ribbon Mine, was the only woman working at the mine in 1979.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1970
- Earth Day first observed
- Environmental Protection Agency established

1972
- Equal Rights Amendment passed by Congress
- Phyllis Schlafly founds STOP ERA
- *Furman v. Georgia* outlaws death penalty
- Watergate break-in (June)

1973
- *Roe v. Wade* legalizes abortion
- Endangered Species Act
- OPEC oil embargo; gas shortages
- Period of high inflation begins
- War Powers Act

1974
- Nixon resigns over Watergate
- Congress imposes 55 miles-per-hour speed limit

1975
- New York City nears bankruptcy
- "Watergate babies" begin congressional reform

1976
- Jimmy Carter elected president

1978
- Proposition 13 reduces California property taxes
- *Bakke v. University of California* limits affirmative action
- Harvey Milk assassinated in San Francisco

1979
- Three Mile Island nuclear accident

An Era of Limits

The economic downturn of the early 1970s was the deepest slump since the Great Depression. Every major economic indicator — employment, productivity, growth — turned negative, and by 1973 the economy was in a tailspin. Inflation, brought on in part by military spending on the war in Vietnam, proved especially difficult to control. When a Middle East embargo cut oil supplies in 1973, prices climbed even more. Unemployment remained high and productivity growth low until 1982. Overall, the 1970s represented the worst economic decade of the postwar period — what California governor Jerry Brown called an "era of limits."

In this time of distress, Americans were forced to consider other limits to the growth and expansion that had long been markers of national progress. The environmental movement brought attention to the toxic effects of modern industrial capitalism on the natural world. As the urban crisis grew worse, several major cities verged on bankruptcy. Finally, political limits were reached as well: none of the presidents of the 1970s could reverse the nation's economic slide, though each spent years trying.

Energy Crisis

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

Modern economies run on oil. If the oil supply is drastically reduced, woe follows. Something like that happened to the United States in the 1970s. Once the world's leading oil producer, the United States had become heavily dependent on inexpensive imported oil, mostly from the Persian Gulf (Figure 28.1). French, British, and American companies extracted the oil, a legacy of European colonialism, but they did so under profit-sharing agreements with the Persian Gulf states. In 1960, these nations and other oil-rich developing countries, such as Venezuela, formed a cartel (a business association formed to control prices), the **Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)**.

AP® EXAM TIP

Be able to describe the ways that ideology, dependence on oil, and military alliances shaped policy in the Middle East.

Conflict between Israel and the neighboring Arab states of Egypt, Syria, and Jordan prompted OPEC to take political sides between 1967 and 1973. Following Israel's victory in the 1967 Six-Day War, Israeli-Arab tensions in the region grew closer to boiling over with each passing year. In the 1973 Yom Kippur War, Egypt and Syria invaded Israel to regain territory lost in the 1967 conflict. Israel prevailed, but only after being resupplied by an emergency American airlift. In response to U.S. support for Israel, the Arab states in OPEC declared an oil embargo in October 1973. Gas prices in the United States quickly jumped by 40 percent and heating oil prices by 30 percent. Demand outpaced supply, and Americans found themselves parked for hours in mile-long lines at gasoline stations for much of the winter of 1973–1974. Oil had become a political weapon, and the West's vulnerability stood revealed.

The United States scrambled to meet its energy needs in the face of the oil shortage. Just two months after the OPEC embargo began, Congress imposed a national speed limit of 55 miles per hour to conserve fuel. Americans began to buy smaller, more fuel-efficient cars such as Volkswagens, Toyotas, and Datsuns (later Nissans)—while sales of Detroit-made cars (now nicknamed "gas guzzlers") slumped. With one of every six jobs in the country generated directly or indirectly by the auto industry, the effects rippled across the economy. Compounding the distress was the raging inflation set off by the oil shortage; prices of basic necessities, such as bread, milk, and canned goods, rose by nearly 20 percent in 1974 alone. "THINGS WILL GET WORSE," one newspaper headline warned, "BEFORE THEY GET WORSE."

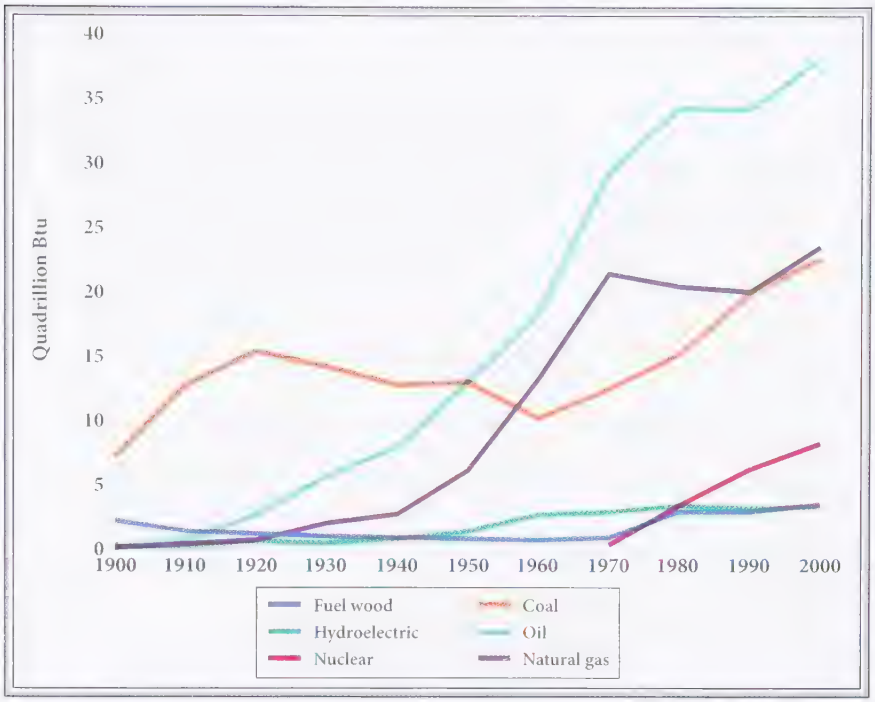


FIGURE 28.1 U.S. Energy Consumption, 1900–2000
Coal was the nation's primary source of energy until the 1950s, when it was surpassed by oil and natural gas. The revival of coal consumption after 1960 stemmed from new open-pit mining in the West that provided cheaper fuel for power plants. The decline in oil consumption in 1980 reflects the nation's response to the oil crisis of the 1970s, including, most notably, fuel-efficient automobiles. Nuclear energy became an important new fuel source, but after 1990 its contribution leveled off as a result of the safety concerns triggered by the Three Mile Island incident.

Environmentalism

The **energy crisis** drove home the realization that the earth's resources are not limitless. Such a notion was also at the heart of the era's revival of **environmentalism**. The environmental movement was an offshoot of sixties activism, but it had numerous historical precedents: the preservationist, conservationist, and wilderness movements of the late nineteenth century; the conservationist ethos of the New Deal; and anxiety about nuclear weapons and overpopulation in the 1940s. Three of the nation's leading environmental organizations—the Sierra Club, the Wilderness Society, and the Natural Resources Council—were founded in 1892, 1935, and 1942, respectively. Environmental activists in the 1970s expanded on this long history through renewed efforts to ensure a healthy environment and access to unspoiled nature (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

The movement had received a hefty boost back in 1962 when biologist Rachel Carson published ***Silent Spring***, a stunning analysis of the pesticide DDT's toxic impact on the human and natural food chains. A succession of galvanizing developments followed in the late 1960s. The Sierra Club successfully fought two dams in 1966 that would have flooded the Grand Canyon. And in 1969, three major events spurred the movement: an offshore drilling rig spilled millions of gallons of oil off the coast of Santa Barbara; the Cuyahoga River near Cleveland burst into flames because of the accumulation of flammable chemicals on its surface; and Friends of the Everglades protested the construction of an airport that threatened plants and wildlife in Florida. With these events serving as catalysts, environmentalism became a certifiable mass movement on the first **Earth Day**, April 22, 1970, when 20 million people gathered in communities across the country to express their support for a cleaner, healthier planet.

AP® EXAM TIP
Evaluate the degree of continuity and change in the environmental movement.

Environmental Protection Agency Earlier that year, on the heels of the Santa Barbara oil spill, Congress passed the National Environmental Policy Act, which created the **Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)**. A bipartisan bill with broad support, including that of President Nixon, the law required developers to file

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS
CAUSATION
What major factors led to the birth of the environmental movement in the 1970s?

The Environmental Movement: Reimagining the Human-Earth Relationship

The 1970s witnessed the emergence of the environmental movement in the United States. Environmentalism took a variety of forms and initially was embraced by politicians across the political spectrum, including Republican president Richard Nixon, who signed the National Environmental Policy Act in 1970. Yet environmentalism also proved to be politically divisive. The following documents provide a range of perspectives on an important social and political movement discussed in this chapter.

1. **Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring*, 1962.**

   For the first time in the history of the world, every human being is now subjected to contact with dangerous chemicals, from the moment of conception until death. In the less than two decades of their use, synthetic pesticides have been so thoroughly distributed throughout the animate and inanimate world that they occur virtually everywhere. They have been recovered from most of the major river systems and even from streams of groundwater flowing unseen through the earth.

2. **Ralph Nader, foreword to *Ecotactics: The Sierra Club Handbook for Environmental Activists*, 1970.** *In the Sierra Club's guide to environmental activism, environmental and consumer rights activist Nader discusses "environmental violence."*

   Pollution is violence and environmental pollution is environmental violence. It is a violence that has different impacts, styles and time factors than the more primitive kinds of violence such as crime in the streets. Yet in the size of the population exposed and the seriousness of the harm done, environmental violence far exceeds that of street crime. . . .

   To deal with a system of oppression and suppression, which characterizes the environmental violence in this country, the first priority is to deprive the polluters of their unfounded legitimacy.

3. **President Richard Nixon, State of the Union Address, January 22, 1970.**

   I shall propose to this Congress a $10 billion nationwide clean waters program to put modern municipal waste treatment plants in every place in America where they are needed to make our waters clean again, and do it now. . . .

   As our cities and suburbs relentlessly expand [. . .] priceless open spaces needed for recreation areas accessible to their people are swallowed up — often forever. Unless we preserve these spaces while they are available, we will have none to preserve. Therefore, I shall propose new financing methods for purchasing open space and parklands now, before they are lost to us.

   The automobile is our worst polluter of the air. Adequate control requires further advances in engine design and fuel composition. We shall intensify our research, set increasingly strict standards, and strengthen enforcement procedures — and we shall do it now.

   We can no longer afford to consider air and water common property, free to be abused by anyone without regard to the consequences. Instead, we should begin now to treat them as scarce resources, which we are no more free to contaminate than we are free to throw garbage into our neighbor's yard.

4. **"Earthrise" over the moon's surface, December 24, 1968.** *Photo taken by Apollo 8 crewmember Bill Anders, as the Apollo spacecraft orbited the moon.*

5. **Paul Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb*, 1969.** *A best-selling book that warned of a coming global overpopulation straining the world's resources.*

Nothing could be more misleading to our children than our present affluent society. They will inherit a totally different world, a world in which the standards, politics, and economics of the 1960s are dead. As the most powerful nation in the world today, and its largest consumer, the United States cannot stand isolated. We are today involved in the events leading to famine; tomorrow we may be destroyed by its consequences.

Our position requires that we take immediate action at home and promote effective action world-wide. We must have population control at home, hopefully through a system of incentives and penalties, but by compulsion if voluntary methods fail. We must use our political power to push other countries into programs which combine agricultural development and population control. And while this is being done we must take action to reverse the deterioration of our environment before population pressure permanently ruins our planet.

6. **President Ronald Reagan, speech at the Republican National Convention, July 17, 1980.**

Make no mistake. We will not permit the safety of our people or our environmental heritage to be jeopardized, but we are going to reaffirm that the economic prosperity of our people is a fundamental part of our environment.

Our problems are both acute and chronic, yet all we hear from those in positions of leadership are the same tired proposals for more government tinkering, more meddling, and more control — all of which led us to this state in the first place.

7. **"Waste Produced by a Typical Family in a Year."**

Source: Martyn Goddard/Getty Images

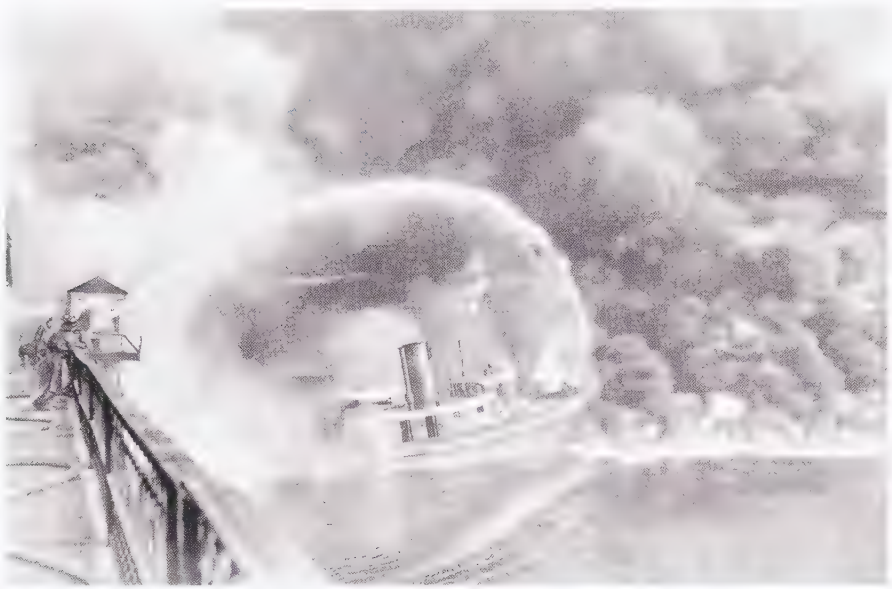
Sources: (1) Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (New York: Mariner Books, 2002), 15; (2) John G. Mitchell and Constance L. Hastings, eds., *Ecotactics: The Sierra Club Handbook for Environmental Activists* (New York: Trident Press, 1970), 13–15; (3 & 6) Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *The American Presidency Project*, presidency.ucsb.edu: (5) Louis Warren, ed., *American Environmental History* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 296.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 1, 2, 3, 5, and 7. What are the different ways the environmental threat was understood and characterized? What kinds of solutions were proposed?
2. Source 4 is one of the first photographs of the earth ever taken from space. How would this visual perspective encourage viewers to think of the earth's resources as finite?
3. How does source 6 help us understand the opposition that developed to environmentalism? Why did some Americans oppose the environmental movement?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Using what you have learned about the environmental movement in this chapter and the documents above, construct an essay in which you make a historical argument about the origins of the movement, the issues that it raised, and the opposition that developed. How did the movement shape politics in the 1970s?



Environmental Crisis in Cleveland On June 22, 1969, a large section of the Cuyahoga River near Cleveland on the southern shore of Lake Erie caught fire and burned for hours. Accumulated oil and other chemicals from nearby factories and refineries produced this "burning river," which received national attention and sparked renewed scrutiny of pollution and environmental degradation. Pictured here are firefighters battling an earlier fire on the same river in 1952. Between 1968 and the June 1969 blaze, there were a total of nine fires on the Cuyahoga. Together, the fires were among a series of environmental catastrophes that helped spur grassroots activism in support of new federal legislation devoted to clean air, clean water, and natural resource protection. Bettmann/Getty Images

environmental impact statements assessing the effect of their projects on ecosystems. A spate of new laws followed: the Clean Air Act (1970), the Occupational Health and Safety Act (1970), the Water Pollution Control Act (1972), and the Endangered Species Act (1973).

The Democratic majority in Congress and the Republican president generally found common ground on these issues, and *Time* magazine wondered if the environment was "the gut issue that can unify a polarized nation." Despite the broad popularity of the movement, however, *Time*'s prediction was not borne out. Corporations opposed environmental regulations, as did many of their workers, who believed that tightened standards threatened their jobs. "IF YOU'RE HUNGRY AND OUT OF WORK, EAT AN ENVIRONMENTALIST," read one labor union bumper sticker. By the 1980s, environmentalism starkly divided Americans, with proponents of unfettered economic growth on one side and environmental activists preaching limits on the other.

Nuclear Power An early foreshadowing of those divisions came in the brewing controversy over nuclear power. Electricity from the atom — what could be better? That was how Americans had greeted the arrival of power-generating nuclear technology in the 1950s. By 1974, U.S. utility companies were operating forty-two nuclear power plants, with a hundred more planned. Given the oil crisis, nuclear energy might have seemed a godsend; unlike coal- or oil-driven plants, nuclear operations produced no air pollutants.

Environmentalists, however, publicized the dangers of nuclear power plants: a reactor meltdown would be catastrophic, and so, in slow motion, would the dumping of radioactive waste, which would generate toxic levels of radioactivity for hundreds of years. These fears seemed to be confirmed in March 1979, when the reactor core at the **Three Mile Island** nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, came close to meltdown. More than 100,000 people fled their homes. A prompt shutdown saved the plant, but the near catastrophe enabled environmentalists to win the battle over nuclear energy. After the incident at Three Mile Island, no new nuclear plants were authorized, though a handful with existing authorization were built in the 1980s. Today, nuclear reactors account for 20 percent of all U.S. power generation — substantially less than several European nations, but still fourth in the world.

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain how the Three Mile Island accident impacted the nation's energy policy.

Economic Transformation

In addition to the energy crisis, the economy was beset by a host of longer-term problems. Government spending on the Vietnam War and the Great Society made for a growing federal deficit and spiraling inflation. In the industrial sector, the country faced more robust competition from West Germany and Japan. America's share of world trade dropped from 32 percent in 1955 to 18 percent in 1970 and was headed downward. As a result, in a blow to national pride, nine Western European

countries had surpassed the United States in per capita gross domestic product (GDP) by 1980.

Many of these economic woes highlighted a broader, multigenerational transformation in the United States: from an economy based on industrial manufacturing to one based on provision of services. That transformation, which continues to this day, meant that the United States began to produce fewer automobiles, appliances, and televisions and more financial services, health-care services, and management consulting services—not to mention many millions of low-paying jobs in the restaurant, retail, and tourist industries.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognizing how the transformation from a manufacturing to a service-based economy impacted the overall U.S. economy in the 1970s is critical for success on the AP® exam.

In the 1970s, the U.S. economy was hit simultaneously by unemployment, stagnant consumer demand, and inflation—a combination called **stagflation**—which contradicted a basic principle taught by economists: prices were not supposed to rise in a stagnant economy (Figure 28.2). For ordinary Americans, stagflation meant a noticeable decline in purchasing power, as **discretionary income** per worker dropped 18 percent between 1973 and 1982. None of the three presidents of the decade—Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter—had much luck tackling stagflation. Nixon's New Economic Policy was perhaps the most radical attempt. Nixon imposed temporary price and wage controls in 1971 in an effort to curb inflation. Then he took an even bolder step: removing the United States from the gold standard, which allowed the dollar to float in international currency markets and effectively ended the Bretton Woods monetary system established after World War II. The underlying weaknesses in the U.S. economy remained, however, and neither Ford nor Carter had more luck finding a solution. The fruitless search for a new economic order was a hallmark of 1970s politics (AP® Interpreting the Past).

Deindustrialization America's economic woes struck hardest at the industrial sector, which suddenly—shockingly—began to be dismantled. Worst hit was the steel industry, which for seventy-five years had been the economy's crown jewel. Unscathed by World War II, U.S. steel producers had enjoyed an open, hugely profitable market since the 1940s. But lack of serious competition left them without incentives to replace outdated plants and equipment. When West Germany and Japan rebuilt their steel industries, these facilities incorporated the latest technology. Foreign steel flooded into the

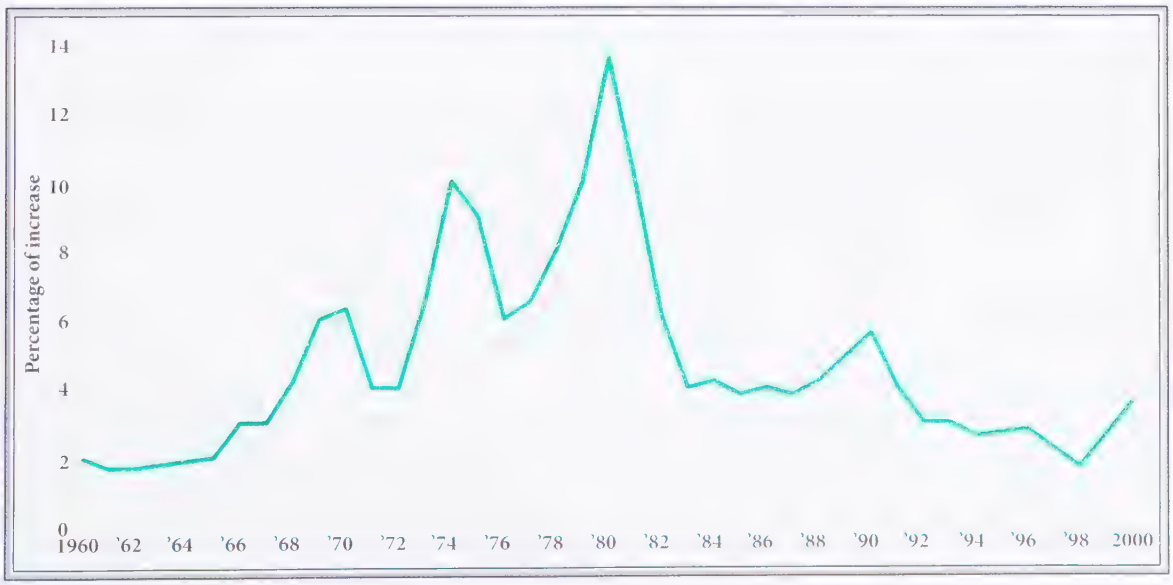


FIGURE 28.2 The Inflation Rate, 1960–2000

The impact of the oil crisis of 1973 on the inflation rate appears all too graphically in this figure. After a dip between 1974 and 1976, the inflation rate zoomed up to a staggering 14 percent in 1980. The return to normal levels after 1980 stemmed from very harsh measures by the Federal Reserve Board, which, while they succeeded, came at the cost of a painful slowdown in the economy.

AP INTERPRETING THE PAST

Why Did the Postwar Boom Bust in the 1970s?

The seventies might be thought of as a lost decade, or at least as a decade of loss. The long post–World War II boom economy busted in the early 1970s, leaving a trail of social, political, and cultural dislocations in its wake. The combination of high unemployment and inflation and the challenges of a globalizing economy deeply affected workers and consumers. A string of events (including Watergate, the end of the Vietnam War, and the Iranian hostage crisis, which ended the decade) exacerbated the sense of decline many Americans were already experiencing. So how do historians explain the crisis of the 1970s? Historians Jefferson Cowie and Meg Jacobs offer similar interpretations of the 1970s economy, but they single out different factors. Cowie, whose work chronicles the struggling American working class in the 1970s, anchors his interpretation within a broad narrative of late-twentieth-century economic transformation. For Jacobs, an international crisis with domestic consequences triggered what she describes as a "panic at the pump."

JEFFERSON COWIE

SOURCE: Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: The New Press, 2010), 12, 209.

Above all, the mid-1970s marked the end of the postwar boom. . . . Starting in the 1973–74 years, real earnings began to stagnate and then slide. . . . By mid-decade the record-breaking strikes, rank-and-file movements, and vibrant organizing drives that had once promised a new day for workers were reduced to a trickle in the new economic climate. They were then replaced by layoffs, plant closures, and union decertification drives. White male workers' incomes . . . stagnated or fell for the next quarter century . . . driven down by oil shocks and inflation; deindustrialization, plant closings, and anti-unionism; and a global restructuring of work itself. . . . By the end of the decade working people would possess less place and meaningful identity within civic life than any time since the industrial revolution.

MEG JACOBS

SOURCE: Meg Jacobs, *Panic at the Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2016), 3–4.

Forty years ago, Americans were suffering from what contemporaries called "the energy crisis," a crisis that in many ways defined the decade of the 1970s. During the twin oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, oil supplies dropped and prices soared, and the average citizen understood the energy crisis to mean a panic at the pump — the fear that we would not have enough oil to fill up our gas tanks, heat our homes, or run our factories. . . . [The Arab oil] embargo stunned Americans, as if they had come under a surprise attack . . . because of the serious implications for the economy and the country's security. . . . Americans were vulnerable to scarcity and shortages as well as to higher fuel prices, which rippled through the entire economy and plagued the pocketbooks of all consumers.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. What factors does each historian identify as causes of the 1970s economic crisis?
2. How do these historians explain the consequences of the economic crisis for Americans living in the 1970s?
3. To what extent does Chapter 28 corroborate, challenge, or supplement the list of factors Cowie and Jacobs present as affecting Americans' sense of crisis in the 1970s?

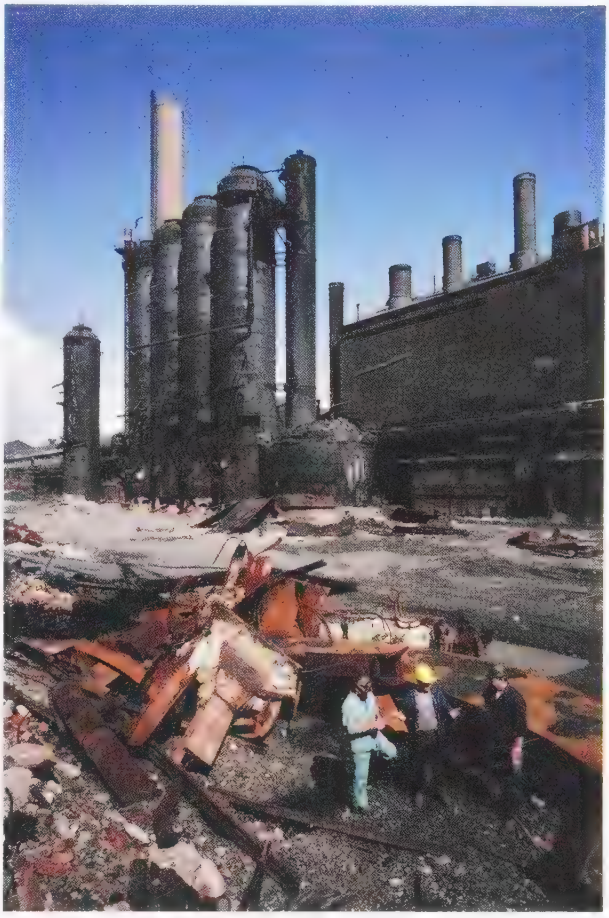
United States during the 1970s, and the American industry was simply overwhelmed. Formerly titanic steel companies began a massive dismantling; virtually the entire Pittsburgh region, once a national hub of steel production, lost its heavy industry in a single generation. By the mid-1980s, downsizing, automation, and investment in new technologies made the American steel industry competitive again — but it was a shadow of its former self.

The steel industry was the prime example of what became known as **deindustrialization**. The country was in the throes of an economic transformation that left it largely stripped of its industrial base. Steel was hardly alone. A swath of the Northeast and Midwest, the country's manufacturing heartland, became the nation's **Rust Belt** (Map 28.1), strewn with abandoned plants and distressed communities. The automobile, tire,

textile, and other consumer durable industries (appliances, electronics, furniture, and the like) all started shrinking in the 1970s. In 1980, *Business Week* bemoaned "plant closings across the continent" and called for the "*re*industrialization of America."

Organized Labor in Decline Deindustrialization threw many tens of thousands of blue-collar workers out of well-paid union jobs. One study followed 4,100 steelworkers left jobless by the 1977 shutdown of the Campbell Works of the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. Two years later, 35 percent had retired early at half pay; 10 percent had moved; 15 percent were still jobless, with unemployment benefits long gone; and 40 percent had found local work, but mostly in low-paying, service-sector jobs. In another instance, between 1978 and 1981, eight Los Angeles companies — including such giants as Ford, Uniroyal, and U.S. Steel — closed factories employing 18,000 workers. These Ohio and California workers, like hundreds of thousands of their counterparts across the nation, had fallen from their perch in the middle class (AP® America in the World).

Deindustrialization dealt an especially harsh blow to the labor movement, which had facilitated the postwar expansion of that middle class. In the early 1970s, as inflation hit, the number of strikes surged; 2.4 million workers participated in work stoppages in 1970 alone. However, industry argued that it could no longer afford union demands, and labor's bargaining power produced fewer and fewer concrete results. In these hard years, the much-vaunted labor-management accord of the 1950s, which raised profits and wages by passing costs on to consumers, went bust. Instead of seeking higher wages, unions now mainly fought to save jobs. Union membership went into steep decline, and by the mid-1980s organized labor represented less than 18 percent of American workers, the lowest level since the 1920s. The impact on liberal politics was huge. With labor's decline, a main buttress of the New Deal coalition was coming undone.



Deindustrialization Increasing economic competition from overseas created hard times for American industry in the 1970s and 1980s. Many of the nation's once-proud core industries, such as steel, declined precipitously in these decades. This photo shows a steel mill in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, being demolished in 1982. Once the center of American steel production, Pittsburgh suffered hard times in the 1970s and 1980s. The result of such closures was the creation of the so-called Rust Belt in the Northeast and Midwest (Map 28.1). Lynn Joh[illegible] National Geographic/Getty I[illegible]

Urban Crisis and Suburban Revolt

The economic downturn pushed already struggling American cities to the brink of fiscal collapse. Middle-class flight to the suburbs continued apace, and the "urban crisis" of the 1960s spilled into the "era of limits." Facing huge price inflation and mounting piles of debt — to finance social services for low-income residents and to replace disappearing tax revenue — nearly every major American city struggled to pay its bills in the 1970s. Surrounded by prosperous postwar suburbs, central cities seemingly could not catch a break.

New York, the nation's financial capital and its largest city, fared the worst. Its annual budget was in the billions, larger than that of most states. Unable to borrow on the tightening international bond market, New York neared collapse in the summer of 1975; bankruptcy was a real possibility. When Mayor Abraham Beame appealed to the federal government for assistance, President Ford refused. "Ford to City: Drop Dead" read the headline in the *New York Daily News*. Fresh appeals ultimately produced a solution: the federal government would lend New York money, and banks would declare a three-year **moratorium** on municipal debt. The arrangement saved the city from defaulting, but the mayor was forced to cut city services, freeze wages, and lay off workers. One pessimistic observer declared that "the banks have been saved, and the city has been condemned."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What major developments shaped the American economy in the 1970s and contributed to its transformation?

MAP 28.1 From Rust Belt to Sunbelt, 1940–2000
One of the most significant developments of the post–World War II era was the growth of the Sunbelt. Sparked by federal spending for military bases, the defense industry, and the space program, states of the South and Southwest experienced an economic boom in the 1950s. This growth was further enhanced in the 1970s, as the heavily industrialized regions of the Northeast and Midwest declined and migrants from what was quickly dubbed the Rust Belt headed to the South and West in search of jobs.

Cities faced declining fortunes in these years for many reasons, but one key was the continued loss of residents and businesses to nearby suburbs. In the 1970s alone, 13 million people (6 percent of the total U.S. population) moved to the suburbs. New suburban shopping centers opened weekly across the country, and other businesses — such as banks, insurance companies, and technology firms — increasingly sought suburban locations. More and more, people lived *and* worked in suburbs. In the San Francisco Bay area, 75 percent of all daily commutes were suburb-to-suburb, and 78 percent of New York's suburban residents worked in nearby suburbs. The 1950s "organization man," commuting downtown from his suburban home, had been replaced by the engineer, teacher, nurse, student, and carpenter who lived in one suburb and worked in another.

AP EXAM TIP
Analyze the causes and effects of the conservative backlash against New Deal and Great Society liberalism.

Beyond city limits, suburbanization and the economic crisis combined powerfully in what became known as the **tax revolt**, a dramatic reversal of the postwar spirit of generous public investment. The premier example was California. Inflation pushed real estate values upward, and property taxes skyrocketed. Hardest hit were suburban property owners, along with retirees and others on fixed incomes, who suddenly faced unaffordable tax bills. Into this dire situation stepped Howard Jarvis, a conservative anti–New Dealer and a genius at mobilizing grassroots discontent. In 1978, Jarvis proposed **Proposition 13**, an initiative that would roll back property taxes, cap future increases for present owners, and require that all tax measures have a two-thirds

Economic Malaise in the Seventies

Most major economic indicators in the United States turned downward in the 1970s, as the long postwar expansion ground to an unmistakable halt. The figures below offer evidence of how developments in the United States compared with other industrialized countries.

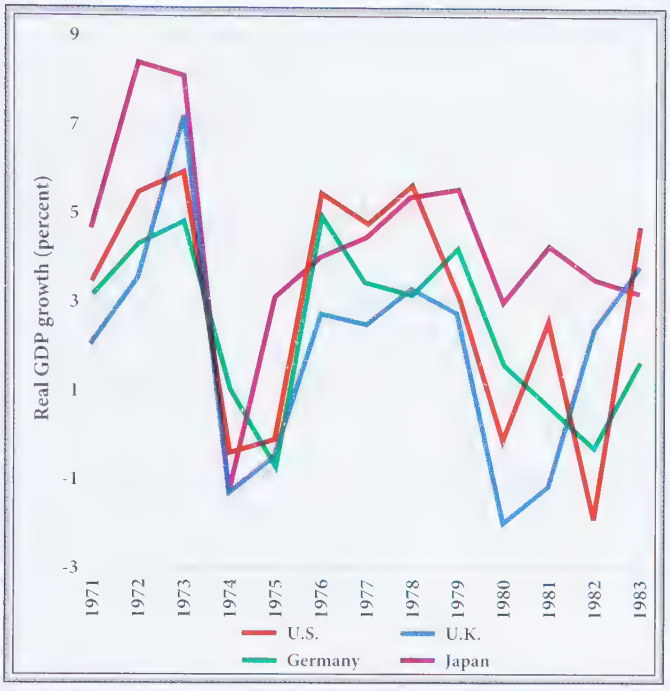


FIGURE 28.3 Falling Gross Domestic Product

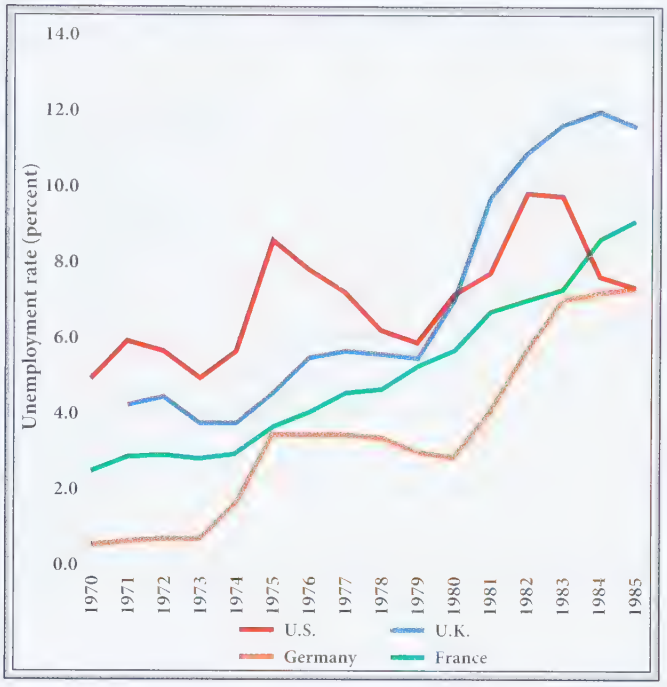


FIGURE 28.4 Rising Unemployment

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. In what ways do these figures demonstrate an integrated global economy?
2. What does the GDP graph indicate about how global economic integration affected the U.S. economy? Notice that Japan's GDP growth remained strong in the late 1970s and early 1980s. With what historical development within the U.S. does that correspond?

majority in the legislature. Despite opposition by virtually the entire state leadership, including politicians from both parties, Californians voted overwhelmingly for Jarvis's measure.

Proposition 13 hobbled public spending in the nation's most populous state. Per capita funding of California public schools, once the envy of the nation, plunged from the top tier to the bottom, where it was second only to Mississippi. Moreover, Proposition 13's complicated formula benefitted middle-class and wealthy home owners at the expense of less-well-off citizens, especially those who depended heavily on public services. Businesses, too, came out ahead, because commercial property got the same protection as residential property. More broadly, Proposition 13 inspired tax revolts across the country and helped conservatives define an enduring issue: low taxes.

In addition to public investment, another **cardinal** marker of New Deal and Great Society liberalism had been a remarkable decline in income inequality. In the 1970s, that trend reversed, and the wealthiest Americans, those among the top 10 percent, began to pull ahead again. As corporations restructured to boost profits during the 1970s slump, they increasingly laid off high-wage workers, paid the remaining workers less, and

The New York Times
LATE CITY EDITION
FORD, CASTIGATING CITY, ASSERTS HE'D VETO FUND GUARANTEE; OFFERS BANKRUPTCY BILL
Sadat Urges U.N. to Help In Resuming Geneva Talk
BAILOUT BARRED
DAILY NEWS
FINAL
15¢
FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD
Vows He'll Veto Any Bail
How Tourists See City Crisis
The Arthur Goldbergs
Richard Burton Has Malaria
New York Post
FORD: LET CITY GO BROKE
Says He'd Veto Bailout Bill; Favors Aid After Default

"Ford to City: Drop Dead" In the summer of 1975, New York City nearly went bankrupt. When Mayor Abraham Beame appealed to President Gerald Ford for federal assistance, these newspaper headlines captured the chief executive's response. Though it was ultimately saved from financial ruin, the city's brush with insolvency symbolized the larger problems facing the nation: economic stagnation, high inflation, and unemployment. Hard times had seemingly spared no one.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How did cities and suburbs experience the "era of limits" differently, and why?

relocated overseas. Thus upper-class Americans benefitted, while blue-collar families who had been lifted into the middle class during the postwar boom increasingly lost out. An unmistakable trend was apparent by the end of the 1970s. The U.S. labor market was dividing in two: a vast, low-wage market at the bottom and a much narrower high-wage market at the top, with the middle squeezed smaller and smaller.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What limits did the American economy experience in the 1970s?

Politics in Flux, 1973–1980

A search for order characterized national politics in the 1970s as well. It began with a scandal. Misbehavior is endemic to politics. Yet what became known as the Watergate affair—or simply **Watergate**—implicated President Richard Nixon in illegal behavior severe enough to bring down his presidency. Liberals benefitted from Nixon's fall in the short term, but their long-term retreat continued. Politics remained in flux because while liberals were on the defensive, conservatives had not yet put forth a clear alternative.

Watergate and the Fall of a President

On June 17, 1972, something strange happened at Washington's Watergate office/apartment/hotel complex. Early that morning, five men carrying wiretapping equipment

were apprehended there attempting to break into the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Queried by the press, a White House spokesman dismissed the episode as "a third-rate burglary attempt." Pressed further, Nixon himself denied any White House involvement in "this very bizarre incident." In fact, the two masterminds of the break-in, G. Gordon Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, were former FBI and CIA agents currently working for Nixon's Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP).

The Watergate burglary was no isolated incident. It was part of a broad pattern of abuse of power by a White House obsessed with its political enemies. Liddy and Hunt were on the White House payroll, part of a **clandestine** squad hired to stop leaks to the press. But they were soon arranging illegal wiretaps at DNC headquarters, part of a campaign of "dirty tricks" against the Democrats. Nixon's siege mentality best explains his fatal misstep. He could have dissociated himself from the break-in by firing his guilty aides or even just by letting justice take its course. But it was election time, and Nixon did not trust his political future to such a strategy. Instead, he arranged hush money for the burglars and instructed the CIA to stop an FBI investigation into the affair. This was obstruction of justice, a criminal offense.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the impact of political scandals on the lack of public confidence in government in the 1970s.

Nixon kept the lid on until after the election, but in early 1973, one of the Watergate burglars began to talk. In the meantime, two reporters at the *Washington Post*, Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward, uncovered CREEP's links to key White House aides. In May 1973, a Senate investigating committee began holding nationally televised hearings, at which administration officials implicated Nixon in the illegal cover-up. The president kept investigators at bay for a year, but in June 1974, the House Judiciary Committee began to consider articles of impeachment. Certain of being convicted by the Senate, Nixon became, on August 9, 1974, the first U.S. president to resign his office. The next day, Vice President Gerald Ford was sworn in as president. Ford, the Republican minority leader in the House of Representatives, had replaced Vice President Spiro Agnew, who had himself resigned in 1973 for accepting kickbacks while governor of Maryland. A month after he took office, Ford stunned the nation by granting Nixon a "full, free, and absolute" pardon.

Congress pushed back, passing a raft of laws inspired by the abuses of the Nixon administration and designed to limit the power of future presidents: the **War Powers Act** (1973), which reined in the president's ability to deploy U.S. forces without congressional approval; amendments strengthening the **Freedom of Information Act** (1974), which gave citizens access to federal records; the **Ethics in Government Act** (1978); and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (1978), which prohibited domestic wiretapping without a warrant.

Popular disdain for politicians, evident in declining voter turnout, deepened with Nixon's resignation in 1974. "Don't vote," read one bumper sticker in 1976. "It only encourages them." Watergate not only damaged short-term Republican prospects but also shifted the party's balance to the right. Despite mastering the populist appeal to the "silent majority," the moderate Nixon was never beloved by conservatives. His relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union and his visit to communist China, in particular, won him no friends on the right. His disgraceful exit benefitted the more conservative Republicans, who proceeded to reshape the party in their image.

Watergate Babies As for the Democrats, Watergate granted them a reprieve, a second chance at recapturing their eroding base. Democratic candidates in the 1974 midterm elections made Watergate and Ford's pardon of Nixon their top issues. It worked. Seventy-five new Democratic members of the House came to Washington in 1975, many of them under the age of forty-five, and the press dubbed them Watergate babies.

AP® EXAM TIP

Describe the impact of the growing divide between liberals and conservatives in the 1970s.

Young and reform-minded, the Watergate babies solidified huge Democratic majorities in both houses of Congress and quickly set to work. They eliminated the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), which had investigated alleged Communists in the 1940s and 1950s and antiwar activists in the 1960s. In the Senate, Democrats reduced the number of votes needed to end a filibuster from 67 to 60 — a

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What changed and what remained the same in American politics as a result of the Watergate scandal?

move intended to weaken the power of the minority to block legislation. In both houses, Democrats dismantled the existing committee structure, which had entrenched power in the hands of a few elite committee chairs. Overall, the Watergate babies helped to decentralize power in Washington and bring greater transparency to American government.

In one of the great ironies of American political history, however, the post-Watergate reforms made government *less* efficient and *more* susceptible to special interests — the opposite of what had been intended. Under the new committee structure, smaller subcommittees proliferated, and the size of the congressional staff doubled to more than 20,000. A diffuse power structure actually gave lobbyists more places to exert influence. As the power of committee chairs weakened, influence shifted to party leaders, such as the Speaker of the House and the Senate majority leader. With little incentive to compromise, the parties grew more rigid, and bipartisanship became rare. Finally, filibustering, a seldom-used tactic largely employed by anti–civil rights southerners, increased in frequency. The Congress that we have come to know today — with its partisan rancor, its army of lobbyists, and its slow-moving response to public needs — came into being in the 1970s.

TABLE 28.1

Political Realignment: Congressional Seats

	Apportionment	
State	**1940**	**1990**
Rust Belt		
Massachusetts	14	10
Connecticut	6	6
New York	45	31
New Jersey	14	13
Pennsylvania	33	21
Ohio	23	19
Illinois	26	20
Indiana	11	10
Michigan	17	16
Wisconsin	10	9
Total	**199**	**155**
Sunbelt		
California	23	52
Arizona	2	6
Nevada	1	2
Colorado	4	6
New Mexico	2	3
Texas	21	30
Georgia	10	11
North Carolina	12	12
Virginia	9	11
Florida	6	23
Total	**90**	**156**

In the fifty years between 1940 and 1990, the Rust Belt states lost political clout, while the Sunbelt states gained it — measured here in congressional seats (which are apportioned based on population). Sunbelt states gained 66 seats, with the Rust Belt losing 44. This shifting political geography helped undermine the liberal coalition, which was strongest in industrial states with large labor unions, and paved the way for the rise of the conservative coalition, which was strongest in southern and Appalachian states, as well as California.

SOURCE: Office of the Clerk of the House, clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/congApp/bystate.html.

Political Realignment Despite Democratic gains in 1974, the electoral realignment that had begun with Richard Nixon's presidential victories in 1968 and 1972 continued. As liberals proved unable to stop runaway inflation or speed up economic growth, conservatives gained greater traction with the public. The postwar liberal economic formula — sometimes known as the Keynesian consensus — consisted of micro-adjustments to the money supply coupled with federal spending. When that formula failed to restart the economy in the mid-1970s, conservatives in Congress used this opening to articulate alternatives, especially economic deregulation and tax cuts (Chapter 29).

On a grander scale, deindustrialization in the Northeast and Midwest and continued population growth in the Sunbelt were changing the political geography of the country. Power was shifting, incrementally but perceptibly, toward the West and South (Table 28.1). As states with strong trade unions at the center of the postwar liberal political coalition — such as New York, Illinois, and Michigan — lost industry, jobs, and people, states with traditions of libertarian conservatism — such as California, Arizona, Florida, and Texas — gained greater political clout. The full impact of this shifting political geography would not be felt until the 1980s and 1990s, but its effects had become apparent by the mid-1970s.

Jimmy Carter: The Outsider as President

"Jimmy who?" was how journalists first responded when James Earl Carter, who had been a naval officer, a peanut farmer, and the governor of Georgia, emerged from the pack to win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1976. When Carter told his mother that he intended to run for president, she had asked, "President of what?" Trading on Watergate and his down-home image, Carter pledged to restore morality to the White House. "I will never lie to you," he promised voters. Carter played up his credentials as a Washington outsider, although he selected Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota as his running mate to ensure his ties to traditional Democratic voting blocs. Ford still might have prevailed, but his pardon of Nixon likely cost him enough votes in key states to swing the election to the Democratic candidate. Carter won with 50 percent of the popular vote to Ford's 48 percent.

For a time, Carter got some mileage as an outsider — the common man who walked to the White House after the inauguration and delivered fireside chats in a cardigan sweater. The fact that he was a born-again Christian also played well. But Carter's inexperience began to show. He responded to feminists, an important Democratic constituency, by establishing a new women's commission in his administration. But later he dismissed the commission's concerns and became embroiled in a public fight with prominent women's advocates. Most consequentially, his outsider strategy made for chilly relations with congressional leaders. Disdainful of the Democratic establishment, Carter relied heavily on inexperienced advisors from Georgia. And as a detail-oriented micromanager, he exhausted himself over the fine points of policy better left to his aides.

On the domestic front, Carter's big challenge was managing the economy. The problems that he faced defied easy solution. Most confounding was stagflation. If the government focused on inflation — forcing prices down by raising interest rates — unemployment became worse. If the government tried to stimulate employment, inflation became worse. None of the levers of government economic policy seemed to work. At heart, Carter was an economic conservative. He toyed with the idea of an "industrial policy" to bail out the ailing manufacturing sector, but he moved instead in a free-market direction by lifting the New Deal–era regulation of the airline, trucking, and railroad industries. **Deregulation** stimulated competition and cut prices, but it also drove firms out of business and hurt unionized workers.

The president's efforts failed to reignite economic growth. Then, the Iranian Revolution (see Chapter 29) curtailed oil supplies, and gas prices jumped again. In a major TV address, Carter lectured Americans about the nation's "crisis of the spirit." He called energy conservation "the moral equivalent of war" — or, in the media's shorthand, "MEOW," which aptly captured the nation's assessment of Carter's sermonizing. By then, his approval rating had fallen below 30 percent. And it was no wonder, given an inflation rate over 11 percent, failing industries, and long lines at the pumps. It seemed the worst of all possible economic worlds, and the first-term president could not help but worry about the political costs to him and his party.

Jimmy Carter President Jimmy Carter is seen here at his home in Plains, Georgia, in 1975, soon after he'd declared himself a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. Carter was content to portray himself as a political outsider, an ordinary American who could restore trust to Washington after the Watergate scandal. A thoughtful man and a born-again Christian, Carter nonetheless proved unable to solve the complex economic problems, especially high inflation, and international challenges of the late 1970s. AP Photo

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What kind of president did Jimmy Carter hope to be, and how successful was he at implementing his agenda?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **In what ways was the period between 1973 and 1980 a transitional one in American politics?**

To read more of President Carter's television address, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Reform and Reaction in the 1970s

Having lived through a decade of profound social and political upheaval — the Vietnam War, protests, riots, Watergate, recession — many Americans were exhausted and cynical by the mid-1970s. But while some retreated to private concerns, others took reform in new directions. Civil rights battles continued, the women's movement achieved some of its most far-reaching aims, and gay rights blossomed. These movements pushed the "rights revolution" of the 1960s deeper into American life. Others, however, pushed

back. Social conservatives responded by forming their own organizations and resisting the emergence of what they saw as a permissive society.

Civil Rights in a New Era

When Congress banned job discrimination in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the law required only that employers hire without regard to "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin." But after centuries of slavery and decades of segregation, would nondiscrimination bring African Americans into the economic mainstream? Many liberals thought not. They believed that government, universities, and private employers needed to take positive steps to open their doors to a wider, more diverse range of Americans — including those from other historically underrepresented groups and women.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize affirmative action as part of the broader conflict over the role of federal government in issues of race.

Among the most significant efforts to address the legacy of exclusion was **affirmative action** — procedures designed to take into account the disadvantaged position of Americans from historically underrepresented groups after centuries of discrimination. First advanced by the Kennedy administration in 1961, affirmative action received a boost under President Lyndon Johnson, whose Labor Department fashioned a series of plans in the late 1960s to encourage government contractors to recruit underrepresented racial groups. Women were added under the last of these plans, when pressure from the women's movement highlighted the problem of sex discrimination. By the early 1970s, affirmative action had been refined by court rulings that identified acceptable procedures: hiring and enrollment goals, special recruitment and training programs, and set-asides (specially reserved slots) for both underrepresented racial groups and women.

Affirmative action, however, did not please many whites, who felt that the deck was being stacked against them. Much of the dissent came from conservative groups that had opposed civil rights all along. They charged affirmative action advocates with "reverse discrimination." Legal challenges abounded, as employees, students, and university

March for Affirmative Action Americans grew even more divided over the policy of affirmative action in the 1970s. For many people, such as African Americans and Latinos, affirmative action promised that groups who faced historical discrimination would have equal opportunity in jobs and education. For many whites, affirmative action looked like "reverse discrimination," and they fought its implementation. Here, supporters of affirmative action encourage the U.S. Supreme Court to overturn the California *Bakke* decision declaring racial quotas unconstitutional. In the end, however, the Supreme Court upheld *Bakke*, and the scope of affirmative action narrowed. AP Photo/Charles Tasnadi

applicants went to court to object to these new procedures. Some liberal groups sought a middle position. In a widely publicized 1972 letter, Jewish organizations, seared by the memory of quotas that once kept Jewish students out of elite colleges, came out against all racial quotas but nonetheless endorsed "rectifying the imbalances resulting from past discrimination."

A major shift in affirmative action policy came in 1978. Allan Bakke, a white man, sued the University of California at Davis Medical School for rejecting him in favor of less-qualified minority-group candidates. Headlines across the country sparked anti–affirmative action protest marches on college campuses and vigorous discussion on television and radio and in the White House. Ultimately, the Supreme Court rejected the medical school's quota system, which set aside 16 of 100 places for "disadvantaged" students. The Court ordered Bakke admitted but indicated that a more flexible affirmative action plan, in which race could be considered along with other factors, would still pass constitutional muster. ***Bakke v. University of California*** thus upheld affirmative action but, by rejecting a quota system, also called it into question. Future court rulings and state referenda, in the 1990s and 2000s, would further limit the scope of affirmative action. In particular, California voters passed Proposition 209 in 1996, prohibiting public institutions from using affirmative action to increase diversity in employment and education.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did affirmative action evolve between 1961 and 1978?

The Women's Movement and Gay Rights

Unlike the civil rights movement, whose signal achievements came in the 1960s, the women's and gay rights movements flourished in the 1970s. With three influential wings — radical, liberal, and "Third World" — the women's movement inspired both grassroots activism and legislative action across the nation. For their part, gay activists faced a unique set of challenges: they needed to convince Americans that same-sex relationships were natural and that gay men and lesbians deserved the same protection of the law as all other citizens. Neither movement achieved all of its aims in this era, but each laid a strong foundation for the future.

Women's Activism In the first half of the 1970s, the women's liberation movement reached its historic peak. Taking a dizzying array of forms — from lobbying legislatures to marching in the streets and establishing all-female collectives — women's liberation inspired activism on the scale of the earlier black-led civil rights movement. Women's centers, as well as women-run child-care facilities, began to spring up in cities and towns. A feminist art and poetry movement flourished. Women challenged the admissions policies of all-male colleges and universities — opening such prestigious universities as Yale and Columbia and nearly bringing an end to male-only institutions of higher education. Female scholars began to transform higher education: by studying women's history, by increasing the number of women on college and university faculties, and by founding women's studies programs.

Women's liberationists drew new attention to, and thereby politicized, the female body. Inspired by the Boston collective that first published *Our Bodies, Ourselves* — a groundbreaking book on women's health — the women's health movement founded dozens of medical clinics, encouraged women to become physicians, and educated millions of women about their bodies. To reform antiabortion laws, activists pushed for remedies in more than thirty state legislatures. Women's liberationists established rape crisis centers around the nation and lobbied state legislatures and Congress to reform rape laws. Many of these endeavors and movements began as shoestring operations in living rooms and kitchens: *Our Bodies, Ourselves* was first published as a 35-cent mimeographed booklet, and the antirape movement began in small consciousness-raising groups that met in churches and community centers. By the end of the decade, however, all of these causes had national organizations and touched the lives of millions of American women.

Equal Rights Amendment Buoyed by this flourishing of activism, the women's movement renewed the fight for an **Equal Rights Amendment** (ERA) to the

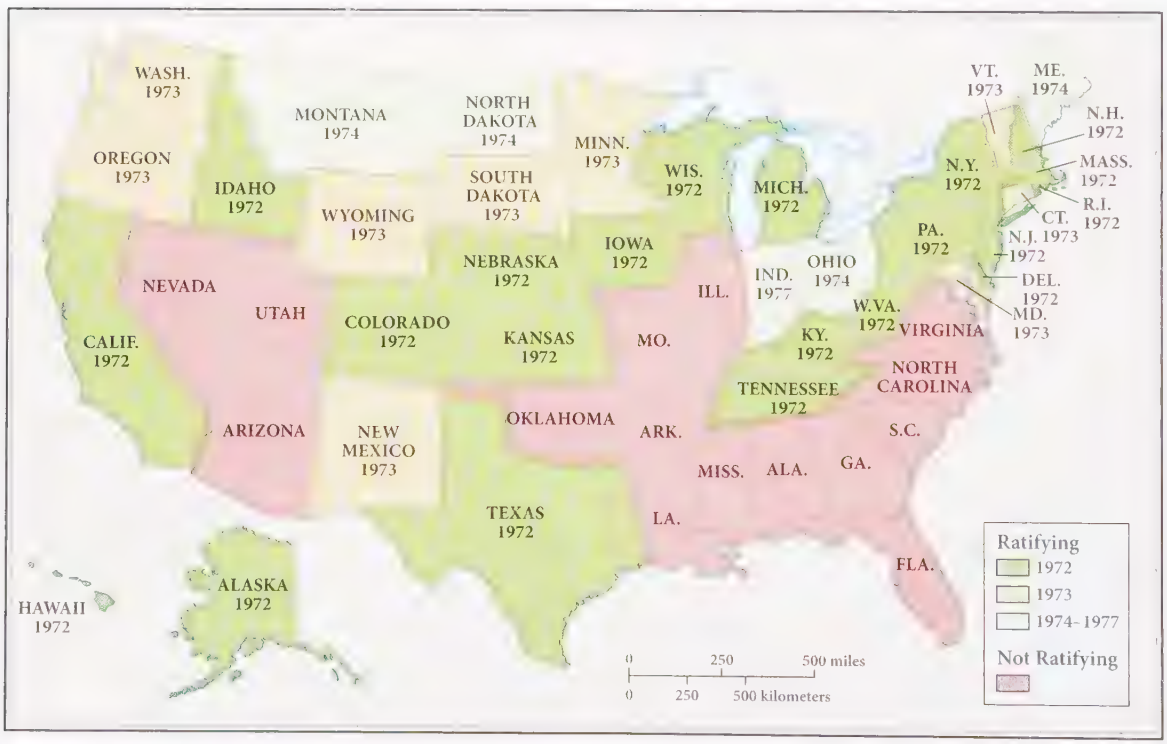
AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of legislative action and court decisions on women's rights in the 1970s.

Constitution. First introduced in 1923, the ERA stated, in its entirety, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on the basis of sex." Vocal congressional women from the Democratic Party, such as Patsy Mink (Hawaii), Bella Abzug (New York), and Shirley Chisholm (New York), found enthusiastic male allies—among both Democrats and Republicans—and Congress adopted the amendment in 1972. Within just two years, thirty-four of the necessary thirty-eight states had ratified it, and the ERA appeared headed for adoption. But then, progress abruptly halted (Map 28.2).

Credit for putting the brakes on ERA ratification goes chiefly to a remarkable woman: Phyllis Schlafly, a lawyer long active in conservative causes. Despite her own flourishing career, Schlafly advocated traditional roles for women. The ERA, she proclaimed, would create an unnatural "unisex society," with women drafted into the army and forced to use single-sex restrooms. Abortion, she alleged, could never be prohibited by law. Led by Schlafly's organization, **STOP ERA** (founded in 1972), thousands of women mobilized, showing up at statehouses with home-baked bread and apple pies. As labels on baked goods at one anti-ERA rally expressed it: "My heart and hand went into this dough / For the sake of the family please vote no." It was a message that resonated widely, especially among those troubled by the rapid pace of social change (AP® Analyzing Voices). The ERA never was ratified, despite a congressional extension of the deadline to June 30, 1982.

Roe v. Wade In addition to the ERA, the women's movement had identified another major goal: winning reproductive rights. Activists pursued two tracks: legislative and judicial. In the early 1960s, abortion was illegal in virtually every state. A decade later, thanks to intensive lobbying by women's organizations, liberal ministers, and physicians,



MAP 28.2 States Ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment, 1972–1977

The ratifying process for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) went smoothly in 1972 and 1973 but then stalled. The turning point came in 1976, when ERA advocates lobbied extensively, particularly in Florida, North Carolina, and Illinois, but failed to sway the conservative legislatures in those states. After Indiana ratified in 1977, the amendment still lacked three votes toward the three-fourths majority needed for adoption. Efforts to revive the ERA in the 1980s were unsuccessful, and it became a dead issue.

a handful of states, such as New York, Hawaii, California, and Colorado, adopted laws making legal abortions easier to obtain. But progress after that was slow, and women's advocates turned to the courts. There was reason to be optimistic. The Supreme Court had first addressed reproductive rights in a 1965 case, *Griswold v. Connecticut*. *Griswold* struck down an 1879 state law prohibiting the possession of contraception as a violation of married couples' constitutional "right of privacy." Following the logic articulated in *Griswold*, the Court gradually expanded the right of privacy in a series of cases in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

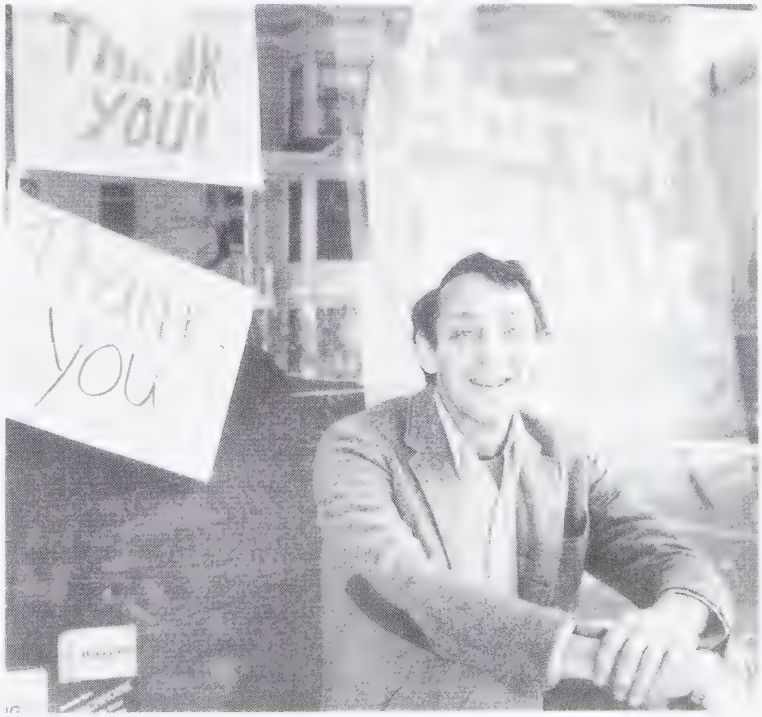
Those cases culminated in ***Roe v. Wade*** (1973). In that landmark decision, the justices nullified a Texas law that prohibited abortion under any circumstances, even when the woman's health was at risk, and laid out a new national standard: abortions performed during the first trimester were protected by the right of privacy. At the time and afterward, some legal authorities questioned whether the Constitution recognized any such privacy right and criticized the Court's seemingly arbitrary first-trimester timeline. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court chose to move forward, transforming a traditionally state-regulated policy into a national, constitutionally protected right.

For the women's movement, *Roe v. Wade* represented a triumph. For evangelical and fundamentalist Christians, Catholics, and conservatives generally, it was a bitter pill. In their view, abortion was, unequivocally, the taking of a human life. These Americans, represented by groups such as the National Right to Life Committee, did not believe that something they regarded as immoral and sinful could be the basis for women's equality. Women's advocates responded that illegal abortions — common prior to *Roe* — were often unsafe procedures that resulted in physical harm to women and even death. *Roe* polarized what was already a sharply divided public and mobilized conservatives to seek a Supreme Court reversal or, short of that, to pursue legislation that would strictly limit the conditions under which abortions could be performed. In 1976, they convinced Congress to deny Medicaid funds for abortions, an opening round in a campaign against *Roe v. Wade* that continues today.

Phyllis Schlafly Phyllis Schlafly, leader of the organization STOP ERA, talks with reporters during a rally at the Illinois State Capitol in 1978, at a time when the state legislature was considering whether to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. Schlafly described herself as a housewife and called her strenuous political career a hobby. Bettmann/Getty Images

Harvey Milk The gay rights movement had achieved notable victories as well. These, too, proved controversial. By the mid-1970s, more than a dozen cities had passed gay rights ordinances protecting gay men and lesbians from employment and housing discrimination. One such ordinance in Dade County (Miami), Florida, sparked a protest led by Anita Bryant, a conservative Baptist and a television celebrity. Her "Save Our Children" campaign in 1977, which garnered national media attention, resulted in the repeal of the ordinance and symbolized the emergence of a conservative religious movement opposed to gay rights.

Across the country from Miami, developments in San Francisco looked promising for gay rights advocates, then turned tragic. No one embodied the combination of gay liberation and hard-nosed



Harvey Milk In November 1977, Harvey Milk became the first openly gay man to be elected to public office in the United States, when he won a seat on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Shockingly, almost exactly a year from the day of his election, Milk was assassinated. Bettmann/Getty Images

Debating the Equal Rights Amendment

Fifty years after its introduction, the Equal Rights Amendment ("Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex") finally met congressional approval in 1972 and was sent to the states for ratification. The amendment set off a furious debate, especially in the South and Midwest, and fell short of ratification. Following are four of the voices in that debate.

PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

Lawyer and political activist Phyllis Schlafly was the most prominent opponent of the ERA. Her organization, STOP ERA, campaigned against the amendment in critical states and helped to halt ratification.

SOURCE: From *The Phyllis Schlafly Report*, November 1972. Reprinted by permission.

"Women's magazines, the women's pages of newspapers, and television and radio talk shows have been filled for months with a strident advocacy of the 'rights' of women to be treated on an equal basis with men in all walks of life. But what about the rights of the woman who doesn't want to compete on an equal basis with men? Does she have the right to be treated as a woman — by her family, by society, and by the law? . . .

The laws of every one of our 50 states now guarantee the right to be a woman — protected and provided for in her career as a woman, wife, and mother. The proposed Equal Rights Amendment will wipe out all our laws which — through rights, benefits, and exemptions — guarantee this right to be a woman. . . . Is this what American women want? Is this what American men want?

The laws of every one of the 50 states now require the husband to support his wife and children — and to provide a home for them to live in. In other words, the law protects a woman's right to be a full-time wife and mother, her right not to take a job outside the home, her right to care for her own baby in her own home while being financially supported by her husband. . . .

There are two very different types of women lobbying for the Equal Rights Amendment. One group is the women's liberationists. Their motive is totally radical. They hate men, marriage, and children. They are out to destroy morality and the family. . . . There is another type of woman supporting the Equal Rights Amendment from the most sincere motives. It is easy to see why the business and professional women are supporting the Equal Rights Amendment — many of them have felt the keen edge of discrimination in their employment."

JERRY FALWELL

Jerry Falwell was a fundamentalist Baptist preacher in Virginia, a television evangelist, and the founder of the political lobbying organization known as the Moral Majority.

SOURCE: Excerpt from *Listen America!* by Jerry Falwell, copyright © 1980 by Jerry Falwell. Used by permission of Doubleday, an imprint of the Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, a division of Random House LLC. All rights reserved. Any third party use of this material, outside of this publication, is prohibited. Interested parties must apply directly to Random House LLC for permission.

"I believe that at the foundation of the women's liberation movement there is a minority core of women who were once bored with life, whose real problems are spiritual problems. Many women have never accepted their God-given roles. . . . God Almighty created men and women biologically different and with differing needs and roles. He made men and women to complement each other and to love each other. . . . Women who work should be respected and accorded dignity and equal rewards for equal work. But this is not what the present feminist movement and equal rights movement are all about.

The Equal Rights Amendment is a delusion. I believe that women deserve more than equal rights. And, in families and in nations where the Bible is believed, Christian women are honored above men. Only in places where the Bible is believed and practiced do women receive more than equal rights. Men and women have differing strengths. The Equal Rights Amendment can never do for women what needs to be done for them. Women need to know Jesus Christ as their Lord and Savior and be under His Lordship. They need a man who knows Jesus Christ as his Lord and Savior, and they need to be part of a home where their husband is a godly leader and where there is a Christian family. . . .

ERA is not merely a political issue, but a moral issue as well. A definite violation of holy Scripture, ERA defies the mandate that 'the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church' (Ep. 5:23). In 1 Peter 3:7 we read that husbands are to give their wives honor as unto the

politics better than a San Francisco camera-shop owner named Harvey Milk. A closeted businessman in New York until he was forty, Milk arrived in San Francisco in 1972 and threw himself into city politics. Fiercely independent, he ran as an openly gay candidate for city supervisor (city council) twice and the state assembly once, both times unsuccessfully.

By mobilizing the "gay vote" into a powerful bloc, Milk finally won a supervisor seat in 1977. He was not the first openly gay elected official in the country —

weaker vessel, that they are both heirs together of the grace of life. Because a woman is weaker does not mean that she is less important. ”

ELIZABETH DUNCAN KOONTZ

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz was a distinguished educator and the first black woman to head the National Education Association and the U.S. Women's Bureau. At the time she made this statement at state legislative hearings on the ERA in 1977, she was assistant state superintendent for public instruction in North Carolina.

SOURCE: William A. Link and Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, eds., *The South in the History of the Nation* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), 295–296.

“ A short time ago I had the misfortune to break my foot. . . . The pain . . . did not hurt me as much as when I went into the emergency room and the young woman upon asking me my name, the nature of my ailment, then asked me for my husband's social security number and his hospitalization number. I asked her what did that have to do with my emergency.

And she said, 'We have to be sure of who is going to pay your bill.' I said, 'Suppose I'm not married, then.' And she said, 'Then give me your father's name.' I did not go through that twenty years ago when I was denied the use of that emergency room because of my color.

I went through that because there is an underlying assumption that all women in our society are protected, dependent, cared for by somebody who's got a social security number and hospitalization insurance. Never once did she assume I might be a woman who might be caring for my husband, instead of him by me, because of some illness. She did not take into account the fact that one out of almost eight women heading families in poverty today [is] in the same condition as men in families and poverty. . . .

My greater concern is that so many women today . . . oppose the passage of the ERA very sincerely and . . . tell you without batting an eye, 'I don't want to see women treated that way.' And I speak up, 'What way is that?' . . . Women themselves have been a bit misguided. We have mistaken present practice for law, and women have . . . assumed too many times that their present condition cannot change. The rate of divorce, the rate of desertion, the rate of separation, and the death rate of male supporters is enough for us to say: 'Let us remove all legal barriers to women and girls making their choices — this state cannot afford it.' ”

CAROLINE BIRD

Caroline Bird was the lead author of *What Women Want*, a report produced by women's rights advocates following the 1977 National Women's Conference, held in Houston, Texas.

SOURCE: Caroline Bird, *What Women Want* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1978), 120–121.

“ The Declaration of Independence, signed in 1776, stated that 'all Men are created equal' and that governments derive their powers 'from the Consent of the Governed.' Women were not included in either concept. The original American Constitution of 1787 was founded on English common law, which did not recognize women as citizens or as individuals with legal rights. A woman was expected to obey her husband or nearest male kin, and if she was married her person and her property were owned by her husband. . . .

It has been argued that the ERA is not necessary because the Fourteenth Amendment, passed after the Civil War, guarantees that no state shall deny to 'any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.' . . .

Aside from the fact that women have been subjected to varying, inconsistent, and often unfavorable decisions under the Fourteenth Amendment, the Equal Rights Amendment is a more immediate and effective remedy to sex discrimination in Federal and State laws than case-by-case interpretation under the Fourteenth Amendment could ever be. ”

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Schlafly and Koontz have different notions of what it means to be a woman. Explain what these differences are and how they inform the authors' distinct views of the ERA.
2. Why does Schlafly believe that women will be harmed by the ERA?
3. Schlafly and Falwell argue that women need the protection and support of men. Are they right? How would Koontz likely respond?
4. How do each of the four authors define women's roles and responsibilities in society?

Kathy Kozachenko of Michigan and Elaine Noble of Massachusetts share that distinction — but he became a national symbol of emerging gay political power. Tragically, after he helped to win passage of a gay rights ordinance in San Francisco, he was assassinated in 1978 — along with the city's mayor, George Moscone — by a disgruntled former supervisor named Dan White. When White was convicted of manslaughter rather than murder, five thousand gays and lesbians in San Francisco marched on city hall.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did the civil rights movement expand during the 1970s?

After the Warren Court

In response to what conservatives considered the liberal judicial revolution under the Warren Court, Nixon came into the presidency promising to appoint "strict constructionists" (conservative-minded justices) to the bench. In three short years, between 1969 and 1972, he was able to appoint four new justices to the Supreme Court, including the new chief justice, Warren Burger. Burger and his conservative colleagues did not, suprisingly, immediately seek to overturn Warren Court precedents. Indeed, in *Roe v. Wade* the Burger Court extended the "right of privacy" developed under Warren to include women's access to abortion. As we saw above, few Supreme Court decisions in the twentieth century have disappointed conservatives more. Other decisions advanced women's rights further. In 1976, the Court ruled that arbitrary distinctions based on sex in the workplace and other arenas were unconstitutional, and in 1986 that sexual harassment violated the Civil Rights Act. These rulings helped women break employment barriers in the subsequent decades.

In a variety of cases, however, the Burger Court chose a centrist course, particularly in cases regarding criminal law. After first striking down all existing capital punishment laws, in *Furman v. Georgia* (1972), the court shortly restored them, in *Gregg v. Georgia* (1976). Rather than overturning the Warren Court's rulings on the rights of suspected criminals (such as the 1966 decision in *Miranda v. Arizona*), which were deeply unpopular among conservatives, the Burger Court instead limited their reach. Overall, despite its reputation for centrist restraint, the Burger Court helped to ratify the "law and order" politics embraced by many Americans in the years following the 1960s.

In keeping with such centrism, in all of their rulings on privacy rights the Burger Court was reluctant to move ahead of public attitudes toward homosexuality. Gay men and lesbians still had no legal recourse if state laws prohibited same-sex relations. In a controversial 1986 case, *Bowers v. Hardwick*, the Supreme Court upheld a Georgia sodomy statute that criminalized same-sex sexual acts. The majority opinion held that homosexuality was contrary to "ordered liberty" and that extending sexual privacy to gays and lesbians "would be to cast aside millennia of moral teaching." Not until 2003 (*Lawrence v. Texas*) would the Court overturn that decision, recognizing for all Americans the right to sexual privacy.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did controversies over new individual rights shape the politics of the 1970s?

The American Family on Trial

In 1973, the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) aired a twelve-part television series that followed the life of a real American family. Producers wanted the show, called simply *An American Family*, to document how a middle-class white family coped with the stresses of a changing society. They did not anticipate that the family would dissolve in front of their cameras. Tensions and arguments raged, and in the final episode, Bill, the husband and father (who had had numerous extramarital affairs), moved out. By the time the show aired, the couple was divorced and Pat, the former wife, had become a single working mother with five children.

An American Family captured a traumatic moment in the twentieth-century history of the family. Between 1965 and 1985, the divorce rate doubled, and children born in the 1970s had a 40 percent chance of spending part of their youth in a single-parent household. As wages stagnated and inflation pushed prices up, more and more families depended on two incomes for survival. Furthermore, the women's movement and the counterculture had called into question traditional sex roles — father as provider and

mother as homemaker—and middle-class baby boomers rebelled against what they saw as the puritanical sexual values of their parents' generation. In the midst of such rapid change, where did the family stand?

Working Families in the Age of Deindustrialization

One of the most striking developments of the 1970s and 1980s was the relative stagnation of wages. After World War II, hourly wages had grown steadily ahead of inflation, giving workers more buying power with each passing decade. By 1973, that trend had stopped in its tracks. The decline of organized labor, the loss of manufacturing jobs, and runaway inflation all played a role in the reversal. Hardest hit were blue-collar and pink-collar workers and those without college degrees.

Women Enter the Workforce Millions of wives and mothers had worked for wages for decades. But many Americans still believed in the "family wage": a breadwinner income, earned by men, sufficient to support a family. After 1973, fewer and fewer Americans had access to that luxury. Between 1973 and the early 1990s, every major income group except the top 10 percent saw their real earnings (accounting for inflation) either remain the same or decline. Over this period, the typical worker saw a 10 percent drop in real wages. To keep their families from falling behind, women streamed into the workforce. Between 1950 and 1994, the proportion of women ages twenty-five to fifty-four working for pay increased from 37 to 75 percent. Much of that increase occurred in the 1970s. Americans were fast becoming dependent on the two-income household (Figure 28.5).

The numbers tell two different stories of American life in these decades. On one hand, the trends unmistakably show that women, especially in blue-collar and pink-collar families, *had* to work for wages to sustain their family's standard of living: to buy a car, pay for college, afford medical bills, support an aging parent, or simply pay the rent. Moreover, the number of single women raising children nearly doubled between 1965 and 1990. Women's paid labor was making up for the declining earning power or the absence of men in American households. On the other hand, women's real income overall grew during the same period. This increase reflected the opening of professional jobs to educated baby boom women. As older barriers began to fall, women poured into law and medicine, business and government, and, though more slowly, the sciences and engineering. Beneficiaries of feminism, these women pursued careers of which their mothers had only dreamed.

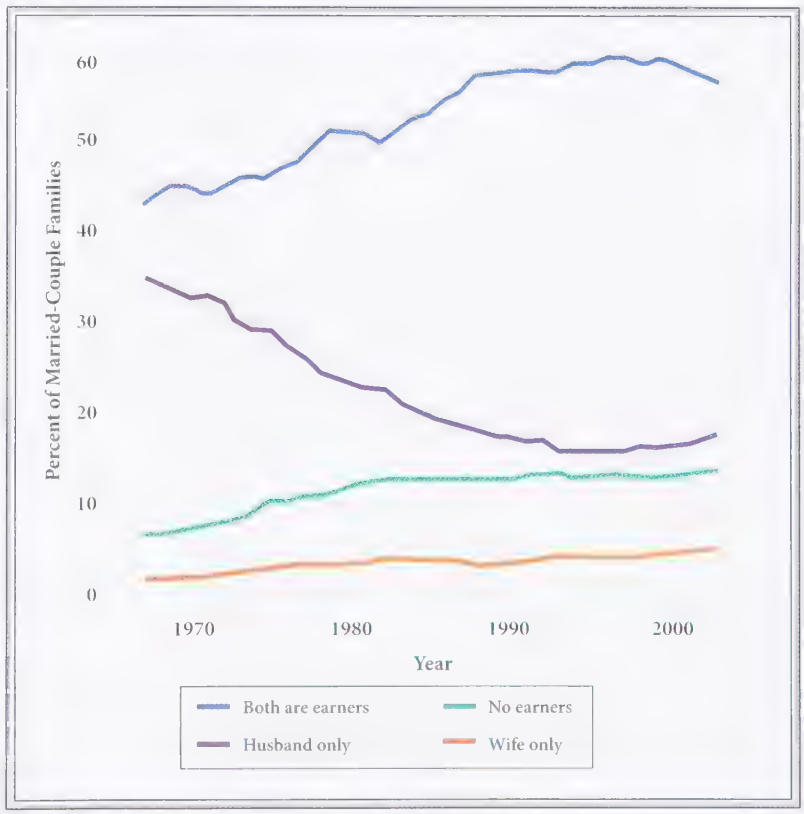


FIGURE 28.5 The Increase in Two-Worker Families

In 1968, about 43 percent of married couples sent both the husband and the wife into the workforce; thirty years later, 60 percent were two-earner families. The percentage of families in which the wife alone worked increased from 3 to 5 percent during these years, while those with no earners (welfare recipients and, increasingly, retired couples) rose from 8 to 13 percent. Because these figures do not include unmarried persons and most illegal immigrants, they do not give a complete picture of the American workplace. But there is no doubt that women now play a major role in the workforce.

Workers in the National Spotlight For a brief period in the 1970s, the trials of working men and women made a distinct imprint on national culture. Reporters wrote of the "blue-collar blues" associated with plant closings and the hard-fought strikes of the decade. A 1972

Good Times The popular 1970s sitcom *Good Times* examined how the "blue-collar blues" affected a working-class black family struggling to make ends meet in tough economic times. The show's theme song spoke of "temporary layoffs . . . easy credit ripoffs . . . scratchin' and surviving." Its actors, many of them classically trained, brought a realistic portrait of working-class African American life to television. Bettmann/Getty [illegible]

strike at the Lordstown, Ohio, General Motors plant captivated the nation. Holding out not for higher wages but for better working conditions — the plant had the most complex assembly line in the nation — Lordstown strikers spoke out against what they saw as an inhumane industrial system. Across the nation, the number of union-led strikes surged, even as the number of Americans in the labor movement continued to decline. In Lordstown and most other sites of strikes and industrial conflict, workers won a measure of public attention but typically gained little economic ground.

When Americans turned on their televisions in the mid-1970s, the most popular shows reflected the "blue-collar blues" of struggling families. *All in the Family* was joined by *The Waltons*, set during the Great Depression. *Good Times*, *Welcome Back, Kotter*, and *Sanford and Son* dealt with poverty in the inner city. *The Jeffersons* featured an upwardly mobile black couple struggling to leave their working-class roots behind. *Laverne and Shirley* focused on young working women in the 1950s and *One Day at a Time* on working women in the 1970s making do after divorce. The most-watched television series of the decade, 1977's eight-part *Roots*, explored the history of slavery and the survival of African American culture and family roots despite the oppressive labor system. Not since the 1930s had American culture paid such close attention to working-class life.

The decade also saw the rise of musicians such as Bruce Springsteen, Johnny Paycheck, and John Cougar (Mellencamp), who became stars by turning the hardscrabble lives of people in small towns and working-class communities into rock anthems that filled arenas. Springsteen wrote songs about characters who "sweat it out in the streets of a runaway American dream," and, to the delight of his audience, Paycheck famously sang, "Take this job and shove it!" Meanwhile, on the streets of Harlem and the South Bronx in New York, young working-class African American men experimenting with dance and musical forms invented break dancing and rap music — styles that expressed both the hardship and the creativity of working-class black life in the deindustrialized American city.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

Why did the struggles of working families become more prominent in the 1970s, and what social and economic concerns did those families have?

Navigating the Sexual Revolution

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the societal changes associated with the sexual revolution in the context of the counterculture and women's rights movements.

The economic downturn was not the only force that placed stress on American families in this era. Another such force was what many came to call the "sexual revolution." Hardly revolutionary, sexual attitudes in the 1970s were, in many ways, a logical evolution of developments in the first half of the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1910s, Americans increasingly viewed sex as a component of personal happiness, distinct from reproduction. Attitudes toward sex grew even more lenient in the postwar decades, a fact reflected in the Kinsey studies of the 1940s and 1950s. By the 1960s, sex before marriage had grown more socially acceptable — an especially profound change for women — and frank discussions of sex in the media and popular culture had grown more common.

In that decade, three developments dramatically accelerated this process: the introduction of the birth control pill, the rise of the baby-boomer-led counterculture, and the influence of feminism. First made available in the United States in 1960, the birth

control pill gave women an unprecedented degree of control over reproduction. By 1965, more than 6 million American women were taking advantage of this pharmaceutical advance. Rapid shifts in attitude accompanied the technological breakthrough. Middle-class baby boomers embraced a sexual ethic of greater freedom and, in many cases, a more casual approach to sex outside marriage. "I just feel I am expressing myself the way I feel at that moment in the most natural way," a female California college student, explaining her sex life, told a reporter in 1966. The rebellious counterculture encouraged this attitudinal shift by associating a puritanical view of sex with their parents' generation.

Finally, women's rights activists reacted to the new emphasis on sexual freedom in at least two distinct ways. Many feminists felt that the sexual revolution was by and for men: the emphasis on casual sex seemed to perpetuate male privilege — the old double standard; sexual harassment was all too common in the workplace; and the proliferation of pornography continued to commercialize women as sex objects. On the other hand, they remained optimistic that the new sexual ethic could free women from those older moral constraints. They called for a revolution in sexual *values*, not simply behavior, that would end exploitation and grant women the freedom to explore their sexuality on equal terms with men.

Sex and Popular Culture In the 1970s, popular culture was suffused with discussions of the sexual revolution. Mass-market books with titles such as *Everything You Always Wanted to Know About Sex*, *Human Sexual Response*, and *The Sensuous Man* shot up the best-seller list. William Masters and Virginia Johnson became the most famous sex researchers since Alfred Kinsey by studying couples in the act of lovemaking. In 1972, English physician Alex Comfort published *The Joy of Sex*, a guidebook for couples that became one of the most popular books of the decade. Comfort made certain to distinguish his writing from pornographic exploitation. "Sex is the one place where we today can learn to treat people as people," he wrote.

Hollywood took advantage of the new sexual ethic by making films with explicit erotic content that pushed the boundaries of middle-class taste. Films such as *Midnight Cowboy* (1969), *Carnal Knowledge* (1971), and *Shampoo* (1974), the latter starring Hollywood's leading ladies' man, Warren Beatty, led the way. Throughout the decade, and into the 1980s, the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) scrambled to keep its guide for parents — the system of rating pictures G, PG, R, and X (and, after 1984, PG-13) — in tune with Hollywood's advancing sexual revolution.

On television, the popularity of social problem shows, such as *All in the Family*, and the fear of losing advertising revenue moderated the portrayal of sex in the early 1970s. However, in the second half of the decade networks both exploited and criticized the new sexual ethic. In frivolous, lighthearted shows such as the popular *Charlie's Angels*, *Three's Company*, and *The Love Boat*, heterosexual couples explored the often confusing, and usually comical, landscape of sexual morality. At the same time, between 1974 and 1981, the major networks produced more than a dozen made-for-TV movies about children in sexual danger — a sensationalized warning to parents of the potential threats to children posed by a less strict sexual morality.

Marriage on the Rocks Couples attending a Marriage Encounter workshop near Boston in 1972. Traditional notions of marriage came under a variety of economic and psychological stresses in the 1970s. Many Americans turned to therapeutic solutions to preserve, or improve, their marriages. Marriage Encounter, founded by priests in the Catholic Church, was one organization that offered couples the opportunity to talk openly about marriage and to learn new skills for navigating the difficulties couples faced. Marriage Encounter was one among dozens of such organizations, both religious and secular, to rise to prominence in the 1970s. Spencer Grant/Getty Image

Middle-Class Marriage Many Americans worried that the sexual revolution threatened marriage itself. The notion of marriage as romantic companionship had defined middle-class norms since the nineteenth century. It was also quite common throughout most of the twentieth century for Americans to see sexual satisfaction as a healthy part of the marriage bond. But what defined a healthy marriage in an age of rising divorce rates, changing sexual values, and feminist critiques of the nuclear family? Only a small minority of Americans rejected marriage outright; most continued to create monogamous relationships codified in marriage. But many came to believe that they needed help as marriage came under a variety of economic and psychological stresses.

A therapeutic industry arose in response. Churches and secular groups alike established marriage seminars and counseling services to assist couples in sustaining a healthy marriage. A popular form of 1960s psychotherapy, the "encounter group," was adapted to marriage counseling: couples met in large groups to explore new methods of communicating. One of the most successful of these organizations, Marriage Encounter, was founded by the Catholic Church. It expanded into Protestant and Jewish communities in the 1970s and became one of the nation's largest counseling organizations. Such groups embodied another long-term shift in how middle-class Americans understood marriage. Spurred by both feminism and psychotherapeutic models that stressed self-improvement, Americans increasingly defined marriage not simply by companionship and sexual fidelity but also by the deeply felt emotional connection between two people.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were three major consequences of the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s?

Religion in the 1970s: The New Evangelicalism

AP EXAM TIP

Compare the New Evangelicalism to the First and Second Great Awakenings.

For three centuries, American society has been punctuated by intense periods of religious revival — some of which historians have called Great Awakenings (Chapters 4 and 10). These periods have seen a rise in church membership, the appearance of charismatic religious leaders, and the increasing influence of religion, usually of the evangelical variety, on society and politics. One such surge in religiosity and evangelical fervor took shape between the 1960s and 1980s. The "New Evangelicalism" of those decades had many elements, but one of its central features was a growing concern with the family.

In the 1950s and 1960s, many mainstream Protestants had embraced the reform spirit of the age. Some of the most visible Protestant leaders were social activists who condemned racism and opposed the Vietnam War. Organizations such as the National Council of Churches — along with many progressive Catholics and Jews — joined with Martin Luther King Jr. and other African American ministers in the long battle for civil rights. Many mainline Protestant churches, among them the Episcopal, Methodist, and Congregationalist denominations, practiced a version of the "Social Gospel," the reform-minded Christianity of the early twentieth century.

Evangelical Resurgence Meanwhile, **evangelicalism** survived at the grass roots. Evangelical Protestant churches emphasized an intimate, personal salvation (being "born again"); focused on a literal interpretation of the Bible; and regarded the death and resurrection of Jesus as the central message of Christianity. These tenets distinguished evangelicals from mainline Protestants as well as from Catholics and Jews, and they flourished in a handful of evangelical colleges, Bible schools, and seminaries in the postwar decades.

No one did more to keep the evangelical fire burning than Billy Graham. A graduate of the evangelical Wheaton College in Illinois, Graham cofounded Youth for Christ in 1945 and then toured the United States and Europe preaching the gospel. Following a stunning 1949 tent revival in Los Angeles that lasted eight weeks, Graham shot to national fame. His success in Los Angeles led to a popular radio program, but he continued to travel relentlessly, conducting old-fashioned revival meetings he called crusades. A massive sixteen-week 1957 crusade held in New York City's Madison Square Garden made Graham, along with the conservative Catholic priest Fulton Sheen, one of the nation's most visible religious leaders.

Graham and other evangelicals in the 1950s and 1960s laid the groundwork for the New Evangelicalism. But it was a startling combination of events in the late 1960s and early 1970s that dramatically magnified the evangelical revival. First, rising divorce rates, social unrest, and challenges to prevailing values led people to seek the stability of faith. Second, many Americans regarded feminism, the counterculture, sexual freedom, homosexuality, pornography, and legalized abortion not as distinct issues, but as a collective sign of moral decay in society. To seek answers and find order, more and more people turned to evangelical ministries, especially Southern Baptist, Pentecostal, and Assemblies of God churches.

Numbers tell part of the story. As mainline churches lost about 15 percent of their membership between 1970 and 1985, evangelical church membership soared. The Southern Baptist Convention, the largest Protestant denomination, grew by 23 percent, while the Assemblies of God grew by an astounding 300 percent. *Newsweek* magazine declared 1976 "The Year of the Evangelical," and that November the nation made Jimmy Carter the nation's first evangelical president. In a national Gallup poll, a robust one-third of Americans answered yes when asked, "Would you describe yourself as a 'born again' or evangelical Christian?"

Much of this astonishing growth came from the creative use of television. A new generation of preachers brought religious conversion directly into Americans' living rooms through television. These so-called televangelists built huge media empires through small donations from millions of avid viewers — not to mention advertising. Jerry Falwell's *Old Time Gospel Hour*, Pat Robertson's *700 Club*, and Jim and Tammy Bakker's *PTL (Praise the Lord) Club* were the leading pioneers in this televised race for American souls, but another half dozen — including Oral Roberts and Jimmy Swaggart — followed them onto the airwaves. Together, they made the 1970s and 1980s the era of Christian broadcasting.

Religion and the Family Of primary concern to evangelical Christians was the family. Drawing on selected Bible passages, evangelicals believed that the nuclear family, and not the individual, represented the fundamental unit of society. The family itself was organized along paternalist lines: father was breadwinner and disciplinarian; mother was nurturer and supporter. "Motherhood is the highest form of femininity," the evangelical author Beverly LaHaye wrote in an influential book on Christian women. Another popular Christian author declared, "A church, a family, a nation is only as strong as its men."

Evangelicals spread their message about the Christian family through more than the pulpit and television. They founded publishing houses, wrote books, established foundations, and offered seminars. Helen B. Andelin, for instance, a California housewife, produced a homemade book called *Fascinating Womanhood* that eventually sold more than 2 million copies. She used the book as the basis for her classes, which by the early 1970s had been attended by 400,000 women and boasted 11,000 trained teachers. *Fascinating Womanhood* led evangelical women in the opposite direction of feminism. Whereas the latter encouraged women to be independent and to seek equality with men, Andelin taught that "submissiveness will bring a strange but righteous power over your man." Andelin was but one of dozens of evangelical authors and educators who encouraged women to defer to men.

Evangelical Christians held that strict gender roles in the family would ward off the influences of an immoral society. Christian activists were especially concerned with sex education in public schools, the proliferation of pornography, legalized abortion, and the rising divorce rate. For them, the answer was to strengthen what they called "traditional" family structures. By the early 1980s,

"Family Values" During the 1980 presidential campaign, the Reverend Jerry Falwell, pictured here with Phyllis Schlafly, supported Ronald Reagan and the Republican Party with "I Love America" rallies around the country. Falwell, head of the Moral Majority, helped to bring a new focus on "family values" to American politics in the late 1970s. This was a conservative version of the emphasis on male-breadwinner nuclear families that had long been characteristic of American values. AP/Wi

Christians could choose from among hundreds of evangelical books, take classes on how to save a marriage or how to be a Christian parent, attend evangelical churches and Bible study courses, watch evangelical ministers on television, and donate to foundations that promoted "Christian values" in state legislatures and the U.S. Congress.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

How did evangelical Christianity influence American society in the 1970s?

Wherever one looked in the 1970s and early 1980s, American families were under strain. Nearly everyone agreed that the waves of social liberalism and economic transformation that swept over the nation in the 1960s and 1970s had destabilized society and, especially, family relationships. But Americans did not agree about how to *re*stabilize families. Indeed, different approaches to the family would further divide the country in the 1980s and 1990s, as the New Right would increasingly make "family values" a political issue.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What were the major sources of anxiety about the American family in the decade after the 1960s?**

SUMMARY

For much of the 1970s, Americans struggled with economic problems, including inflation, energy shortages, income stagnation, and deindustrialization. These challenges highlighted the limits of postwar prosperity and forced Americans to consider lowering their economic expectations. A movement for environmental protection, widely supported, led to new laws and an awareness of nature's limits, and the energy crisis highlighted the nation's dependence on resources from abroad, especially oil.

In the midst of this gloomy economic climate, Americans also sought political and cultural resolutions to the upheavals of the 1960s. In politics, the Watergate scandal led to a brief period of political reform. Meanwhile, the battle for civil rights entered a second stage, expanding to encompass women's rights, gay rights, and the rights of alleged criminals and prisoners and, in the realm of racial justice, focusing on the problem of producing concrete results rather than legislation. Many liberals cheered these developments, but another effect was to strengthen a new, more conservative social mood that began to challenge liberal values in politics and society more generally. Finally, we considered the multiple challenges faced by the American family in the 1970s and how a perception that the family was in trouble helped to spur an evangelical religious revival that would shape American society for decades to come.

CHAPTER 28 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW *Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.*

1. What limits did the American economy experience in the 1970s?
2. In what ways was the period between 1973 and 1980 a transitional one in American politics?
3. How did controversies over new individual rights shape the politics of the 1970s?
4. What were the major sources of anxiety about the American family in the decade after the 1960s?
5. Examine the category "Work, Exchange, and Technology" on the thematic timeline on page 746. How did economic developments in the 1970s reverse the course the national economy had been on since World War II? More broadly, can you identify events in each of the timeline categories that made the 1970s a decade of important historical transition?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW *Identify and explain the significance of each term below.*

Key Concepts and Events

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (p. 880)
energy crisis (p. 881)
environmentalism (p. 881)
Silent Spring (p. 881)
Earth Day (p. 881)
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) (p. 881)
Three Mile Island (p. 884)
stagflation (p. 885)
deindustrialization (p. 886)
Rust Belt (p. 886)
tax revolt (p. 888)
Proposition 13 (p. 888)
Watergate (p. 890)
War Powers Act (p. 891)
Freedom of Information Act (p. 891)
Ethics in Government Act (p. 891)
deregulation (p. 893)
affirmative action (p. 894)
Bakke v. University of California (p. 895)
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) (p. 895)
STOP ERA (p. 896)
Roe v. Wade (p. 897)
evangelicalism (p. 904)

Key People

Rachel Carson (p. 881)
Gerald Ford (p. 885)
Howard Jarvis (p. 888)
Jimmy Carter (p. 892)
Phyllis Schlafly (p. 896)
Harvey Milk (p. 897)
Billy Graham (p. 904)

Key Academic Terms

discretionary income (p. 885)
moratorium (p. 887)
cardinal (p. 889)
clandestine (p. 891)

MAKING CONNECTIONS *Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.*

1. Consider the history of the American economy in the twentieth century. Compare the 1970s with other eras: the Great Depression of the 1930s, the industrial boom of the World War II years, and the growth and rising wages in the 1950s and 1960s. Using these comparisons, construct a historical narrative of the period from the 1920s through the 1970s.
2. Study the photograph on page 887 and the map on page 888. How did the economic downturn of the 1970s affect the lives of ordinary Americans and American culture broadly? What connections can you draw between the photograph and developments in the global economy and the rise of the Sunbelt?

KEY TURNING POINTS *Refer to the chapter chronology on page 880 for help in answering the question below.*

Based on this timeline, what were the three or four major political turning points of the 1970s? Defend your answer by explaining the impact of the changes.

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Here is the first great fault in the life of man in the ecosphere. We have broken out of the circle of life, converting its endless cycles into man-made, linear events: oil is taken from the ground, distilled into fuel, burned in an engine, converted thereby into noxious fumes, which are emitted into the air. At the end of the line is smog. Other man-made breaks in the ecosphere's cycle spew out toxic chemicals, sewage, heaps of rubbish — the testimony to our power to tear the ecological fabric that has, for millions of years, sustained the planet's life. . . .
>
> Our assaults on the ecosystem are so powerful, so numerous, so finely interconnected, that although the damage they do is clear, it is very difficult to discover how it was done. By which weapon? In whose hand? Are we driving the ecosphere to destruction simply by our growing numbers? By our greedy accumulation of wealth? Or are the machines which we have built to gain this wealth — the magnificent technology that now feeds us out of neat packages, that clothes us in man-made fibers, that surround us with new chemical creations — at fault?"
>
> Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle: Nature, Man, and Technology*, 1971

1. Commoner's ideas expressed in the excerpt most likely emerged from concerns about
   a. deindustrialization of the Upper Midwest and Northeast.
   b. mass migration of Americans to the Sunbelt.
   c. new movements to protect natural resources.
   d. loss of public confidence in government's ability to solve problems.
2. The sentiments expressed in the excerpt helped prompt the federal government in the 1970s to
   a. pass immigration legislation ending national quotas.
   b. found the Department of the Interior.
   c. establish the Environmental Protection Agency.
   d. create the National Park Service.
3. Which of the following expressed the greatest opposition to Commoner's ideas?
   a. American Indian organizations
   b. corporations and large manufacturers
   c. Members of the baby boom generation
   d. Working-class women

Questions 4–5 refer to the following excerpt.

> "In the place of the farmer came the industrial worker, and for the last hundred years or so the vicissitudes of the industrial worker — his claims to dignity and status, his demand for a rising share of industrial returns, his desire for a voice in the conditions which affected his work and conditions of employment — have marked the struggles of the century. . . .
>
> Yet if one takes the industrial worker as the instrument of the future . . . then this vision is warped. For the paradoxical fact is that as one goes along the trajectory of industrialization — the increasing replacement of men with machines — one comes logically to the erosion of the industrial worker himself. . . . Instead of the industrial worker, we see the dominance of the professional and technical class in the labor force. . . A post-industrial society is based upon services. Hence, it is a game between persons. What counts is not raw muscle power, or energy, but information. The central person is the professional, for he is equipped . . . to provide the kinds of skill which are increasingly demanded in a post-industrial society."
>
> Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*, 1973

4. The trends described by Bell in the excerpt resulted most directly from
   a. expansions of student populations in higher education.
   b. rapid and substantial growth of evangelical Christian churches.
   c. increasing homogenization of mass culture.
   d. policies of the Great Society.
5. A historian could best support Bell's argument from the excerpt using statistics from the 1970s about
   a. industrial union members in each year as a percentage of the total workforce.
   b. census data tracking migration patterns of the U.S. population.
   c. changes in the real cost of living.
   d. fluctuations in the international trade deficit.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Above all, the mid-1970's marked the end of the postwar boom. . . . Starting in the 1973–1974 years, real earnings began to stagnate and then slide. . . . By mid-decade the record-breaking strikes, rank-and-file movements, and vibrant organizing drives that had once promised a new day for workers were reduced to a trickle in the new economic climate. They were then replaced by layoffs, plant closures, and union decertification drives. White male workers' incomes . . . stagnated or fell for the next quarter century . . . driven down by oil shocks and inflation; deindustrialization, plant closings, and anti-unionism; and a global restructuring of work itself. . . . By the end of the decade working people would possess less place and meaningful identity within civic life than any time since the industrial revolution."

Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: the 1970's and the Last Days of the Working Class*, 2010

"Forty years ago, Americans were suffering from what contemporaries called 'the energy crisis,' a crisis that in many ways defined the decade of the 1970's. During the twin oil shocks of 1973 and 1979, oil supplies dropped and prices soared, and the average citizen understood the energy crisis to mean a panic at the pump — the fear that we would not have enough oil to fill up our gas tanks, heat our homes, or run our factories. [The Arab oil] embargo stunned Americans, as if they had come under a surprise attack . . . because of the serious implications for the economy and the country's security. . . . Americans were vulnerable to scarcity and shortages as well as to higher fuel prices, which rippled through the entire economy and plagued the pocketbooks of all consumers."

Meg Jacobs, *Panic at the Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970's*, 2016

1. Using the two excerpts at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Cowie's and Jacobs's historical interpretations about the 1970s.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Cowie's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Jacobs's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain why ONE of the following developments was the most significant factor contributing to the loss of public confidence in government in the 1970s.
     - Economic challenges
     - Political scandals
     - Foreign policy crises
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE historical event or development in support of your argument in (a).
   - **c.** Briefly explain a specific historical reason why ONE of the other options contributed less to the loss of public confidence in government in the 1970s.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE important historical difference in the 1970s challenges faced by African American movements pursuing equality from those faced by women's movements for equality in the same period.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ANOTHER important historical difference in the 1970s challenges faced by African American movements pursuing equality from those faced by women's movements for equality in the same period.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE important historical similarity in the 1970s challenges faced by African American movements pursuing equality to those faced by women's movements for equality in the same period.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION *Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent of difference in United States foreign policy in the period 1945 to 1963 from foreign policy in the period 1964 to 1980.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: Secretary of State George Marshall, Speech at Harvard University, June 5, 1947.

"I need not tell you gentlemen that the world situation is very serious. That must be apparent to all intelligent people. I think one difficulty is that the problem is one of such enormous complexity that the very mass of facts presented to the public by press and radio make it exceedingly difficult for the man in the street to reach a clear appraisement of the situation. Furthermore, the people of this country are distant from the troubled areas of the earth and it is hard for them to comprehend the plight and consequent reaction of the long-suffering peoples, and the effect of those reactions on their governments in connection with our efforts to promote peace in the world. . . .

Aside from the demoralizing effect on the world at large and the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be apparent to all. It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: General Douglas MacArthur, Farewell Address to Congress, April 19, 1951.

"The Communist threat is a global one. Its successful advance in one sector threatens the destruction of every other sector. You can not appease or otherwise surrender to communism in Asia without simultaneously undermining our efforts to halt its advance in Europe. . . .

But once war is forced upon us, there is no other alternative than to apply every available means to bring it to a swift end. . . . War's very object is victory, not prolonged indecision. In war there is no substitute for victory. There are some who, for varying reasons, would appease Red China. They are blind to history's clear lesson, for history teaches with unmistakable emphasis that appeasement but begets new and bloodier war. It points to no single instance where this end has justified that means, where appeasement has led to more than a sham peace. Like blackmail, it lays the basis for new and successively greater demands until, as in blackmail, violence becomes the only other alternative."

DOCUMENT 3

Source: President John F. Kennedy, Televised Address to the American Public, October 22, 1962.

"For many years, both the Soviet Union and the United States . . . have deployed strategic nuclear weapons with great care, never upsetting the precarious status quo which insured that these weapons would not be used in the absence of some vital challenge. Our own strategic missiles have never been transferred to the territory of any other nation under a cloak of secrecy and deception; and our history — unlike that of the Soviets since the end of World War II — demonstrates that we have no desire to dominate or conquer any other nation or impose our system upon its people. Nevertheless, American citizens have become adjusted to living daily on the bull's-eye of Soviet missiles located inside the U.S.S.R. or in submarines. . . .

We are prepared to discuss new proposals for the removal of tensions on both sides, including the possibilities of a genuinely independent Cuba, free to determine its own destiny. We have no wish to war with the Soviet Union — for we are a peaceful people who desire to live in peace with all other peoples.

But it is difficult to settle or even discuss these problems in an atmosphere of intimidation. That is why this latest Soviet threat — or any other threat which is made either independently or in response to our actions this week — must and will be met with determination. Any hostile move anywhere in the world against the safety and freedom of peoples to whom we are committed, including in particular the brave people of West Berlin, will be met by whatever action is needed."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Harold Bryant, a Vietnam soldier recalling his tour of duty in August 1965.

"When I came to Vietnam, I thought we were helping another country to develop a nation. About three or four months later I found out that wasn't the case. . . .

I thought we had got into the beginning of a war. But I found out that we were just in another phase of their civil wars.

And we weren't gaining any ground. We would fight for a hill all day, spend two days or two nights there, and then abandon the hill. Then maybe two, three months later, we would have to come back and retake the same piece of territory. . . .

And they had a habit of exaggerating a body count. If we killed 7, by the time it would get back to base camp, it would have gotten to 28. Then by the time it got down to [General William] Westmoreland's office in Saigon, it done went up to 54. And by the time it left from Saigon going to Washington, it had went up to about 125. To prove we were really out there doing our jobs, doing, really, more than what we were doing."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: President Richard Nixon, State of the Union Address to Congress, January 30, 1974.

"Tonight, for the first time in 12 years, a President of the United States can report to the Congress on the state of a Union at peace with every nation of the world. . . .

In the coming year, however, increased expenditures will be needed. They will be needed to assure the continued readiness of our military forces, to preserve present force levels in the face of rising costs, and to give us the military strength we must have if our security is to be maintained and if our initiatives for peace are to succeed.

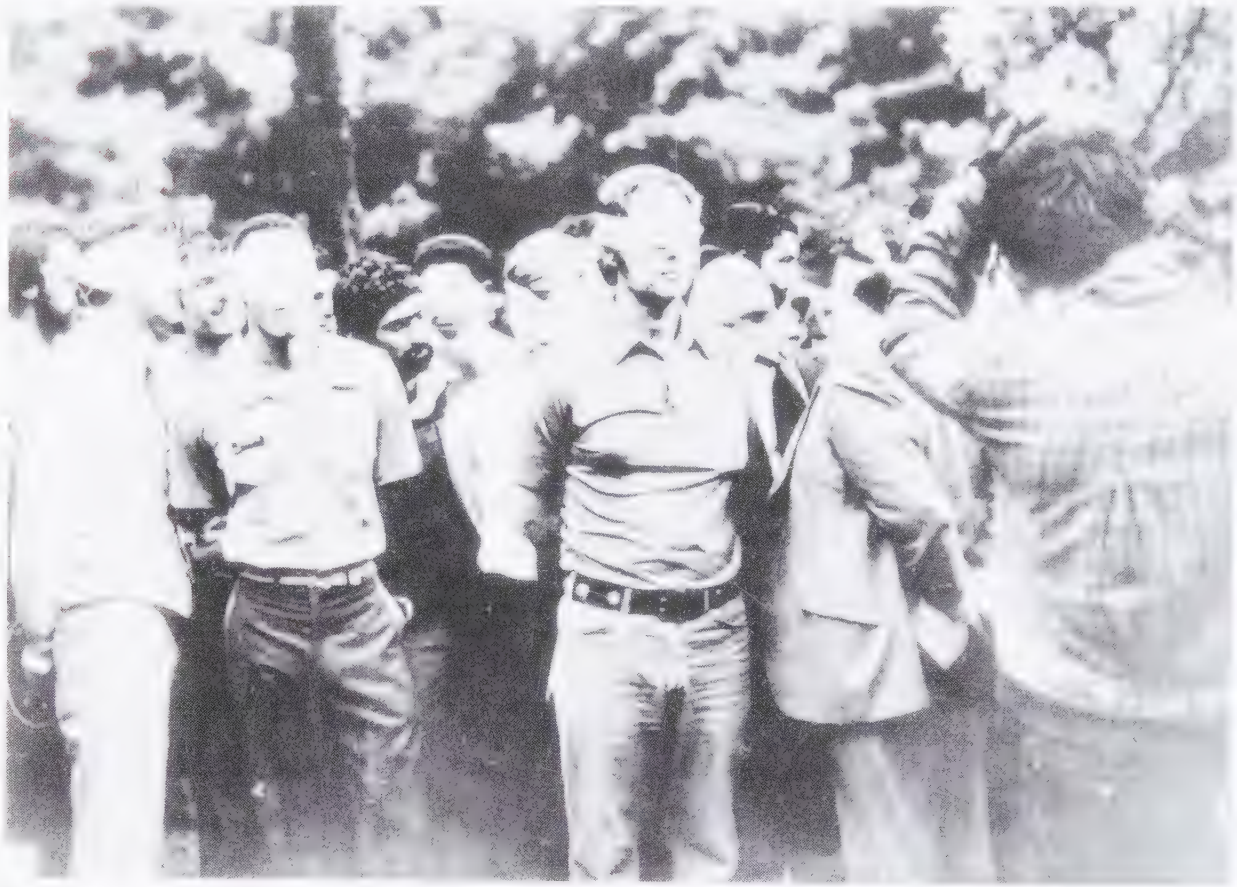
The question is not whether we can afford to maintain the necessary strength of our defense, the question is whether we can afford not to maintain it, and the answer to that question is no. We must never allow America to become the second strongest nation in the world.

I do not say this with any sense of belligerence, because I recognize the fact that is recognized around the world. America's military strength has always been maintained to keep the peace, never to break it. It has always been used to defend freedom, never to destroy it. The world's peace, as well as our own, depends on our remaining as strong as we need to be as long as we need to be.

In this year 1974, we will be negotiating with the Soviet Union to place further limits on strategic nuclear arms. Together with our allies, we will be negotiating with the nations of the Warsaw Pact on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Europe. And we will continue our efforts to promote peaceful economic development in Latin America, in Africa, in Asia."

DOCUMENT 6

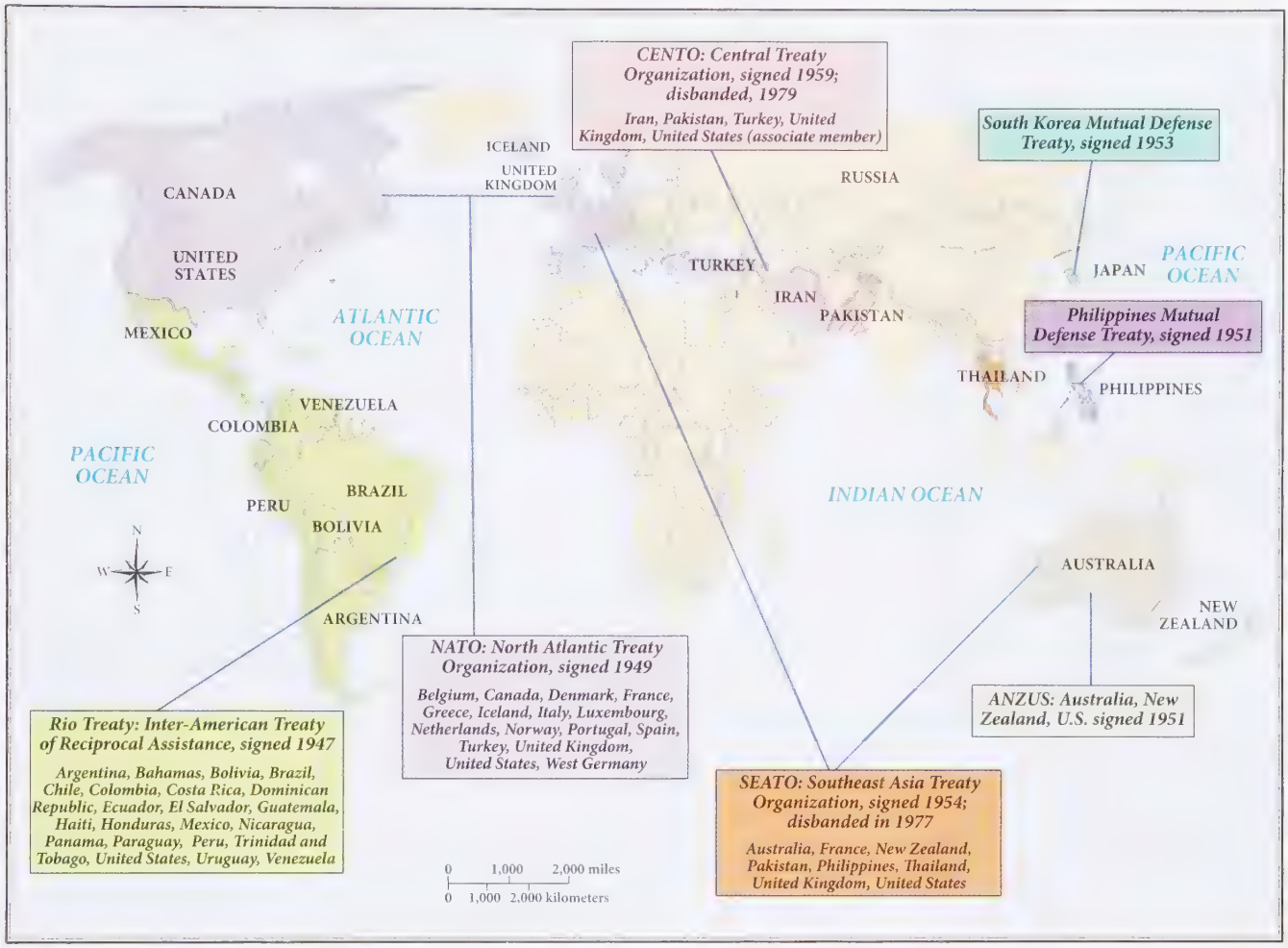
Source: U.S. Embassy Workers Being Held Hostage in Teheran, Iran, November 4, 1979.



Ullmann/Getty Imag

DOCUMENT 7

Source: U.S. Global Defense Treaties, 1945–1980.


CENTO: Central Treaty Organization, signed 1959; disbanded, 1979
Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States (associate member)
South Korea Mutual Defense Treaty, signed 1953
ICELAND
UNITED KINGDOM
CANADA
RUSSIA
UNITED STATES
TURKEY
JAPAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
IRAN
PAKISTAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEXICO
Philippines Mutual Defense Treaty, signed 1951
THAILAND
PHILIPPINES
VENEZUELA
COLOMBIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
BRAZIL
PERU
INDIAN OCEAN
BOLIVIA
N
W
E
S
AUSTRALIA
NEW ZEALAND
ARGENTINA
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization, signed 1949
Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States, West Germany
ANZUS: Australia, New Zealand, U.S. signed 1951
Rio Treaty: Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, signed 1947
Argentina, Bahamas, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela
SEATO: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, signed 1954; disbanded in 1977
Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States
0 1,000 2,000 miles
0 1,000 2,000 kilometers

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following two questions to answer.

2. **Evaluate the extent of change in United States society resulting from the Vietnam War from 1962 to 1975.**

3. **Evaluate the extent of change in United States society resulting from international and internal migrations from 1945 to 1980.**

4. **Evaluate the extent of change in United States society resulting from the environmental movement from 1945 to 1980.**

PART 9

CHAPTER 29
Conservative America in the Ascent, 1980–1991

CHAPTER 30
Confronting Global and National Dilemmas, 1989 to the Present

Globalization and the End of the American Century

1980 to the Present

For historians, the recent past can be a challenge to assess. Insufficient time has passed for scholars to weigh the significance of events and to determine which developments will have a lasting effect and which are more fleeting. Nevertheless, scholars generally agree on the era's three most significant developments: the resurgence of political conservatism, the end of the Cold War, and the globalization of communications and the economy. The first of these, as we showed in Part 8, was decades in the making. Conservatism had leaped back to life in the 1960s, but not until the 1980s did American conservatives have the political muscle to reshape national politics in fundamental respects. Conservatism's resurgence occasioned a wide-ranging and divisive internal debate among Americans over what the nation's common values and priorities should be.

The second two developments began to reshape the place of the United States in the world. With the collapse of European communism after 1989, the Cold War came to an end, leaving the U.S. as the world's dominant military power. But military dominance coexisted with shrinking economic influence. What *Time* magazine publisher Henry Luce in 1941 had named the American Century—in his call for the U.S. to assume global leadership after World War II—came to an end in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The U.S. remained the world's largest economy but faced rising competition from a united Europe and a surging China. These decades stand as an era of transition away from the bipolar world of the Cold War.

Contemporary events continue to unfold, and thus Part 9 remains necessarily a work in progress. We've emphasized how through equal parts conflict, struggle, and ingenuity, Americans collectively forged a new era in national history after the 1980s. ▶

AP® CONCEPT CONNECTIONS

Conservative Ascendancy

In the 1980s, the conservatism of Ronald Reagan and the New Right, consolidated in the Republican Party, challenged the liberalism of the 1960s and 1970s. Conservatives reduced the regulatory power of the federal government, eroded the welfare state of the New Deal and the Great Society, and expanded the military. Evangelical Christians and conservative lawmakers challenged abortion rights, feminism, and gay rights, setting off a "culture war" that sharply divided Americans.

Even as the Reagan coalition brought an end to decades of liberal government activism, much of the legacy of the New Deal was preserved: Medicare, Medicaid, and Social Security grew as a proportion of the federal budget. Conservatives shaped U.S. foreign policy, however, dramatically increasing the defense budget and, under George W. Bush, asserting a new doctrine of "preemptive war." By the election of 2016, national politics seemed as divided as ever. Republican Donald Trump won the presidency, and voters returned a conservative majority to Congress. Polls showed that Americans embraced a moderate liberalism, but the national political system had moved firmly into conservative hands.

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

End of the Cold War and Rising Conflict in the Middle East

Under Reagan's direction, the U.S. increased military spending and returned to the sharp Cold War rhetoric of earlier decades. Yet in the second half of the 1980s, as internal reforms swept through the Soviet Union, Reagan engaged in productive dialogue with the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. Then, in 1991, the Soviet Union stunningly collapsed, and the U.S. emerged as the lone military "superpower" in the world. Absent a clear Cold War enemy, it intervened in civil wars, worked to disrupt terrorist activities, and provided humanitarian aid — but guided more by pragmatism than by principle.

The foremost region that occupied U.S. attention was the Middle East, where strategic interest in oil remained paramount. Between 1991 and 2016, the U.S. fought three wars in the region — two in Iraq and one in Afghanistan — and became even more deeply embedded in its politics. The end of the Cold War thus expanded the U.S. role in the Middle East and renewed debates about the proper American role in the world.

David Turnley/Corbis/VCG via Getty Images

Global Capitalism and Increasing Social Inequality

The post–World War II expansion of the American economy ended in the 1970s, when wages stagnated and inflation skyrocketed. In the 1980s and 1990s, however, productivity grew, military spending boosted production, and new industries — such as computer technology — emerged. These developments led to renewed economic growth. More and more, though, the economy produced *services* rather than *goods* — as Americans increasingly bought the latter from overseas.

The fall of communism had made possible this global expansion of capitalism, as multinational corporations moved production to low-wage countries. Governments across the world facilitated this process by creating new trading zones such as the European Union (EU) and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Conservative tax policies, deindustrialization, the decline of unions, and globalization all contributed to a widening inequality between the wealthiest Americans and the middle class and poor. Globalization thus brought both new economic opportunities and renewed economic insecurity.

AP® THEMATIC UNDERSTANDING

Globalization and the End of the American Century

1980 to the Present

Mario Tama/Getty Images

This timeline arranges some of the important events of this period into themes.

Consider the entries under "Culture and Society" and "Migration and Settlement." What were the major events of the "culture wars," and how did American attitudes and public policy change over the decades between the 1980s and the 2010s? Next, examine the entries under "American and National Identity" and "America in the World." How did globalization reshape the United States in these decades? How did the U.S. actions affect other regions, particularly the Middle East?

	AMERICAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY	POLITICS AND POWER	WORK, EXCHANGE, AND TECHNOLOGY
1980	• Ronald Reagan campaigns for presidency (1980), says United States is "greatest country in the world" • Reagan campaigns for reelection (1984) with theme of "It's morning in America"	• New Right helps elect Ronald Reagan president • Iran-Contra scandal (1985–1987) • George H. W. Bush elected president (1988)	• Recession (1981–1982) followed by strong growth (1982–1987) • Reagan tax cut (1981) • Apple IIe personal computer introduced (1983) • National debt triples (1981–1989)
1990	• Americans debate multiculturalism • World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle against globalization (1999)	• Bill Clinton elected president (1992) • Republican resurgence (1994) • Welfare reform (1996) • Clinton impeached and acquitted (1998–1999)	• Internet gains in popularity • Recession (1990–1991) • NAFTA ratified (1993) • Debt reduction under Bill Clinton
2000	• "War on terror" becomes fixture in American discourse • USA PATRIOT Act authorizes new domestic surveillance to combat terrorism • Abu Ghraib (2004) revelations document U.S. torture practices	• George W. Bush wins presidency in contested election (2000) • USA PATRIOT Act (2001) • Barack Obama elected first African American president (2008)	• Great Recession (2007–2010) • President Bush asks for and receives bank bailout from Congress (2008) • Unemployment hits 10 percent
2010	• Presidential candidates debate whether United States is declining as a nation and the role of international trade and immigration (2016)	• Health-care reform (2010) • Tea Party helps Republicans regain control of House of Representatives • Barack Obama reelected president (2012) • Donald Trump elected president (2016)	• Financial industry accounts for largest share of GDP among all industry sectors

CULTURE AND SOCIETY	MIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT	GEOGRAPHY AND THE ENVIRONMENT	AMERICA IN THE WORLD	
• HIV/AIDS crisis prompts national conversation about homosexuality • Renewed emphasis on material success and the "rich and famous" • *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989)	• Rise in Latino and Asian immigration • Californians vote to establish English as official language (1986)	• Reagan appoints the anti-environmentalist James Watt as secretary of interior	• Reagan begins arms buildup • United States arms Contras in Nicaragua • Berlin Wall comes down (1989)	1980
• Pat Buchanan declares "culture war" (1992) • Proposition 209 ends affirmative action in California universities (1996) • Defense of Marriage Act (1998)	• California bans bilingual education in public schools (1998)	• New states emerge in central Asia from dissolution of Soviet Union (1989–1991) • Oil at center of Gulf War • European Union created (1992)	• Persian Gulf War (1990–1991) • USSR breaks apart; end of Cold War • World Trade Center bombed (1993) • NATO begins peacekeeping efforts in Bosnia (1995)	1990
• *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003) • Massachusetts becomes first state to legalize same-sex marriage (2004); nine states follow by 2012	• California, Texas, Hawaii, and New Mexico become "majority-minority" states (where the majority of the population is composed of different nonwhite groups)	• Kyoto Protocol international treaty on climate change signed by 84 nations (2005) but not by United States	• Al Qaeda attacks World Trade Center and Pentagon (2001) • United States and allies invade Afghanistan (2002) • United States invades Iraq (2003)	2000
• *Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015) upholds same-sex marriage as legal in all states	• Obama's 2012 electoral coalition heavily African American, Hispanic, Asian American, female, and young • President Donald Trump bans immigrants from six majority-Muslim countries (2017)	• President Obama issues Clean Power Plan through executive action (2015) • President Trump rescinds portions of the Clean Power Plan and orders reconsideration of the remainder (2017)	• Arab Spring (2010–2012) • Osama bin Laden killed (2011) • Last combat troops withdrawn from Iraq (2011) • Syrian civil war and refugee crisis (2011–present)	2010

CHAPTER 29

Conservative America in the Ascent
1980–1991

The Rise of the New Right

Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan: Champions of the Right

Free-Market Economics and Religious Conservatism

The Carter Presidency

The Dawning of the Conservative Age

The Reagan Coalition

Conservatives in Power

Morning in America

The End of the Cold War

U.S.-Soviet Relations in a New Era

A New Political Order at Home and Abroad

AP LEARNING FOCUS

What factors made the rise of the New Right possible, and what ideas about freedom and citizenship did conservatives articulate in the 1980s?

The decade of the 1970s saw Americans divided by the Vietnam War, wearied by social unrest, and unmoored by economic drift. As a result, many ordinary citizens developed a deep distrust of the muscular Great Society liberalism of the 1960s. Seizing political advantage amid the trauma and divisions, a revived Republican Party, led by a political movement known as the New Right, offered the nation a fresh way forward: economic deregulation, low taxes, Christian morality, and a reenergized Cold War foreign policy. The election of President Ronald Reagan in 1980 symbolized the ascendance of this new political formula, and the president himself helped shape the era.

The New Right revived confidence in "free markets" and called for a smaller government role in economic regulation and social welfare. Reagan famously said, "Government is not the solution to our problem; government *is* the problem." Like the New Right generally, Reagan was profoundly skeptical of the liberal ideology that had informed American public policy since Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal. His presidency combined an economically conservative domestic agenda with aggressive anticommunism abroad. Reagan's foreign policy reignited tensions with the Soviet Union, and then, unexpectedly, the president helped orchestrate a thawing of U.S.-Soviet relations, laying the groundwork for the end of the Cold War.

Reagan defined the conservative ascendancy of the 1980s, but he did not create the New Right groundswell that brought him into office. Grassroots conservative activists in the 1960s and 1970s built a formidable right-wing movement that awaited an opportune political moment to contend for national power. That moment came in 1980, when Democratic president Jimmy Carter's popularity plummeted as a result of his mismanagement of two national crises. Raging inflation and the Iranian seizure of U.S. hostages in Tehran undid Carter and provided an opening for the New Right, which would shape the nation's politics for the remainder of the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first.

1984 Republican National Convention Ronald Reagan delivers his acceptance speech in this photo from the 1984 Republican National Convention. Reagan's political rise captured the spirit of conservative politics in the late 1970s and 1980s.

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and identify the links among related events.

1981
- Ronald Reagan becomes president
- Republicans gain control of Senate
- Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA) cuts taxes
- Military expenditures increase sharply
- Reagan cuts budgets of regulatory agencies
- Sandra Day O'Connor appointed to the Supreme Court

1981–1989
- National debt triples
- Emergence of New Right think tanks: Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute
- United States assists Iraq in war against Iran (1980–1988)

1985
- Mikhail Gorbachev takes power in Soviet Union

1986
- Iran-Contra scandal weakens Reagan presidency
- William Rehnquist named chief justice

1987
- United States and USSR agree to limit missiles in Europe

1988
- George H. W. Bush elected president

1989
- Destruction of Berlin Wall
- "Velvet Revolutions" in Eastern Europe
- *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* limits abortion services

1990–1991
- Persian Gulf War

1991
- Dissolution of Soviet Union ends Cold War

The Rise of the New Right

The Great Depression and World War II discredited the traditional conservative program of limited government at home and diplomatic isolationism abroad. Nevertheless, a right-wing faction survived within the Republican Party. Its adherents continued to oppose the New Deal but reversed their earlier isolationism. In the postwar decades, conservatives pushed for military interventions against communism in Europe, Asia, and the developing world while calling for the broadest possible investigation of subversives at home (Chapter 24).

However, conservatives failed to devise policies that could win the allegiance of American voters in the two decades after World War II. Republicans by and large continued to favor party moderates, such as Dwight Eisenhower, Thomas Dewey, and Nelson Rockefeller. These were politicians, often called liberal Republicans, who supported much of the New Deal, endorsed the containment policy overseas, and steered a middle course through the volatile social and political changes of the postwar era. The conservative faction held out hope, however, that it might one day win the loyalty of a majority of Republicans and remake the party in its image. In the 1960s and 1970s, these conservatives invested their hopes for national resurgence in two dynamic figures: Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan. Together, the two carried the conservative banner until the national electorate grew more receptive to right-wing appeals.

Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan: Champions of the Right

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

The personal **odyssey** of Ronald Reagan embodies the story of New Right Republican conservatism. Before World War II, Reagan was a well-known movie actor as well as a New Deal Democrat and admirer of Roosevelt. However, he turned away from liberalism, partly from self-interest (he disliked paying high taxes) and partly on principle. As head of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947 to 1952, Reagan had to deal with its Communist members, who formed the extreme left wing of the American labor movement. Dismayed by their hardline tactics and goals, he became a militant anticommunist. After nearly a decade as a spokesperson for the General Electric Corporation, Reagan joined the Republican Party in the early 1960s and began speaking for conservative causes and candidates.

One of those candidates was the forthright conservative Barry Goldwater, a Republican senator from Arizona. Confident in their power, centrist Republicans did not anticipate that grassroots conservatives could challenge the party's old guard and nominate one of

their own for president: Goldwater himself. Understanding how they did so in 1964 brings us closer to comprehending the forces that propelled Reagan to the presidency a decade and a half later. Indeed, Reagan the politician came to national attention in 1964 with a televised speech at the Republican convention supporting Goldwater for the presidency. In a dramatic address titled "A Time for Choosing," Reagan warned that if we "trade our freedom for the soup kitchen of the welfare state," the nation would "take the first step into a thousand years of darkness."

Barry Goldwater Barry Goldwater was a three-term senator from Arizona before he ran for the presidency in 1964 (this photo was taken during the campaign). Goldwater's conservative influence on the Republican Party was considerable and laid the political groundwork for the rise of Ronald Reagan a decade and a half later. Everett Collection Inc. / Alamy Stock Photo

The Conscience of a Conservative Like Reagan, Goldwater came from the Sunbelt, home to a libertarian spirit of limited government and great personal freedom. His 1960 book, ***The Conscience of a Conservative***, set forth an uncompromising conservatism. In direct and accessible prose, Goldwater attacked the New Deal state, arguing that "the natural tendency of government [is] to expand in the direction of absolutism." The problem with the Republican Party, as he saw it, was that Eisenhower had been too accommodating to liberalism. When Ike told reporters that he was "liberal when it comes to human problems," Goldwater privately fumed.

The Conscience of a Conservative spurred a Republican grassroots movement in support of Goldwater. By distributing his book widely and mobilizing activists at state party conventions, conservatives hoped to create such a groundswell of support that Goldwater could be "drafted" to run for president in 1964, something he reportedly did not wish to do. Meanwhile, Goldwater further enchanted conservatives with another book, *Why Not Victory?*, in which he criticized the containment policy—the strategy of preventing the spread of communism followed by both Democrats and Republicans since 1947 (Chapter 24). It was, he complained, a policy of "timidly refusing to draw our own lines against aggression . . . unmarked by pride or the prospect of victory." Here was a politician saying exactly what conservatives wanted to hear.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

Why were New Right conservatives disappointed with the Republican Party in the decades after World War II?

Grassroots Conservatives Because moderates dominated the Republican Party leadership, winning the 1964 nomination for Goldwater required conservative activists to build their campaign from the bottom up. They found thousands upon thousands of Americans willing to hit the streets on behalf of their political hero. Organizations such as the John Birch Society, Young Americans for Freedom, and the Liberty Lobby supplied an army of eager volunteers. They came from such conservative strongholds as Orange County, California, and the fast-growing suburbs of Phoenix, Dallas, Houston, Atlanta, and other Sunbelt metropolises. A critical boost came in the early spring of 1964, when conservatives outmaneuvered moderates at the state convention of the California Republican Party, which then enthusiastically endorsed Goldwater. The fight had been bruising, and one moderate Republican warned that "sinister forces are at work to take over the whole Republican apparatus in California."

AP® EXAM TIP

Summarize the causes for the rising popularity of the New Right from the 1960s through the 1980s.

Another spur to Goldwater backers was the appearance of a book by Phyllis Schlafly, who was then a relatively unknown conservative activist from the Midwest. Like Goldwater's own book, Schlafly's *A Choice Not an Echo* accused moderate Republicans of being Democrats in disguise (that is, an "echo" of Democrats). Schlafly, who reappeared in the national spotlight in the early 1970s to help halt the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, denounced the "Rockefeller Republicans" of the Northeast and encouraged the party to embrace a defiant conservatism. Contrasting Goldwater's "grassroots Republicans" with Rockefeller's "kingmakers," Schlafly hoped to "forestall another defeat like 1940, 1944, 1948, and 1960," Democratic victories all.

The conservative groundswell won the Republican nomination for Goldwater. However, his strident tone and militarist foreign policy were too much for a nation mourning the death of John F. Kennedy and still committed to liberalism. Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson defeated Goldwater in a historic landslide (Chapter 27). Many believed that Goldwater conservatism would wither and die, but instead the nearly four million volunteers who had campaigned for the Arizona senator swung their support to Ronald Reagan and built toward the future. Skilled conservative political operatives such as Richard Viguerie, a Louisiana-born Catholic and antiabortion activist, applied new computer technology to political campaigning. Viguerie took a list of 12,000 Goldwater contributors and used computerized mailing lists, which were new at the time, to solicit campaign funds, rally support for conservative causes, and get out the vote on election day. Conservatism was down but not out.

Backed financially by wealthy southern Californians and supported by Goldwaterites, Reagan won California's governorship in 1966 and again in 1970. His impassioned rhetoric supporting limited government and law and order — referring to campus radicals, he vowed to "clean up the mess in Berkeley" — won broad support among citizens of the nation's most populous state. More significantly, it made him a force in national politics. His supporters believed that he was in line to succeed Nixon as the next Republican president. The Watergate scandal intervened, however, discrediting Nixon and making Gerald Ford the incumbent. After narrowly losing a campaign against Ford for the Republican presidential nomination in 1976, Reagan was forced to bide his time. When Ford lost to Carter in that year's election, as the party's brightest star Reagan was a near lock to be the nominee in 1980.

Free-Market Economics and Religious Conservatism

The last phase of Reagan's rise was the product of several additional developments within the New Right. The burgeoning conservative movement increasingly resembled a three-legged stool. Each leg represented an ideological position and a popular constituency: anticommunism, free-market economics, and religious traditionalism. Uniting all three in a political coalition was no easy feat. Religious traditionalists demanded strong government action to implement their faith-based agenda, while economic conservatives favored limited government and free markets. Both groups, however, were ardent anticommunists — free marketeers loathed the state-directed Soviet economy, and religious conservatives despised the "godless" secularism of the Soviet state. In the end, the success of the New Right would come to depend on balancing the interests of economic and moral conservatives.

Since the 1950s, William F. Buckley, the founder and editor of the conservative magazine ***National Review***, and Milton Friedman, the Nobel Prize–winning economist at the University of Chicago, had been the most prominent conservative intellectuals. Convinced that "the growth of government must be fought relentlessly," Buckley used the *National Review* to criticize liberal policy. For his part, Friedman became a national conservative icon with the publication of *Capitalism and Freedom* (1962), in which he argued that "economic freedom is . . . an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom." Friedman's free-market ideology, along with that of Friedrich von Hayek, another University of Chicago economist, was taken up by wealthy conservatives, who funded think tanks during the 1980s to disseminate market-based public policy ideas. The Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, and the Cato Institute issued policy proposals and attacked liberal legislation and the stranglehold of economic regulation they believed it represented. Followers of Buckley and Friedman envisioned themselves as crusaders working against what one conservative called "the despotic aspects of egalitarianism."

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the Religious Right on politics and society since 1980.

The most striking addition to the conservative coalition was the **Religious Right**. Until the 1970s, politics was an earthly concern of secondary interest to most fundamentalist and evangelical Protestants. But the perception that American society had

become immoral, combined with the influence of a new generation of popular ministers, gave politics a new urgent relevance. Conservative Protestants and Catholics joined together in a tentative alliance, as the Religious Right condemned divorce, abortion, premarital sex, and feminism. The route to a moral life and to "peace, pardon, purpose, and power," as one evangelical activist said, was "to plug yourself into the One, the Only One [God]."

Charismatic televangelists such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell emerged as the champions of a morality-based political agenda during the late 1970s. Falwell, founder of Liberty University and host of the *Old Time Gospel Hour* television program, established the Moral Majority in 1979. With 400,000 members and $1.5 million in contributions in its first year, it would be the organizational vehicle for transforming the new evangelicalism into a religious political movement. Falwell made no secret of his views: "If you want to know where I am politically," he told reporters, "I thought Goldwater was too liberal." Falwell was not alone. Phyllis Schlafly's STOP ERA, which became Eagle Forum in 1975, continued to advocate for conservative public policy; Focus on the Family was founded in 1977; and a succession of conservative organizations would emerge in the 1980s, including the Family Research Council.

The conservative message preached by Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan had appealed to few American voters in 1964. Then came the series of events that undermined support for the liberal agenda of the Democratic Party: the failed war in Vietnam; a judiciary that legalized abortion and pornography, enforced school busing, and curtailed public expression of religion; urban riots; and a stagnating economy. By the late 1970s, the New Right had developed a conservative message that commanded much greater popular support than Goldwater's program had. Religious and free-market conservatives joined with traditional anticommunist hard-liners — alongside whites opposed to black civil rights, affirmative action, and busing — in a broad coalition that attacked welfare-state liberalism, social permissiveness, and an allegedly weak and defensive foreign policy. Ronald Reagan expertly appealed to all of these conservative constituencies and captured the Republican presidential nomination in 1980 (AP® Analyzing Voices). It had taken almost two decades, but the New Right appeared on the verge of winning the presidency.

Washington for Jesus During a "Washington for Jesus" rally in 1980, an activist from the Religious Right carries a cross while Pat Robertson, founder of the Christian Broadcasting Network, walks alongside him.
AP Photo/Dennis Cook

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

What was the "three-legged stool" of the New Right, and how did each element develop within the context of the Cold War?

The Carter Presidency

First, the Republican Party had to defeat incumbent president Jimmy Carter. Carter's outsider status and his disdain for professional politicians had made him the ideal post-Watergate president. But his ineffectiveness and missteps as an executive also made him the perfect foil for Ronald Reagan.

Carter had an idealistic vision of American leadership in world affairs. He presented himself as the anti-Nixon, a world leader who rejected Henry Kissinger's "realism" in favor of human rights and peacemaking. "Human rights is the soul of our foreign policy," Carter asserted, "because human rights is the very soul of our sense of nationhood." He established the Office of Human Rights in the State Department and withdrew economic and military aid from repressive regimes in Argentina, Uruguay, and Ethiopia — although, in realist fashion, he still funded equally

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize how Jimmy Carter's emphasis on human rights in foreign policy represented change as well as continuity in U.S. history.

Christianity and Public Life

Modern social-welfare liberalism embodies an ethic of moral pluralism and favors the separation of church and state. Conservative Christians challenge the legitimacy of pluralism and secularism and seek, through political agitation and legal action, to make religion an integral part of public life.

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN

"The Rule of Law Under God"

Reagan's candidacy was strongly supported by Christian conservatives. He delivered these remarks to the National Association of American Evangelicals in 1983.

SOURCE: Reprinted with the permission of Simon & Schuster, Inc. from *Speaking My Mind* by Ronald Reagan. Copyright © 1989 Ronald W. Reagan.

"I want you to know that this administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities — the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.

Now, I don't have to tell you that this puts us in opposition to, or at least out of step with, a prevailing attitude of many who have turned to a modern-day secularism, discarding the tried and time-tested values upon which our very civilization is based. No matter how well intentioned, their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. And while they proclaim that they're freeing us from superstitions of the past, they've taken upon themselves the job of superintending us by government rule and regulation. Sometimes their voices are louder than ours, but they are not yet a majority. . . .

Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged. When our Founding Fathers passed the First Amendment, they sought to protect churches from government interference. They never intended to construct a wall of hostility between government and the concept of religious belief itself.

Last year, I sent the Congress a constitutional amendment to restore prayer to public schools. Already this session, there's growing bipartisan support for the amendment, and I am calling on the Congress to act speedily to pass it and to let our children pray."

DONALD E. WILDMON

Network Television as a Moral Danger

Wildmon was a Christian minister, a grassroots religious activist, and the founder of the American Family Association.

SOURCE: From Donald E. Wildmon, *Home Invaders* (Elgin, IL: Victor Books, 1985). Copyright © 1985. Reprinted by permission of the author.

"One night during the Christmas holidays of 1976, I decided to watch television with my family. . . . Not far into the program was a scene of adultery. I reacted to the situation in the manner as I had been taught. I asked one of the children to change channels. Getting involved in the second program, we were shocked with some crude profanity. . . .

As I sat in my den that night, I became angry. I had been disturbed by the deterioration of morals I had witnessed in the media and society during the previous twenty-five years.

This was accompanied by a dramatic rise in crime, a proliferation of pornography, increasingly explicit sexual lyrics in music, increasing numbers of broken homes, a rise in drug and alcohol use among the youth, and various other negative factors. . . .

Realizing that these changes were being brought into the sanctity of my home, I decided I could and would no longer remain silent. . . .

This great struggle is one of values, particularly which ones will be the standard for our society and a base for our system of justice in the years to come. For 200 years our country has based its morals, its sense of right and wrong, on the Christian view of man. The Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount have been our solid foundation. . . .

Television is the most pervasive and persuasive medium we have. At times it is larger than life. It is our only true national medium. Network television is the greatest educator we have. . . .

It is teaching that adultery is an acceptable and approved lifestyle. . . . It is teaching that hardly anyone goes to church, that very few people in our society are Christian or live by Christian principles. How? By simply censoring Christian characters, Christian values, and Christian culture from the programs."

A. BARTLETT GIAMATTI

The Moral Majority as a Threat to Liberty

A. Bartlett Giamatti was the president of Yale University (1978–1986) and subsequently commissioner of Major League Baseball. He offered these remarks to the entering class of Yale undergraduates in 1981.

SOURCE: From Speeches and Articles by and about Presidents of Yale University (RU 65). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Used by permission of Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

"A self-proclaimed 'Moral Majority,' and its satellite or client groups, cunning in the use of a native blend of old intimidation and new technology, threaten the values [of pluralism and freedom]. . . .

From the maw of this 'morality' come those who presume to know what justice for all is; come those who presume to know which books are fit to read, which television programs are fit to watch. . . . From the maw of this 'morality' rise the tax-exempt Savonarolas who believe they, and they alone, possess the 'truth.' There is no debate, no discussion, no dissent. They know. . . . What nonsense.

What dangerous, malicious nonsense. . . .

We should be concerned that so much of our political and religious leadership acts intimidated for the moment and will not say with clarity that this most recent denial of the legitimacy of differentness is a radical assault on the very pluralism of peoples, political beliefs, values, forms of merit and systems of religion our country was founded to welcome and foster.

Liberty protects the person from unwarranted government intrusions into a dwelling or other private places. In our tradition the State is not omnipresent in the home. And there are other spheres of our lives and existence, outside the home, where the State should not be a dominant presence.

Freedom extends beyond spatial bounds. Liberty presumes an autonomy of self that includes freedom of thought, belief, expression, and certain intimate conduct."

ANTHONY KENNEDY

The Constitution Protects Privacy

Kennedy, a Roman Catholic, was named to the Supreme Court by Ronald Reagan in 1988. In *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003), which challenged a state antisodomy law, he wrote the opinion for five of the six justices in the majority; Sandra Day O'Connor wrote a concurring opinion.

SOURCE: *Lawrence v. Texas*, 539 U.S. 558, 562-563, 567, 571, 579 (2003).

"The question before the Court is the validity of a Texas statute making it a crime for two persons of the same sex to engage in certain intimate sexual conduct.

In Houston, Texas, officers of the Harris County Police Department were dispatched to a private residence in response to a reported weapons disturbance. They entered an apartment where one of the petitioners, John Geddes Lawrence, resided. . . . The officers observed Lawrence and another man, Tyron Garner, engaging in a sexual act. The two petitioners were arrested, held in custody over night, and charged and convicted before a Justice of the Peace.

The complaints described their crime as 'deviate sexual intercourse, namely [. . .] sex, with a member of the same sex (man).' . . .

We conclude the case should be resolved by determining whether the petitioners were free as adults to engage in the private conduct in the exercise of their liberty under the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

[The Texas statute in question seeks] to control a personal relationship that, whether or not entitled to formal recognition in the law, is within the liberty of persons to choose without being punished as criminals. . . . The liberty protected by the Constitution allows homosexual persons the right to make this choice. . . .

. . . The petitioners are entitled to respect for their private lives. The State cannot demean their existence or control their destiny by making their private sexual conduct a crime. Their right to liberty under the Due Process Clause gives them the full right to engage in their conduct without intervention of the government. 'It is a promise of the Constitution that there is a realm of personal liberty which the government may not enter.'"

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare the Ronald Reagan and Anthony Kennedy documents. What would Reagan think of the opinion written by Justice Kennedy, his appointee? Given his condemnation of those intent on "subordinating us to government rule and regulation," do you think he would agree with it? Why or why not?
2. According to Wildmon, what should be shown on television, and who should make those decisions? How would Giamatti answer that same question?
3. Consider the different points of view presented here. According to these sources, when should the government police private conduct?

repressive U.S. allies such as the Philippines, South Africa, and Iran. In Latin America, Carter eliminated a decades-old symbol of Yankee imperialism by signing a treaty on September 7, 1977, turning control of the Panama Canal over to Panama (effective December 31, 1999). Carter's most important efforts came in forging an enduring, although in retrospect limited, peace in the intractable Arab-Israeli conflict. In 1978, he invited Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar el-Sadat to Camp David, where they crafted a "framework for peace," under which Egypt recognized Israel and received back the Sinai Peninsula, which Israel had occupied since 1967.

Carter deplored what he called the "inordinate fear of communism," but his efforts at improving relations with the Soviet Union foundered. His criticism of the Kremlin's record on human rights offended Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and slowed arms reduction negotiations. When, in 1979, Carter finally signed the second Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT II), limiting bombers and missiles, Senate hawks objected. Then, when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan that December, Carter suddenly endorsed the hawks' position and treated the invasion as the "gravest threat to world peace since World War II." After ordering an embargo on wheat shipments to the Soviet Union and withdrawing SALT II from Senate consideration, Carter called for increased defense spending and declared an American boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. In a fateful decision, he and Congress began providing covert assistance to anti-Soviet fighters in Afghanistan, some of whom, including Osama bin Laden, would emerge decades later as anti-American Islamic radicals.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

How successful was Jimmy Carter's presidential term, coming in the middle of sixteen years of Republican presidents (Nixon/Ford and Reagan)?

Hostage Crisis Carter's ultimate undoing came in Iran, however. The United States had long counted Iran as a faithful ally, a **bulwark** against Soviet expansion into the Middle East and a steady source of oil. Since the 1940s, Iran had been ruled by Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. Ousted by a democratically elected parliament in the early 1950s, the shah (king) sought and received the assistance of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), which helped him reclaim power in 1953. American intervention soured Iranian views of the United States for decades. Early in 1979, a revolution drove the shah into exile and brought a fundamentalist Shiite cleric, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, to power (Shiites represent one branch of Islam, Sunnis the other). When the United States admitted the deposed shah into the country for cancer treatment, Iranian students seized the U.S. embassy in Tehran, taking sixty-six Americans hostage. The captors demanded that the shah be returned to Iran for trial. Carter refused. Instead, he suspended arms sales to Iran and froze Iranian assets in American banks.

American Hostages in Iran Images of blindfolded, handcuffed American hostages seized by Iranian militants at the U.S. embassy in Tehran in November 1979 shocked the nation and created a foreign policy crisis that eventually cost President Carter his chance for reelection. AFP Mingam [illegible]na/Zuma Press

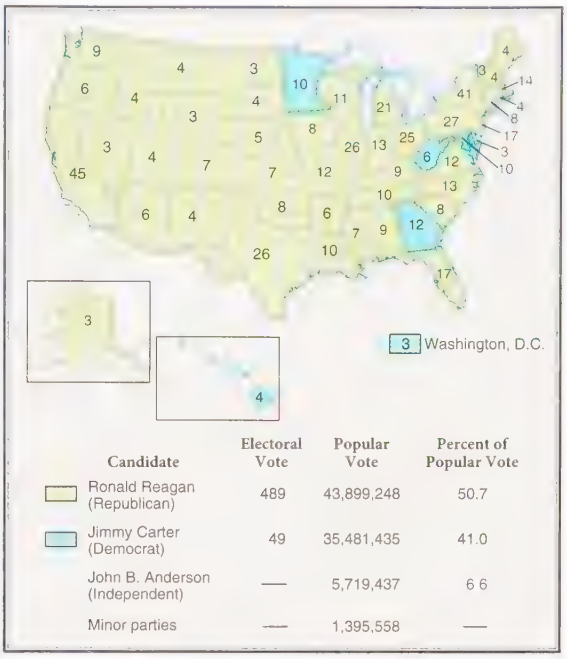
For the next fourteen months, the **hostage crisis** paralyzed Carter's presidency. Night after night, humiliating pictures of blindfolded American hostages appeared on television newscasts. An attempt to mount a military rescue in April 1980 had to be aborted because of equipment failures in the desert. Several months later, however, a stunning development changed the calculus on both sides: Iraq, led by Saddam Hussein, invaded Iran, officially because of a dispute over deep-water ports but also to prevent the Shiite-led Iranian Revolution from spreading across the border into Sunni-run Iraq. Desperate to focus his nation's attention on Iraq's invasion,

Khomeini began to talk with the United States about releasing the hostages. Difficult negotiations dragged on past the American presidential election in November 1980, and the hostages were finally released the day after Carter left office — a final indignity endured by a well-intentioned but ineffectual president.

The Election of 1980 President Carter's sinking popularity hurt his bid for reelection. When the Democrats barely renominated him over his liberal challenger, Edward (Ted) Kennedy of Massachusetts, Carter's approval rating was historically low: a mere 21 percent of Americans believed that he was an effective president. The reasons were clear. Economically, millions of citizens were feeling the pinch from stagnant wages, high inflation, crippling mortgage rates, and an unemployment rate of nearly 8 percent. In international affairs, the nation blamed Carter for his weak response to Soviet expansion and the Iranians' seizure of American diplomats.

With Carter on the defensive, Reagan remained upbeat and decisive. "This is the greatest country in the world," Reagan reassured the nation in his warm baritone voice. "We have the talent, we have the drive. . . . All we need is the leadership." To emphasize his intention to be a formidable international leader, Reagan hinted that he would take strong action to win the return of the hostages held in Iran. To signal his rejection of liberal policies, he declared his opposition to affirmative action and forced busing and promised to "get the government off our backs." Most important, Reagan effectively appealed to the many Americans who felt financially insecure. In a televised debate with Carter, Reagan emphasized the hardships facing working- and middle-class Americans in an era of stagflation and asked them: "Are you better off today than you were four years ago?"

In November, the voters gave a clear answer. They repudiated Carter, giving him only 41.0 percent of the vote. Independent candidate John Anderson garnered 6.6 percent (with a few minor candidates receiving fractions of a percent), and Reagan won with 50.7 percent of the popular vote (Map 29.1). Moreover, the Republicans elected thirty-three new members of the House of Representatives and twelve new senators, which gave them control of the U.S. Senate for the first time since 1954. The New Right's long road to national power had culminated in an election victory that signaled a new political alignment in the country.



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Ronald Reagan (Republican)	489	43,899,248	50.7
Jimmy Carter (Democrat)	49	35,481,435	41.0
John B. Anderson (Independent)	—	5,719,437	6 6
Minor parties	—	1,395,558	—

MAP 29.1 The Presidential Election of 1980
Ronald Reagan easily defeated Democratic incumbent Jimmy Carter, taking 50.7 percent of the popular vote to Carter's 41.0 percent and winning the electoral vote in all but six states and the District of Columbia. Reagan cut deeply into the traditional Democratic coalition by wooing many southern whites, urban Catholics, and blue-collar workers. More than five million Americans expressed their discontent with Carter's ineffectiveness and Reagan's conservatism by voting for Independent candidate John Anderson, a longtime Republican member of the House of Representatives.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the major characteristics of the political movement that backed Ronald Reagan, known as the New Right?

The Dawning of the Conservative Age

By the time Ronald Reagan took office in 1981, conservatism commanded wider popular support than at any time since the 1920s. As the New Deal Democratic coalition continued to fragment, the Republican Party accelerated the realignment of the American electorate that had begun during the 1960s. Conservatism's ascendancy did more than realign the nation politically. Its emphasis on free markets, low taxes, and individual success shaped the nation's culture and inaugurated an era of conservative individualism. Reagan exhorted Americans, "Let the men and women of the marketplace decide what they want."

President Reagan at His Ranch in Southern California Images of Reagan quickly became vital for the White House to deliver its message of conservative reform to the American people. This photo was taken by a White House photographer. Ronald Reagan Presidential Library

The Reagan Coalition

Reagan's decades in public life, especially his years working for General Electric, had equipped him to articulate conservative ideas in easily understandable **aphorisms**. Speaking against the growing size and influence of government, Reagan said, "Concentrated power has always been the enemy of liberty." In a humorous version of the same sentiment, the president said, "The nine most terrifying words in the English language are: 'I'm from the government, and I'm here to help.'"

Under his leadership, the core of the Republican Party remained the relatively affluent, white, Protestant voters who supported balanced budgets, opposed government activism, feared communism, and believed in a strong national defense. Reagan Republicanism also attracted middle-class suburbanites and migrants to the Sunbelt states who endorsed the conservative agenda of combating crime and limiting social-welfare spending. Suburban growth in particular, a phenomenon that reshaped metropolitan areas across the country in the 1960s and 1970s, benefitted conservatives politically. Suburban traditions of privatization and racial homogeneity, combined with the amenities of middle-class comfort, inclined the residents of suburban cities toward conservative public policies.

This emerging **Reagan coalition** was joined by a large and electorally key group of former Democrats that had been gradually moving toward the Republican Party since 1964: southern whites. Reagan capitalized on the "southern strategy" developed by Richard Nixon's advisors in the late 1960s. Many southern whites had lost confidence in the Democratic Party for a wide range of reasons, but one factor stood out: the party's support for civil rights. When Reagan came to Philadelphia, Mississippi, to deliver his first official speech as the Republican presidential nominee, his ringing endorsement of "states' rights" sent a clear message: he endorsed twenty-five years of southern opposition to federal civil rights legislation. Some of Reagan's advisors had warned him not to go to Philadelphia, the site of the tragic murder of three civil rights workers in 1964, but Reagan believed the opportunity to launch his campaign on a "states' rights" note was too important. After 1980, southern whites would remain a cornerstone of the Republican coalition.

AP® EXAM TIP

Be able to explain the political realignment associated with the leadership of Ronald Reagan.

The Religious Right proved crucial to the Republican ascendance as well. Falwell's **Moral Majority** claimed that it had registered two million new voters for the 1980 election, and the Republican Party's platform reflected its influence. That platform called for a constitutional ban on abortion, voluntary prayer in public schools, and a mandatory death penalty for certain crimes. Republicans also demanded an end to court-mandated busing to achieve racial integration in schools, and, for the first time in forty years, opposed the Equal Rights Amendment. Within the Republican Party, conservatism had triumphed.

Reagan's broad coalition attracted the allegiance of another group dissatisfied with the direction of liberalism in the 1970s: blue-collar voters, a high number of Catholics among them, alarmed by antiwar protesters and rising welfare expenditures and hostile to feminist demands. Some observers saw these voters, which many called **Reagan Democrats**, as coming from the "silent majority" that Nixon had swung into the Republican fold in 1968 and 1972. They lived in heavily industrialized midwestern states such as Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois and had been a core part of the Democratic

coalition for three decades. Reagan's victory in the 1980s thus hinged on both a revival of right-wing conservative activism and broad dissatisfaction with liberal Democrats — a dissatisfaction that had been building since 1968 but had been interrupted by the post-Watergate backlash against the Republican Party.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

What distinct constituencies made up the Reagan coalition, and how would you characterize their regional, geographic, class, and racial composition?

Conservatives in Power

The new president kept his political message clear and uncomplicated. "What I want to see above all," he remarked, "is that this country remains a country where someone can always get rich." Standing in the way, Reagan believed, was government. In his first year in office, Reagan and his chief advisor, James A. Baker III, quickly set new governmental priorities. To roll back the expanded liberal state, they launched a three-pronged assault on federal taxes, social-welfare spending, and the regulatory bureaucracy. To prosecute the Cold War, they advocated a vast increase in defense spending and an end to détente with the Soviet Union. And to match the resurgent economies of Germany and Japan, they set out to restore American leadership of the world's capitalist societies and to inspire renewed faith in "free markets."

Reaganomics To achieve its economic objectives, the new administration advanced a set of policies, quickly dubbed **Reaganomics**, to increase the production (and thus the supply) of goods. The theory underlying **supply-side economics**, as this approach was called, emphasized investment in productive enterprises. According to supply-side theorists, the best way to bolster investment was to reduce the taxes paid by corporations and wealthy Americans, who could then use these funds to expand production.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the goals and effects of Reaganomics.

Supply-siders maintained that the resulting economic expansion would increase government revenues and offset the loss of tax dollars stemming from the original tax cuts. Meanwhile, the increasing supply would generate its own demand, as consumers stepped forward to buy ever more goods. Supply-side theory presumed — in fact, gambled — that future tax revenues would make up for present tax cuts. The idea had a growing list of supporters in Congress, led by an ex-professional football player from Buffalo named Jack Kemp. Kemp praised supply-side economics as "an alternative to the slow-growth, recession-oriented policies of the [Carter] administration."

Reagan took advantage of Republican control of the Senate, as well as high-profile allies such as Kemp, to win congressional approval of the 1981 **Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA)**, a massive tax cut that embodied supply-side principles. The act reduced income tax rates for most Americans by 23 percent over three years. For the wealthiest Americans — those with millions to invest — the highest marginal tax rate dropped from 70 to 50 percent. The act also slashed estate taxes, levies on inheritances instituted during the Progressive Era to prevent the transmission of huge fortunes from one generation to the next. Finally, the new legislation trimmed the taxes paid by business corporations by $150 billion over a period of five years. As a result of ERTA, by 1986 the annual revenue of the federal government had been cut by $200 billion (nearly half a trillion in 2010 dollars).

David Stockman, Reagan's budget director, hoped to match this reduction in tax revenue with a comparable cutback in federal expenditures. To meet this ambitious goal, he proposed substantial cuts in Social Security and Medicare. But Congress, and even the president himself, rejected his idea; they were not willing to antagonize middle-class and elderly voters who viewed these government entitlements as sacred. As conservative columnist George Will noted ironically, "Americans are conservative. What they want to conserve is the New Deal." After defense spending, Social Security and Medicare were by far the nation's largest budget items; reductions in other programs would not achieve the savings the administration desired. This contradiction

between New Right Republican ideology and political reality would continue to frustrate the party into the twenty-first century.

A more immediate embarrassment confronted conservatives, however. In a 1982 *Atlantic* article, Stockman admitted that supply-side theory was based on faith, not economics. To produce optimistic projections of higher tax revenue in future years, Stockman had manipulated the figures. Worse, Stockman told the *Atlantic* reporter candidly that supply-side theory was based on a long-discredited idea: the "trickle-down" notion that helping the rich would eventually benefit the lower and middle classes. Stockman had drawn back the curtain, much to Republicans' **consternation**, on the flawed reasoning of supply-side theory. But it was too late. The plan had passed Congress, and since Stockman could not cut major programs such as Social Security and Medicare, he had few options to balance the budget.

As the administration's spending cuts fell short, the federal budget deficit increased dramatically. Military spending contributed a large share of the growing **national debt**. But President Reagan remained undaunted. "Defense is not a budget item," he declared. "You spend what you need." Reagan and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger pushed through Congress a five-year, $1.2 trillion military spending program in 1981. During Reagan's presidency, military spending accounted for one-fourth of all federal expenditures and contributed to rising annual budget deficits (the amount overspent by the government in a single year) and a skyrocketing national debt (the cumulative total of all budget deficits). By the time Reagan left office, the total federal debt had tripled, rising from $930 billion in 1981 to $2.8 trillion in 1989. The rising annual deficits of the 1980s contradicted Reagan's pledge of fiscal conservatism (Figure 29.1).

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the policy of deregulation in the context of economic changes beginning in the 1970s.

Deregulation Advocates of Reaganomics asserted that excessive regulation by federal agencies impeded economic growth. **Deregulation** of prices in the trucking, airline, and railroad industries had begun under President Carter in the late 1970s, but Reagan expanded the mandate to include cutting back on government protections of consumers, workers, and the environment. Some of the targeted federal bureaucracies, such as the U.S. Department of Labor, had risen to prominence during the New Deal; others, such as the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), had been created during the Johnson and Nixon administrations. Although these agencies provided many services to business corporations, they also increased their costs—by protecting the rights of workers, mandating safety improvements in factories, and requiring expensive equipment to limit the release of toxic chemicals into the environment. To reduce the reach of federal regulatory agencies, the Reagan administration in 1981 cut their budgets, by an average of 12 percent.

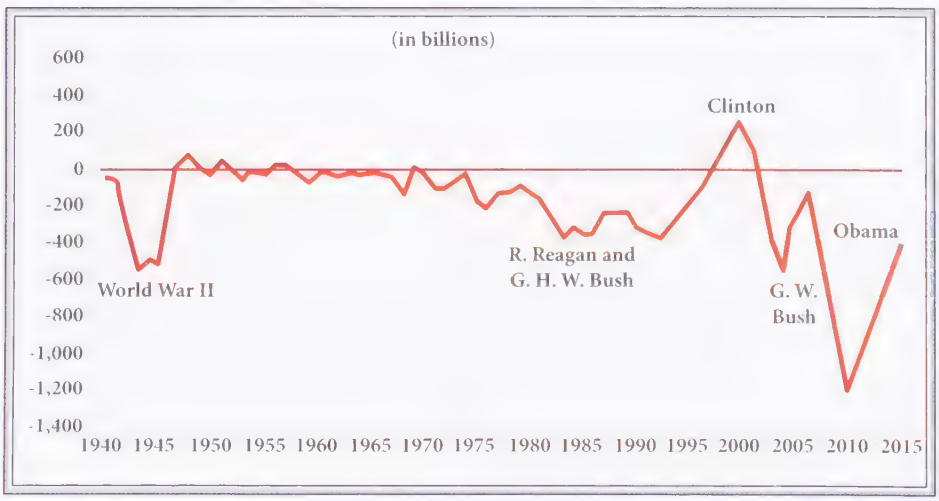


FIGURE 29.1 The Annual Federal Budget Deficit (or Surplus), 1940–2015
During World War II, the federal government incurred an enormous budget deficit. But between 1946 and 1965, it ran either an annual budget surplus or incurred a relatively small debt. The annual deficits rose significantly during the Vietnam War and the stagflation of the 1970s, but they really exploded between 1982 and 1994, in the budgets devised by the Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush administrations, and again between 2002 and 2005, in those prepared by George W. Bush. The Republican presidents increased military spending while cutting taxes, a budgetary policy that produced deficits.

Reagan also rendered regulatory agencies less effective by staffing them with leaders who were opposed to the agencies' missions. James Watt, an outspoken conservative who headed the Department of the Interior, attacked environmentalism as "a left-wing cult."

Acting on his free-enterprise principles, Watt opened public lands for use by private businesses — oil and coal corporations, large-scale ranchers, and timber companies. Anne Gorsuch Burford, whom Reagan appointed to head the EPA, likewise disparaged environmentalists and refused to cooperate with Congress to clean up toxic waste sites under a program known as the Superfund. The Sierra Club and other environmental groups aroused enough public outrage about these appointees that the administration changed its position. During President Reagan's second term, he significantly increased the EPA's budget and added acreage to the National Wilderness Preservation System and animals and plants to the endangered species lists.

Ultimately, as these adjustments demonstrate, politics in the United States remained "the art of the possible." Savvy politicians know when to advance and when to retreat. Having attained two of his prime goals — a major tax cut and a dramatic increase in defense spending — Reagan did not seriously attempt to scale back big government and the welfare state. When he left office in 1989, federal spending stood at 22.1 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) and federal taxes at 19 percent of GDP, both virtually the same as in 1981. In the meantime, though, in addition to the tripling of the federal debt, the number of government workers had increased from 2.9 to 3.1 million. This outcome — because it cut against the president's rhetoric about balancing budgets and downsizing government — elicited harsh criticism from some conservative commentators. "There was no Reagan Revolution," one conservative stated flatly. A former Reagan aide offered a more balanced assessment: "Ronald Reagan did far less than he had hoped . . . and a hell of a lot more than people thought he would."

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why was Reagan unable to reduce federal expenditures by as much as many of his supporters wished?

Remaking the Judiciary Even if he did not achieve everything many of his supporters desired, Reagan left an indelible imprint on politics, public policy, and American culture. One place this imprint was felt in far-reaching ways was the judiciary, where Reagan and his attorney general, Edwin Meese, aimed at reversing the liberal judicial philosophy that had prevailed since the 1950s. During his two terms, Reagan appointed 368 federal court judges — most of them with conservative credentials — and three Supreme Court justices: Sandra Day O'Connor (1981), Antonin Scalia (1986), and Anthony Kennedy (1988). Ironically, O'Connor and Kennedy turned out to be far less devoted to New Right conservatism than Reagan and his supporters imagined. O'Connor, the first woman to serve on the Court, shaped its decision making as a swing vote between liberals and conservatives. Kennedy also emerged as a judicial moderate, leaving Scalia as Reagan's only genuinely conservative appointee.

But Reagan also elevated Justice William Rehnquist, a conservative Nixon appointee, to the position of chief justice. Under Rehnquist's leadership (1986–2005), the Court's conservatives took an activist stance, limiting the reach of federal laws, ending court-ordered busing, and endorsing constitutional protection of property rights. However, on controversial issues such as individual liberties, abortion rights, affirmative action, and the rights of criminal defendants, the presence of O'Connor ensured that the Court adopted a more centrist position. As a result, the justices scaled back, but did not usually overturn, the liberal rulings of the Warren and Burger Courts. In the controversial *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* (1989), for instance, Scalia pushed for the justices to overturn the abortion-rights decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973). O'Connor refused, but she

Women on the Court In 1981, Sandra Day O'Connor was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Ronald Reagan, the first woman to serve on the Court. In 1993, she was joined by Ruth Bader Ginsburg, an appointee of President Bill Clinton. O'Connor emerged as a leader of the moderate bloc on the Court during the 1990s; she retired in 2006. President Barak Obama appointed two women to the court, Sonia Sotomayor in 2009 and Elena Kagan in 2010

nonetheless approved the constitutional validity of state laws that limited the use of public funds and facilities for abortions. A more conservative federal judiciary would remain a significant institutional legacy of the Reagan presidency.

HIV/AIDS Another conservative legacy was the slow national response to one of the worst disease epidemics of the postwar decades. The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), a deadly (though slow-acting) pathogen, developed in Africa when a chimpanzee virus jumped to humans; immigrants carried it to Haiti and then to the United States during the 1970s. In 1981, American physicians identified HIV as a new virus — one that caused a disease known as acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). Hundreds of gay men, who were prominent among the earliest carriers of the virus, were dying of AIDS. Within two decades, **HIV/AIDS** had spread worldwide, infected more than 50 million people of both sexes, and killed more than 20 million.

Within the United States, AIDS took nearly one hundred thousand lives in the 1980s — more than were lost in the Korean and Vietnam Wars combined. However, because its most prominent early victims were gay men, President Reagan, emboldened by New Right conservatives, hesitated in declaring a national health emergency. Some of Reagan's advisors asserted that this "gay disease" might even be God's punishment of homosexuals. Between 1981 and 1986, as the epidemic spread, the Reagan

HIV/AIDS and the Politics of Public Health The HIV/AIDS epidemic struck the United States in the early 1980s and has remained a major public health issue ever since. The Reagan administration's slow and ineffectual response to the crisis led gay rights activists to found ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) in 1987, which engaged in militant protests designed to force the federal government to increase support for research and care. In the 1994 New York City Gay Pride parade pictured here, ACT UP supporters hold aloft posters with the ACT UP slogan, "Silence = Death." Allan

administration took little action — worse, it prevented the surgeon general, C. Everett Koop, from speaking forthrightly to the nation about the disease. Pressed by gay activists and prominent health officials from across the country, in Reagan's last years in office the administration finally began to devote federal resources to treatment for HIV and AIDS patients and research into possible vaccines. But the delay had proved costly, inhumane, and embarrassing.

Morning in America

During his first run for governor of California in 1966, Reagan held a revelatory conversation with a campaign consultant. "Politics is just like the movies," Reagan told him. "You have a hell of an opening, coast for a while, and then have a hell of a close." Reagan indeed had a "hell of an opening." Following a lavish, spectacular inauguration, he quickly won passage of his tax reduction bill and launched his plan to bolster the Pentagon. But then a long "coasting" period descended on his presidency, during which he retreated on tax cuts and navigated a major foreign policy scandal. Finally, toward the end of his two-term presidency, Reagan found his "hell of a close," leaving office as major reforms — which he encouraged from afar — had begun to tear apart the Soviet Union and bring an end to the Cold War. Through all the ups and downs, Reagan remained a master of the politics of symbolism, championing a resurgent American economy and reassuring the country that the pursuit of wealth was noble and that he had the reins of the nation firmly in hand.

Reagan came to symbolize the tax-cutting president, but economic conditions forced him to reverse course on taxes early in his first term. High interest rates set by the Federal Reserve Board had cut the runaway inflation of the Carter years. But these rates — as high as 18 percent — sent the economy into a recession in 1981–1982 that put 10 million Americans out of work and shuttered 17,000 businesses. Unemployment neared 10 percent, the highest rate since the Great Depression. These troubles, combined with the booming deficit, forced Reagan to negotiate a tax increase with Congress in 1982 — to the loud complaints of supply-side diehards. The president's job rating plummeted, and in the 1982 midterm elections Democrats picked up twenty-six seats in the House of Representatives and seven state governorships.

Election of 1984 Fortunately for Reagan, the economy had recovered by 1983, restoring the president's job approval rating just in time for the 1984 presidential election. During the campaign, Reagan emphasized the economic resurgence, touring the country promoting his tax policies and the nation's new prosperity. The Democrats nominated former vice president Walter Mondale of Minnesota. With strong ties to labor unions, a variety of ethnic and racial groups, and party leaders, Mondale epitomized the New Deal coalition. He selected Representative Geraldine Ferraro of New York as his running mate — the first woman to run on the presidential ticket of a major political party. Neither Ferraro's presence nor Mondale's credentials made a difference, however: Reagan won a landslide victory, losing only Minnesota and the District of Columbia. Still, Democrats retained their majority in the House and, in the 1986 midterm elections, regained control of the Senate.

Reagan's 1984 campaign slogan, "It's Morning in America," projected the image of a new day dawning on a confident people. In Reagan mythology, the United States was an optimistic nation of small towns, close-knit families, and kindly neighbors. "The success story of America," he once said, "is neighbor helping neighbor." The mythology may not have reflected the *actual* nation — which was overwhelmingly urban and suburban, and in which the hard knocks of capitalism held down more than opportunity elevated — but that mattered little. Reagan's remarkable ability to produce positive associations and feelings, alongside robust economic growth after the 1981–1982 recession, helped make the 1980s a decade characterized by both backward-looking nostalgia and a future-oriented, aggressive capitalism.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the view of America popularized by Reagan with the view supported by Herbert Hoover.

Return to Prosperity Between 1945 and the 1970s, the United States was the world's leading exporter of agricultural products, manufactured goods, and investment capital. Then American manufacturers lost market share, undercut by cheaper and better-designed products from West Germany and Japan. By 1985, for the first time since 1915, the United States registered a negative balance of international payments. It now imported more goods and capital than it exported. The country became a debtor (rather than a creditor) nation. The rapid ascent of the Japanese economy to become the world's second largest was a key factor in this historic reversal (AP® America in the World). More than one-third of the American annual trade deficit of $138 billion in the 1980s was from trade with Japan, whose corporations exported huge quantities of electronic goods and made nearly one-quarter of all cars bought in the United States.

Meanwhile, American businesses grappled with a worrisome decline in productivity. Between 1973 and 1992, American productivity (the amount of goods or services per hour of work) grew at the meager rate of 1 percent a year — a far cry from the post–World War II rate of 3 percent. Because managers wanted to cut costs, the wages of most employees stagnated. Further, because of foreign competition, the number of high-paying, union-protected manufacturing jobs shrank. By 1985, more people in the United States worked for McDonald's slinging Big Macs than rolled out rails, girders, and sheet steel in the nation's steel industry.

A brief return to competitiveness in the second half of the 1980s masked the steady long-term transformation of the economy that had begun in the 1970s. The nation's heavy industries — steel, autos, chemicals — continued to lose market share to global competitors. Nevertheless, the U.S. economy grew at the impressive average rate of 2 to 3 percent per year for much of the late 1980s and 1990s (with a short recession in 1990–1991). What had changed was the direction of growth and its beneficiaries. Increasingly, financial services, medical services, and computer technology — **service industries**, broadly speaking — were the leading sectors of growth. This shift in the underlying foundation of the American economy, from manufacturing to service, from making *things* to producing *services*, would have long-term consequences for the global competitiveness of U.S. industries and the value of the dollar.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

How would you compare the foundation of the American economy in the 1920s with its foundation in the 1980s?

AP® EXAM TIP

Explain why the shift from a manufacturing-based to a service-based economy continued through the 1980s and 1990s.

Culture of Success The economic growth of the second half of the 1980s popularized the materialistic values championed by the free marketeers. Every era has its capitalist heroes, but Americans in the 1980s celebrated wealth accumulation in ways unseen since the 1920s. When the president christened self-made entrepreneurs "the heroes for the eighties," he probably had people like Lee Iacocca in mind. Born to Italian immigrants and trained as an engineer, Iacocca rose through the ranks to become president of the Ford Motor Corporation. In 1978, he took over the ailing Chrysler Corporation and made it profitable again — by securing a crucial $1.5 billion loan from the U.S. government, pushing the development of new cars, and selling them on TV. His patriotic commercials in the 1980s echoed Reagan's rhetoric: "Let's make American mean something again."

If Iacocca symbolized a resurgent corporate America, high-profile financial wheeler-dealers also captured Americans' imagination. One was Ivan Boesky, a white-collar criminal convicted of insider trading (buying or selling stock based on information from corporate insiders). "I think greed is healthy," Boesky told a business school graduating class. Boesky inspired the fictional character Gordon Gekko, who proclaimed "Greed is good!" in the 1987 film *Wall Street*. A new generation of Wall Street executives, of which Boesky was one example, pioneered the leveraged buyout (LBO). In a typical LBO, a financier used heavily leveraged (borrowed) capital to buy a company, quickly restructured that company to make it appear spectacularly profitable, and then sold it at a higher price.

To see a still from *Wall Street*, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.

Americans had not set aside the traditional work ethic, but the Reagan-era public was fascinated with money and celebrity. (The documentary television show *Lifestyles*

Yoichi Funabashi: "Japan and America: Global Partners"

Educated at the University of Tokyo and Keio University, Yoichi Funabashi is a prize-winning journalist who specializes in the U.S.-Japan economic relationship. During the 1980s, he lived in the United States as a columnist (and later bureau chief) for the *Asahi Shimbun*, one of Japan's most important daily newspapers.

As Japan struggled to rebuild itself after World War II, the charismatic Shigeru Yoshida, prime minister during the critical years of 1948 to 1952, called on the country to be a good loser. The Japanese have lost the war, he said, but they must not lose heart. Japan must cooperate with the United States, and pull itself out of misery and disgrace. The Japanese did indeed cooperate willingly with the Allied occupation — with the American (and British) "devils" whom they had been taught for years to despise to the very core of their souls. . . .

Postwar Japan went on to prove that it could indeed be a good loser. Under the new constitution promulgated under the guidance of the occupation, it has developed into a democratic country with a relatively moderate disparity between rich and poor and a stable, smoothly functioning political system. . . .

The Japanese-U.S. relationship has thus come to occupy a truly unique position in world history. Never before has a multiethnic, contract-based society and a homogenous, traditional society joined together to form such a powerful team. As global powers, Japan and the United States combined have a decisive impact on world politics; it follows that their future relations will largely determine the blueprints of multilateral cooperation and world stability in the coming century. . . .

Potential sources of bilateral friction are as numerous as ever: the trade imbalance, market liberalization, growing Japanese investment in the United States, heavy U.S. dependence on Japanese technology, and so on. Occasional outbursts of economic nationalism, or "revisionist" thinking are probably inevitable as the debate over these issues unfolds. . . .

Of far greater concern, however, is that Japanese-U.S. relations now face their gravest challenge since 1945. The end of the Cold War has drastically altered the global geopolitical and geoeconomic context that shaped Japanese-U.S. relations. Both countries now face the urgent need to redefine their relationship to suit the new context. . . .

Before they can build a strong bilateral relationship, Americans and Japanese must outgrow their obsession with being Number One. This psychological adjustment is absolutely necessary for both peoples. Projecting the nature of its own hierarchical society, Japan tends to view the rest of the world, it is said, in terms of ranking. This inclination fosters behavior patterns that are oriented more toward what to *be* than what to *do*. Japan is also overly conscious of itself as a late-starter, having entered modern international society only in the mid-nineteenth century, and this history has made catching up with and outpacing other countries a sort of national pastime. . . . It may be even more difficult for the United States, which dominated the free world during the Cold War, to make the psychological adjustments required to enter into a partnership with Japan that is truly equal.

SOURCE: Yoichi Funabashi, "Japan and America: Global Partners," *Foreign Policy* 86 (Spring 1992): 24–39.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Among the "sources of bilateral friction" Funabashi lists the trade imbalance and Japanese investment in the United States. Why would these cause friction?
2. How had the U.S.-Japan relationship changed between 1945 and the 1980s?

of the Rich and Famous began its run in 1984.) One of the most enthralling of the era's money moguls was Donald Trump, a real estate developer who craved publicity. In 1983, the flamboyant Trump built the equally flamboyant Trump Towers in New York City. At the entrance of the $200 million apartment building stood two enormous bronze *T*'s, a display of self-promotion reinforced by the media. Calling him "The Donald," a nickname used by Trump's first wife, TV reporters and magazines commented relentlessly on his marriages, divorces, and glitzy lifestyle. Trading on his celebrity as much as his business **acumen**, Trump would in later decades forge a career on reality television and, in one of the most unexpected political developments of the early twentieth-first century, win the Republican nomination for president in 2016 and ascend to the presidency itself.

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the impact of computers on the American economy and society.

The Computer Revolution While Trump grabbed headlines and made splashy real estate investments, a handful of quieter, less flashy entrepreneurs was busy changing the face of the American economy. Bill Gates, Paul Allen, Steve Jobs, and Steve Wozniak were four entrepreneurs who pioneered the computer revolution in the late 1970s and 1980s (AP® Thinking Like a Historian). They took a technology that had been used exclusively for large-scale enterprises — the military and multinational corporations — and made it accessible to individual consumers. Scientists had devised the first computers for military purposes during World War II. Cold War military research subsequently funded the construction of large mainframe computers. But government and private-sector first-generation computers were bulky, cumbersome machines that had to be placed in large air-conditioned rooms.

Between the 1950s and the 1970s, concluding with the development of the microprocessor in 1971, each generation of computers grew faster and smaller. By the mid-1970s, a few microchips the size of the letter *O* on this page provided as much processing power as a World War II–era computer. The day of the personal computer (PC) had arrived. Working in the San Francisco Bay Area, Jobs and Wozniak founded Apple Computers in 1976 and within a year were producing small, individual computers that could be easily used by a single person. When Apple enjoyed success, other companies scrambled to get into the market. International Business Machines (IBM) offered its first personal computer in 1981, but Apple Corporation's 1984 Macintosh computer (later shortened to "Mac") became the first runaway commercial success for a personal computer.

Meanwhile, two former high school classmates, Gates, age nineteen, and Allen, age twenty-one, had set a goal in the early 1970s of putting "a personal computer on every desk and in every home." They recognized that software was the key. In 1975, they founded the Microsoft Corporation, whose MS-DOS and Windows operating systems soon dominated the software industry. By 2000, the company's products ran nine out of every ten personal computers in the United States and a majority of those around the world. Gates and Allen became billionaires, and Microsoft exploded into a huge company with 57,000 employees and annual revenues of $38 billion. In three decades, the computer had moved from a few military research centers to thousands of corporate offices and then to millions of people's homes. Ironically, in an age that celebrated free-market capitalism, government research and government funding had played an enormous role in the development of the most important technology since television.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

In what ways did American society embrace economic success and individualism in the 1980s?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the major political successes and failures of the Reagan coalition?

The End of the Cold War

Ronald Reagan entered office determined to confront the Soviet Union diplomatically and militarily. Backed by Republican and Democratic hard-liners alike, Reagan unleashed some of the harshest Cold War rhetoric since the 1950s, labeling the Soviet Union an "evil empire" and vowing that it would end up "on the ash heap of history." In a remarkable turnaround, however, by his second term Reagan had decided that this goal would be best achieved by actively cooperating with Mikhail Gorbachev, the reform-minded Russian Communist leader. The downfall of the Soviet Union in 1991 ended the nearly fifty-year-long Cold War, but a new set of foreign challenges quickly emerged.

U.S.-Soviet Relations in a New Era

When Reagan assumed the presidency in 1981, he broke with his immediate predecessors — Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter — in Cold War strategy. Nixon regarded himself as a "realist" in foreign affairs. That meant, above all, advancing the

national interest without regard to ideology. Nixon's policy of détente with the Soviet Union and China embodied this realist view (Chapter 27). President Carter endorsed détente and continued to push for relaxing Cold War tensions. This worked for a time, but the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan empowered hard-liners in the U.S. Congress and forced Carter to take a tougher line — which he did with the Olympic boycott and grain embargo. This was the relationship Reagan inherited in 1981: a decade of détente that had produced a noticeable relaxation of tensions with the communist world, followed by a year of tense standoffs over Soviet advances into Central Asia, which threatened U.S. interests in the Middle East.

Reagan's Cold War Revival Conservatives did not support détente. Neither did they care much for the containment policy that had guided U.S. Cold War strategy since 1947. Reagan and his advisors wanted to *defeat*, not merely contain, the Soviet Union. His administration pursued a two-pronged strategy toward that end. First, it abandoned détente and set about rearming America. Reagan's military budgets authorized new weapons systems, dramatically expanded military bases, and significantly expanded the nation's nuclear arsenal. This buildup in American military strength, reasoned Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, would force the Soviets into an arms race that would strain their economy and cause domestic unrest. The Reagan administration also proposed the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) with the Soviet Union, in which the United States put forward a plan calculated to increase American advantage in sea- and air-based nuclear systems over the Soviet's ground-based system.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the Cold War policies of Ronald Reagan to those of earlier presidents in the era.

Second, the president supported CIA initiatives to roll back Soviet influence in the developing world by funding anticommunist movements in Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, and Central America. To accomplish this objective, Reagan supported repressive, right-wing regimes. Nowhere was this more conspicuous in the 1980s than in the Central American countries of Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Conditions were unique in each country but held to a pattern: the United States sided with military dictatorships and **oligarchies** if democratically elected governments or left-wing movements sought support from the Soviet Union. In Guatemala, this approach produced a brutal military rule — thousands of opponents of the government were executed or kidnapped. In Nicaragua, Reagan actively encouraged a coup against the left-wing Sandinista government. And in El Salvador, the U.S.-backed government maintained secret "death squads," which murdered members of the opposition. In each case, Reagan blocked Soviet influence, but the damage done to local communities and to the international reputation of the United States, as in Vietnam, was great.

Iran-Contra Reagan's determination to oppose left-wing movements in Central America engulfed his administration in a major scandal during the president's second term. For years, Reagan had denounced Iran as an "outlaw state" and a supporter of terrorism. But in 1985, he wanted its help. To win its assistance in freeing two dozen American hostages held by Hezbollah, a pro-Iranian Shiite group in Lebanon, the administration sold arms to Iran without public or congressional knowledge. While this secret arms deal was diplomatically and politically controversial, the use of the resulting profits in Nicaragua was explicitly illegal. To overthrow the democratically elected **Sandinistas**, whom the president accused of threatening U.S. business interests, Reagan ordered the CIA to assist an armed opposition group called the **Contras** (Map 29.2). Although Reagan praised the Contras as "freedom fighters," Congress worried that the president and other executive branch agencies were assuming war-making powers that the Constitution reserved to the legislature. In 1984, Congress banned the CIA and all other government agencies from providing any military support to the Contras.

Oliver North, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marines and an aide to the National Security Council, defied that ban. With the tacit or explicit consent of high-ranking

Personal Computing: A Technological Revolution

Considered historically, computers are a strikingly new phenomenon. The ancestors of the first computers were developed in the 1940s using vacuum tubes and transistors. Integrated circuits were introduced in the 1950s and the first microprocessor in the 1970s. Prior to the decade of the 1980s, only the federal government and large corporations and institutions used computers, which were massive in size and expensive to purchase. In the 1980s, inventors and entrepreneurs developed the first "personal" computers, which could fit on desks or tables and were soon within the price range of ordinary families. The computers we know today date from that decade. Another enormous change came in the mid-1990s, when the Internet, whose forerunner was a U.S. Defense Department computer network, became widely available to the public for the first time.

1. **Moore's law, 1965.** *In 1965, the electronics engineer Gordon Moore calculated that the number of transistors on an integrated circuit doubled roughly every two years, meaning that the power of computers was increasing at that rate.*

   The complexity for minimum component costs has increased at a rate of roughly a factor of two per year. Certainly over the short term this rate can be expected to continue, if not increase. . . . That means by 1975, the number of components per integrated circuit for minimum cost will be 65,000.

   I believe that such a large circuit can be built on a single wafer.

2. **Scene from *2001: A Space Odyssey*, 1968.** *In this scene from an acclaimed science fiction film, a space station's computer system, named HAL, defends itself against an astronaut who is determined to shut down the computer.*

   Dave Bowman: Hello, HAL. Do you read me, HAL?
   HAL: Affirmative, Dave. I read you.
   DB: Open the pod bay doors, HAL.
   HAL: I'm sorry, Dave. I'm afraid I can't do that.
   DB: What's the problem?
   HAL: I think you know what the problem is just as well as I do.
   DB: What are you talking about, HAL?
   HAL: This mission is too important for me to allow you to jeopardize it.
   DB: I don't know what you're talking about, HAL.
   HAL: I know that you and Frank were planning to disconnect me, and I'm afraid that's something I cannot allow to happen.
   DB: Where the hell did you get that idea, HAL?
   HAL: Dave, although you took very thorough precautions in the pod against my hearing you, I could see your lips move.
   DB: Alright, HAL. I'll go in through the emergency airlock.
   HAL: Without your space helmet, Dave? You're going to find that rather difficult.
   DB: HAL, I won't argue with you anymore! Open the door!
   HAL: Dave, this conversation can serve no purpose anymore. Goodbye.

3. **Neil Ardley, *World of Tomorrow: School, Work, and Play*, 1981.** *In this book written for teenagers, Neil Ardley speculated about the future of computers.*

   Imagine you are living in the future, and are doing a project on Halley's comet. It's quite some time since it last appeared in 1986, and you want to find out when it will again be seen from Earth. You also want to know the results of a space mission to the comet, and find out what the comet is made of.

   In the days when the last comet appeared, you would have had to look up Halley's comet in an encyclopedia or a book on astronomy. If you didn't possess these books, you would have gone to the library to get the information. . . .

   People still collect books as valuable antiques or for a hobby, but you get virtually all the information you need from the viewscreen of your home computer. The computer is linked to a library — not a library of books but an electronic library where information on every subject is stored in computer memory banks. . . .

   Computers will make the world of tomorrow a much safer place. They will do away with cash, so that you need no longer fear being attacked for your money. In addition, you need not worry that your home will be burgled or your car stolen. The computers in your home and car will guard them, allowing only yourself to enter or someone with your permission.

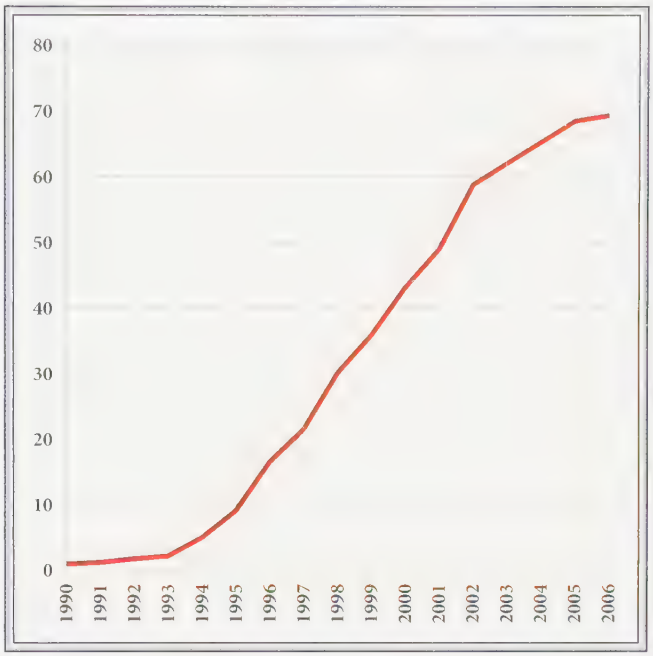
4. Scene from *Terminator*, 1984. *A national defense computer network called Skynet decides to exterminate humanity in the film* Terminator.

Reese: There was a war. A few years from now. Nuclear war. The whole thing. All this — [His gesture includes the car, the city, the world.] — everything is gone. Just gone. There were survivors. Here. There. Nobody knew who started it. (pause) It was the machines.
Sarah: I don't understand. . . .
Reese: Defense network computer. New. Powerful. Hooked into everything. Trusted to run it all. They say it got smart . . . a new order of intelligence. Then it saw all people as a threat, not just the ones on the other side. Decided our fate in a microsecond . . . extermination.

5. Interview with Steve Jobs, February 1, 1985. *Apple founder Steve Jobs, one of the pioneers of the personal computer, discusses the future of computers and computer networks.*

Question: Why should a person buy a computer?
Steve Jobs: There are different answers for different people. In business, that question is easy to answer: You can really prepare documents much faster and at a higher quality level, and you can do many things to increase office productivity. A computer frees people from much of the menial work. . . . Remember computers are tools. Tools help us do our work better. In education, computers are the first thing to come along since books that will sit there and interact with you endlessly, without judgment. . . .
Question: What will change?
Steve Jobs: The most compelling reason for most people to buy a computer for the home [in the future] will be to link it into a nationwide communications network. We're just in the beginning stages of what will be a truly remarkable breakthrough for most people — as remarkable as the telephone.

6. Percentage of Americans Using the Internet.



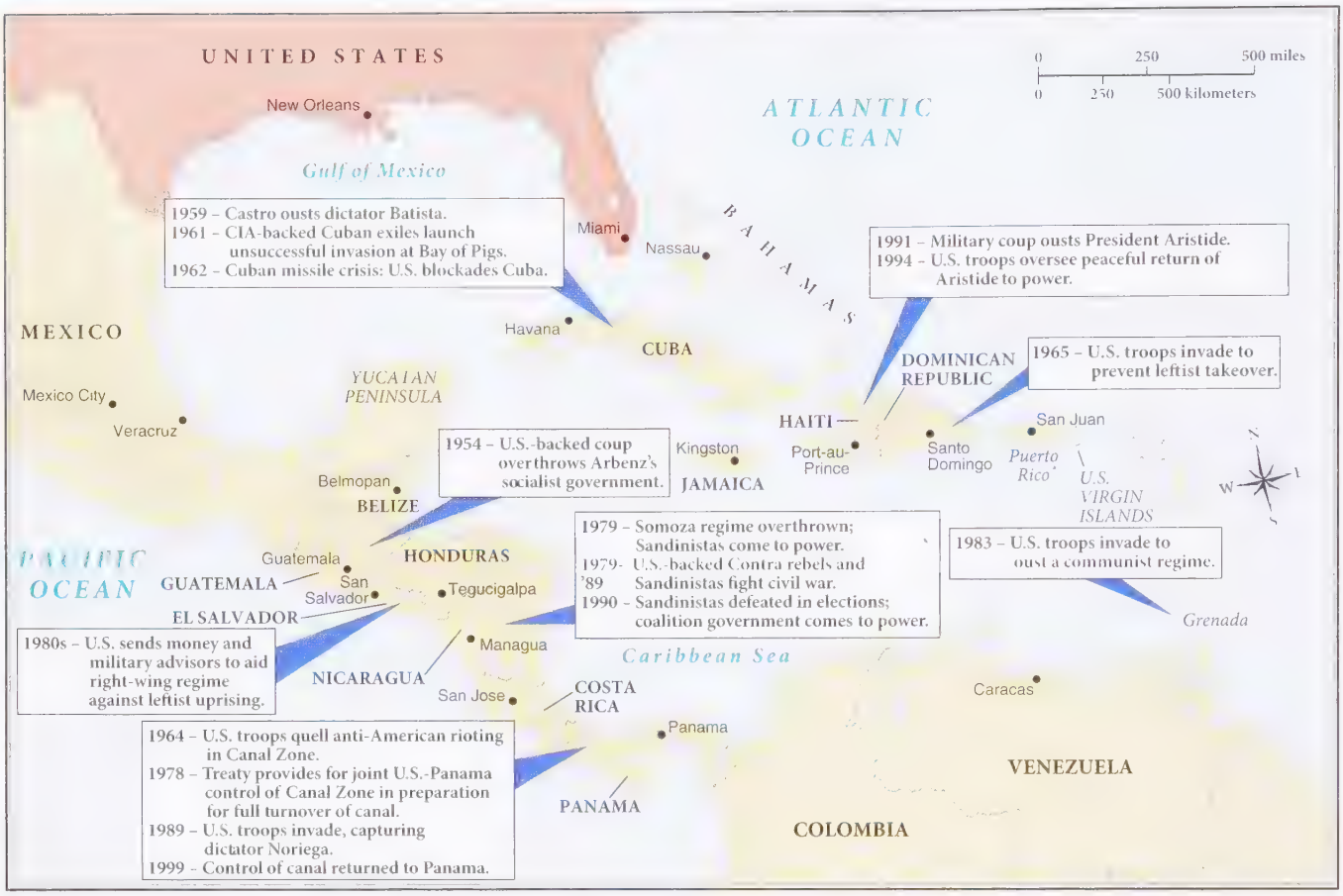
Sources: (1) G. E. Moore, "Cramming More Components onto Integrated Circuits," *Electronics*, April 19, 1965, 114; (2) *2001: A Space Odyssey*, Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick and Arthur C. Clarke (Hawk Films Ltd. and MGM Studios, 1967); (3) Neil Ardley, *World of Tomorrow: School, Work, and Play* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1981), 20–27; (4) *Terminator*, Screenplay by James Cameron and Gale Anne Hurd, Fifth Draft (Pacific Western Productions, Inc., March 11, 1984), 134; (5) *Playboy*, February 1, 1985, 52.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Compare sources 2 and 4. Anxiety about the extraordinary power of computers has been a regular feature of science fiction, both in writing and in film, since the late 1950s. What do the scenes from these two films tell us about the cultural reactions to computers early in their development?
2. How does source 3 offer a different vision of a future with computers? Why do you think cultural responses to computers tend to swing between extreme anxiety and equally extreme optimism?
3. How does Steve Jobs's assessment of computers in source 5 compare with those in the other documents? Should we trust his judgment more because he is closer to their actual development? Why or why not?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Drawing on the history of personal computers discussed in this chapter, as well as on the documents above, write an essay in which you assess the origin of the personal computer. What cultural reactions and predictions surrounded the computer's birth? What economic and social transformations did it have the potential to unleash? You might also consider a comparison of the Industrial Revolution of the second half of the nineteenth century and the "computer revolution" of the late twentieth century. Are there parallels in how each development transformed American society?



MAP 29.2 U.S. Involvement in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1954–2000

Ever since the Monroe Doctrine (1823), the United States has claimed a special interest in Latin America. During the Cold War, U.S. foreign policy throughout Latin America focused on containing instability and the appeal of communism in a region plagued by poverty and military dictatorships. Providing foreign aid was one approach to addressing social and economic needs, but the United States frequently intervened with military forces (or by supporting military coups) to remove unfriendly or socialist governments. The Reagan administration's support of the Contra rebels in Nicaragua, some of which was contrary to U.S. law, was one of those interventions.

administration officials, including the president, North used the profits from the Iranian arms deal to assist the Contras. When asked whether he knew of North's illegal actions, Reagan replied, "I don't remember." The **Iran-Contra affair** came to public light in 1986, resulting in the prosecution of North and several other officials and weakening Reagan domestically—he proposed no bold domestic policy initiatives in his last two years. But the president remained steadfastly engaged in international affairs, where events were unfolding that would bring a dramatic close to the Cold War.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role that Reagan's policies played in the fall of communism in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev and Soviet Reform The Soviet system of state socialism and central economic planning had transformed Russia from an agricultural to an industrial society between 1917 and the 1950s. But it had done so inefficiently. Lacking the incentives of a market economy, most enterprises hoarded raw materials, employed too many workers, and did not develop new products. Except in military weaponry and space technology, the Russian economy fell further and further behind those of capitalist societies, and most people in the Soviet bloc endured a low standard of living. Moreover, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, like the American war in Vietnam, turned out to be a

major blunder—an unwinnable war that cost vast amounts of money, destroyed military morale, and undermined popular support of the government.

Mikhail Gorbachev, a relatively young Russian leader who became general secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, recognized the need for internal economic reform and an end to the war in Afghanistan. An **iconoclast** in Soviet terms, Gorbachev introduced policies of ***glasnost*** (openness) and ***perestroika*** (economic restructuring), which encouraged widespread criticism of the rigid institutions and authoritarian controls of the Communist regime. To lessen tensions with the United States, Gorbachev met with Reagan in 1985, and the two leaders established a warm personal rapport. By 1987, they had agreed to eliminate all intermediate-range nuclear missiles based in Europe. A year later, Gorbachev ordered Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, and Reagan replaced many of his hardline advisors with policymakers who favored a renewal of détente.

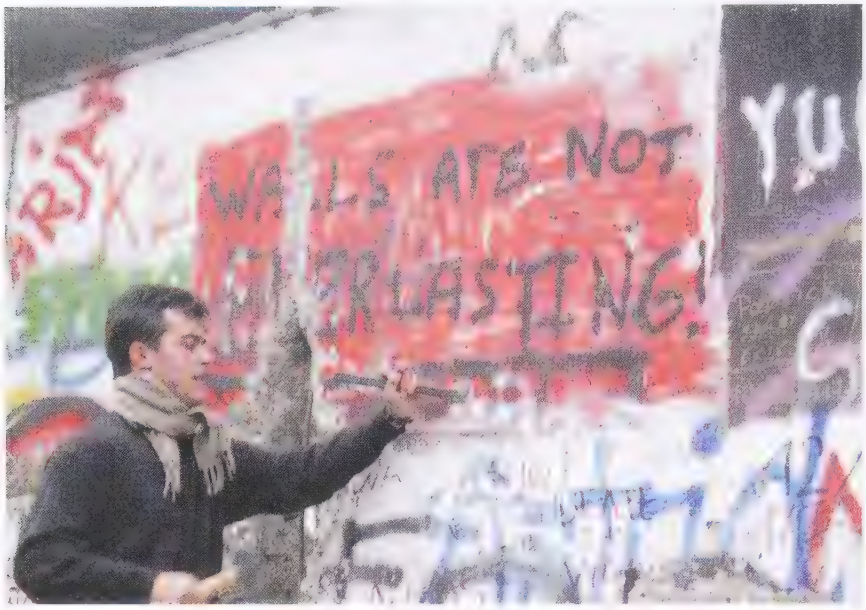
Iran-Contra The 1987 Iran-Contra congressional hearings, which lasted more than a month and were broadcast on live television, helped to uncover a secret and illegal White House scheme to provide arms to the Nicaraguan Contras. Though Lt. Col. Oliver North (shown here during his testimony before Congress) concocted much of the scheme and was convicted of three felonies, he never served prison time and emerged from the hearings as a populist hero among American conservatives, who saw him as a patriot. Bettmann/Getty Images

Reagan's sudden reversal with regard to the Soviet Union remains one of the most intriguing aspects of his presidency. Many conservatives worried that their cowboy-hero president had been duped by a duplicitous Gorbachev, but Reagan's gamble paid off: the easing of tensions with the United States allowed the Soviet leader to press forward with his domestic reforms.

As Gorbachev's efforts revealed the flaws of the Soviet system, the peoples of Eastern and Central Europe demanded the ouster of their Communist governments. In Poland, the Roman Catholic Church and its pope—Polish-born John Paul II—joined with Solidarity, the trade-union movement, to overthrow the pro-Soviet regime. In 1956 and 1964, Russian troops had quashed similar popular uprisings in Hungary and East Germany. Now they did not intervene, and a series of peaceful uprisings—"Velvet Revolutions"—created a new political order throughout the region. Communism's fall even reached into Germany, the birthplace of the Cold War: destruction of the Berlin Wall in 1989 symbolized the end of Communist rule in Central Europe. Millions of television viewers worldwide watched jubilant Germans knock down the hated wall that had divided the city since 1961—a vivid symbol of communist repression and the Cold War division of Europe. A new geopolitical order in Europe was in the making.

Gorbachev and America The Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, and his wife Raisa, meeting with American students. Both Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev changed the political outlook of their nations. As Reagan undermined social-welfare liberalism in the United States, Gorbachev challenged the rigidity of the Communist Party and state socialism in the Soviet Union. Although they remained ideological adversaries, by the mid-1980s the two leaders had established a personal rapport, which helped facilitate agreement on a series of arms reduction measures. Cultural exchanges between the two nations, which were uncommon during the height of the Cold war, grew more frequent as well.

Alarmed by the reforms, Soviet military leaders seized power in August 1991 and arrested Gorbachev. But widespread popular opposition led by Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Russian Republic,



The Wall Comes Down As the Communist government of East Germany collapsed, West Berliners showed their contempt for the wall dividing Berlin by defacing it with graffiti. Then, in November 1989, East and West Berliners destroyed huge sections of the wall with sledgehammers, an act of psychic liberation that symbolized the end of the Cold War. Here, in a calmer moment, a man chisels away at a section of the wall. Owen Franken/Corbis via Getty Images

thwarted their efforts to oust Gorbachev from office. This failure broke the dominance of the Communist Party. Inspired by the Velvet Revolutions and the weakening of the Communist Party, several Soviet Republics (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, and Belarus) broke away as independent nation-states. Finally, on December 25, 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics formally dissolved to make way for an eleven-member Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) (Map 29.3). The remarkable and total collapse of the Soviet Union was the result of internal weaknesses of the Communist economy. External pressure from the United States played an important, though secondary, role.

"Nobody — no country, no party, no person — 'won' the cold war," concluded George Kennan, the architect in 1947 of the American policy of containment. The Cold War's cost was enormous, and both sides benefitted greatly from its end. For more than forty years, the United States had fought a bitter economic and ideological battle against its communist foe, a struggle that exerted an enormous impact on American society. Taxpayers had spent some $4 trillion on nuclear weapons and trillions more on conventional arms, placing the United States on a permanent war footing and creating a massive military-industrial complex. The physical and psychological costs were equally high, including anticommunist witch-hunts and a constant fear of nuclear annihilation. Most Americans had no qualms about proclaiming victory, however, and conservative advocates of free-market capitalism celebrated the outcome. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union itself, they argued, demonstrated that they had been right all along.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did Reagan's approach to the Soviet Union change between 1981 and 1989?

A New Political Order at Home and Abroad

Ronald Reagan's role in facilitating the end of the Cold War was among his most important achievements. Overall, his presidency left a mixed legacy. Despite his pledge to get the federal government "off our backs," he could not ultimately reduce its size or scope. Social Security and other entitlement programs remained untouched, and increased military spending outweighed cuts in other programs. Determined not to divide the country, Reagan did not actively push controversial policies espoused by the Religious Right. He called for tax credits for private religious schools, restrictions on abortions, and a constitutional amendment to permit prayer in public schools, but he did not expend his political capital to secure these measures (AP® Interpreting the Past).

While Reagan failed to roll back the social welfare and regulatory state of the New Deal–Great Society era, he changed the dynamic of American politics. The Reagan presidency restored popular belief that the nation — and individual Americans — could enjoy increasing prosperity. And his antigovernment rhetoric won many adherents, as did his bold and fiscally aggressive tax cuts. Social-welfare liberalism, ascendant since 1933, remained intact but was now on the defensive — led by Reagan, conservatives had changed the political conversation.

MAP 29.3 The Collapse of the Soviet Union and the Creation of Independent States, 1989–1991
The collapse of Soviet communism dramatically altered the political landscape of Central Europe and Central Asia. The Warsaw Pact, the USSR's answer to NATO, vanished. West and East Germany reunited, and the nations created by the Versailles treaty of 1919 — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia — reasserted their independence or split into smaller, ethnically defined nations. The Soviet republics bordering Russia, from Belarus in the west to Kyrgyzstan in the east, also became independent states, while remaining loosely bound with Russia in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

Election of 1988 George H. W. Bush, Reagan's vice president and successor, was not beloved by conservatives, who did not see him as one of their own. But he possessed an insider's familiarity with government and a long list of powerful allies, accumulated over three decades of public service. Bush's route to the White House reflected the post-Reagan alignments in American politics. In the primaries, he faced a spirited challenge from Pat Robertson, the archconservative televangelist whose influence and profile had grown during Reagan's two terms. After securing the presidential nomination, which he won largely because of his fierce loyalty to Reagan, Bush felt compelled to select as his vice-presidential running mate an unknown and inexperienced Indiana senator, Dan Quayle. Bush hoped that Quayle would help secure the Christian "**family values**" vote upholding the traditional nuclear family and Christian morality. Robertson's challenge and Quayle's selection showed that the Religious Right had become a major force in Republican politics.

On the Democratic side, Jesse Jackson became the first African American to challenge for a major-party nomination, winning eleven states in primary and caucus voting. However, the much less charismatic Massachusetts governor, Michael Dukakis, emerged as the Democratic nominee. Dukakis, a liberal from the Northeast, proved unable to win back the constituencies Democrats had lost in the 1970s: southern whites, midwestern blue-collar Catholics, and middle-class suburbanites. Indeed, Bush's campaign manager, Lee Atwater, baited Dukakis by calling him a "card-carrying liberal," a not-so-subtle reference to J. Edgar Hoover's 1958 phrase "card-carrying communist." Bush won with 53 percent of the vote, a larger margin of victory than Reagan's in 1980. The election confirmed a new pattern in presidential politics that would last through the turn of the twenty-first century: every four years, Americans would refight the battles of the 1960s, with liberals on one side and conservatives on the other.

How Conservative Was the Reagan Presidency?

In the 1980s, Ronald Reagan's presidency seemed to define a conservative triumph. The product of a political ground game decades in the making, the conservative victory in the 1980 election fused the mobilization of Christian evangelicals, a libertarian antigovernment individualism, and a probusiness entrepreneurialism into a coalition determined to undermine the expansive legacy of sixties liberalism. Did it work?

Historians are now beginning to offer assessments of Reagan's presidency. Two scholars, Kim Phillips-Fein and Robert O. Self, one of the authors of this textbook, join this debate with perspectives on Reagan's relationship to the Christian evangelical movement. Reacting to what they saw as the permissiveness of the 1960s, the Religious Right pushed a Christian moral agenda into political debate and supported candidates pledged to "return America" to its traditional foundations. To what extent was Reagan their candidate?

KIM PHILLIPS-FEIN

SOURCE: Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009), 256–258.

Reagan worked very hard to show conservative evangelicals that he was their candidate. In August 1980 he appeared at the National Affairs Briefing . . . an event organized by the Religious Roundtable . . . the seeming answer to the prayers of the evangelicals: here was the man who would lead Christians back to the White House. . . . Reagan painted the Christian worldview in broad strokes that made clear its commonalities with the larger antistate agenda of his campaign, denouncing the [Federal Communications Commission] for interfering with religious broadcasting, the IRS for threatening the autonomy of religious schools, and the [National Labor Relations Board] for meddling with church employees. . . . One newspaper described the entire National Affairs Briefing as a "thinly disguised religious pep rally for Ronald Reagan."

ROBERT O. SELF

SOURCE: Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2012), 367, 376–377.

When conservative pragmatists, including Reagan himself, moved slowly or cautiously on many issues, especially abortion, religious and pro-family activists believed they had been betrayed. . . . The president's rhetorical support was unwavering: he gave . . . antiabortion speeches, appointed right-to-life leaders to his administration, [and] declared support for a Human Life Amendment [an amendment to the Constitution that would have outlawed abortion]. . . . But Reagan watched the polls and chose not to leap too far ahead of public opinion. His support for . . . right-to-life Senate initiatives was calibrated not to disrupt his economic agenda. . . . [H]e seized the opportunity to name the [Supreme] court's first woman, Sandra Day O'Connor, ignoring vocal right-to-life opposition. As an Arizona state senator in 1970, O'Connor had voted to repeal Arizona's abortion law, which had permanently disqualified her from the bench in the minds of right-to-life activists.

AP® SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. How do these scholars assess Reagan's commitment to the Religious Right's political agenda?
2. To what extent were evangelical expectations (described by Phillips-Fein) realized during Reagan's presidency (described by Self)?
3. Comparing these excerpts with Chapter 29's discussion of the 1970s and 1980s, identify two examples of the impact the Religious Right had on the era's politics.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the ways American foreign policy represented change, as well as maintained continuity, after the Cold War.

Middle East The end of the Cold War left the United States as the world's only military superpower and raised the prospect of what President Bush called a "new world order" dominated by the United States and its European and Asian allies. American officials and diplomats presumed that U.S. interests should prevail in this new environment, but they now confronted an array of regional, religious, and ethnic conflicts that defied easy solutions. None were more pressing or more complex than those in the Middle East—the oil-rich lands stretching from Iran to Algeria. Middle Eastern conflicts would dominate the foreign policy of the United States for the next two decades, replacing the Cold War at the center of American geopolitics.

After Carter's success negotiating the 1979 Egypt-Israel treaty at Camp David, there were few bright spots in U.S. Middle Eastern diplomacy. In 1982, the Reagan administration supported Israel's invasion of Lebanon, a military operation intended to destroy the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But when Lebanese militants, angered at U.S. intervention on behalf of Israel, killed 241 American marines, Reagan abruptly withdrew the forces. Three years later, Palestinians living in the Gaza Strip and along the West Bank of the Jordan River — territories occupied by Israel since 1967 — mounted an intifada, a civilian uprising against Israeli authority. In response, American diplomats stepped up their efforts to persuade the PLO and Arab nations to accept the legitimacy of Israel and to convince the Israelis to allow the creation of a Palestinian state. Neither initiative met with much success. Unable, or unwilling, to solve the region's most intractable problems and burdened by a history of support for undemocratic regimes in Middle Eastern countries, the United States was not seen by residents of the region as an honest broker.

Persian Gulf War American interest in a reliable supply of oil from the region led the United States into a short but consequential war in the Persian Gulf in the early 1990s. Ten years earlier, in September 1980, the revolutionary Shiite Islamic nation of Iran, headed by Ayatollah Khomeini, came under attack from Iraq, a secular state headed by the dictator Saddam Hussein. The fighting was intense and long lasting — a war of attrition that claimed a million casualties. Reagan supported Hussein with military intelligence and other aid — in order to maintain supplies of Iraqi oil, undermine Iran, and preserve a balance of power in the Middle East. Finally, in 1988, an armistice ended the inconclusive war, with both sides still claiming the territory that sparked the conflict.

Two years later, in August 1990, Hussein went to war to expand Iraq's boundaries and oil supply. Believing (erroneously) that he still had the support of the United States, Hussein sent in troops and quickly conquered Kuwait, Iraq's small, oil-rich neighbor, and threatened Saudi Arabia, the site of one-fifth of the world's known oil reserves and an informal ally of the United States. To preserve the balance of power in the region favored by the United States, President George H. W. Bush sponsored a series of resolutions in the United Nations Security Council calling for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. When Hussein refused, Bush successfully prodded the UN to authorize the use of force, and the president organized a military coalition of thirty-four nations. Dividing mostly along party lines, the Republican-led House of Representatives authorized American participation by a vote of 252 to 182, and the Democratic-led Senate agreed by the close margin of 52 to 47.

The coalition forces led by the United States quickly won the **Persian Gulf War** for the "liberation of Kuwait." To avoid a protracted struggle and retain French and Russian support for the UN coalition, Bush decided against occupying Iraq and removing Saddam Hussein from power. Instead, he won passage of UN Resolution 687, which imposed economic sanctions against Iraq unless it allowed unfettered inspection of its weapons systems, destroyed all biological and chemical arms, and unconditionally pledged not to develop nuclear weapons. The military victory, the low incidence of American casualties, and the quick withdrawal produced a euphoric reaction at

Men — and Women — at War A U.S. soldier with Norman Schwarzkopf, commander of coalition forces in the Persian Gulf War. Women comprised approximately 10 percent of American troops in that conflict. In the last decades of the twentieth century, women increasingly chose military careers and were more frequently assigned to combat zones. David Turnley, Corbis/VCG via

home. "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all," Bush announced, and his approval rating shot up precipitously. But Saddam Hussein remained a formidable power in the region, and in March 2003, he would become the pretext for Bush's son, President George W. Bush, to initiate another war in Iraq — one that would be much more protracted, expensive, and bloody for Americans, Iraqis, and the entire Middle East (Chapter 30).

Thus the end of the Cold War brought not peace, but a deeper American involvement in the Middle East. For half a century, the United States and the Soviet Union had tried to divide the world into two rival economic and ideological blocs: communist and capitalist. The next decades promised many new struggles, one of them between a Western-led agenda of economic and cultural globalization and an anti-Western ideology of Muslim and Arab regionalism. Still more post–Cold War shifts were coming into view as well. One was the spectacular emergence of the European Union as a massive united trading bloc, economic engine, and global political force. Another was the equally spectacular economic growth in China, which was just beginning to take off in the early 1990s. The post–Cold War world promised to be a *multi*polar one, with centers of power in Europe, the United States, and East Asia, and seemingly intractable conflict in the Middle East.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

Why did the United States intervene in the conflicts between Iraq and Iran and between Iraq and Kuwait?

IN YOUR OWN WORDS **What were the aims of U.S. foreign policy during the waning years of the Cold War and in its immediate aftermath?**

SUMMARY

This chapter examined two central developments of the years 1980–1991: the rise of the New Right in U.S. politics and the end of the Cold War. Each development set the stage for a new era in American life, one that stretches to our own day. Domestically, the New Right, which had been building in strength since the mid-1960s, criticized the liberalism of the Great Society and the permissiveness that conservative activists associated with feminism and the sexual revolution. Shifting their allegiance from Barry Goldwater to Ronald Reagan, right-wing Americans built a conservative movement from the ground up and in 1980 elected Reagan president. Advocating free-market economics, lower taxes, and fewer government regulations, Reagan became a champion of the New Right. His record as president was more mixed than his rhetoric would suggest, however. Reagan's initial tax cuts were followed by tax hikes. Moreover, he frequently dismayed the Christian Right by not pursuing their interests forcefully enough — especially regarding abortion and school prayer.

Reagan played a role in the ending of the Cold War. His massive military buildup in the early 1980s strained an already overstretched Soviet economy, which struggled to keep pace. Reagan then agreed to meet with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in several summits between 1985 and 1987. More important than Reagan's actions, however, were inefficiencies and contradictions in the Soviet economic structure itself. Combined with the forced military buildup and the disastrous war in Afghanistan, these strains led Gorbachev to institute the first significant reforms in Soviet society in half a century. The reforms stirred popular criticism of the Soviet Union, which formally collapsed in 1991. Beginning the same year with the Gulf War against Iraq, the United States became embroiled in what would become a decades-long series of wars in the Middle East.

CHAPTER 29 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. What were the major characteristics of the political movement that backed Ronald Reagan, known as the New Right?
2. What were the major political successes and failures of the Reagan coalition?
3. What were the aims of U.S. foreign policy during the waning years of the Cold War and in its immediate aftermath?
4. Review the events listed on the thematic timeline on pages 910–911. In what ways was the New Right "reactive," responding to liberalism, and in what ways was it "proactive," asserting its own agenda?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

The Conscience of a Conservative (p. 915)
National Review (p. 916)
Religious Right (p. 916)
hostage crisis (p. 920)
Reagan coalition (p. 922)
Moral Majority (p. 922)
Reagan Democrats (p. 922)
supply-side economics (Reaganomics) (p. 923)
Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA) (p. 923)
national debt (p. 924)
deregulation (p. 924)
HIV/AIDS (p. 926)
service industries (p. 928)
Sandinistas (p. 931)
Contras (p. 931)
Iran-Contra affair (p. 934)
glasnost (p. 935)
perestroika (p. 935)
family values (p. 937)
Persian Gulf War (p. 939)

Key People

Barry Goldwater (p. 914)
Ronald Reagan (p. 914)
William F. Buckley (p. 916)
Milton Friedman (p. 916)
David Stockman (p. 923)
Sandra Day O'Connor (p. 925)
Mikhail Gorbachev (p. 930)
George H. W. Bush (p. 937)

Key Academic Terms

odyssey (p. 914)
bulwark (p. 920)
aphorism (p. 922)
consternation (p. 924)
acumen (p. 929)
oligarchy (p. 931)
iconoclast (p. 935)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. Compare the two major periods of liberal legislative accomplishment — the New Deal in the 1930s (Chapter 22) and the Great Society in the 1960s (Chapter 27) — with the Reagan era in the 1980s. Did Reagan undo the legislative gains of those earlier eras? What conservative objectives was he able to accomplish, and what limits or obstacles did he encounter?
2. Examine the images of Reagan in this chapter (pp. 913 and 922). What message do these images convey about Reagan as a person? About his policies? Together, what do they tell us about the image and reality of the Reagan presidency? Do you think that cartoons or photographs are a more accurate source of information for understanding the historical meaning of a particular president and his administration? Why or why not?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 914 for help in answering the question below.

Identify some of the key moments in the decline and then end of the Cold War. What part did the United States play in these events, and how did this affect the U.S. role in world affairs more broadly?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS *Choose the correct answer for each question.*

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "We're not cutting the budget simply for the sake of sounder financial management. This is only the first step toward returning power to the States and communities, only a first step toward reordering the relationship between citizen and government. We can make government again responsive to the people not only by cutting its size and scope and thereby ensuring that its legitimate functions are performed efficiently and justly.
>
> Because ours is a consistent philosophy of government, we can be very clear: We do not have a social agenda, separate economic agenda, and a separate foreign agenda. We have one agenda. Just as surely as we seek to put our financial house in order and rebuild our nation's defenses, so too we seek to protect the unborn, to end the manipulation of schoolchildren by utopian planners, and permit the acknowledgment of a Supreme Being in our classrooms just as we allow such acknowledgments in other public institutions."
>
> Speech by President Ronald Reagan, March 20, 1981

1. Based upon the excerpt, Reagan would most likely support
   - **a.** cutbacks in military programs.
   - **b.** reductions in spending on social welfare programs.
   - **c.** a universal health care system.
   - **d.** a greater role of government in protecting natural resources.
2. In the decade following Reagan's election in 1980, divisions emerged between liberals and conservatives over all of the following issues EXCEPT the
   - **a.** scope of the government social safety net.
   - **b.** positive effects of free-trade agreements.
   - **c.** need for deregulation of industry.
   - **d.** foreign policies governing relations with the Soviet Union.
3. Reagan's ideas expressed in the excerpt found the greatest support among
   - **a.** union organizations and laborers.
   - **b.** the youth counterculture.
   - **c.** Protestant Evangelical Christians.
   - **d.** feminists and gay activists.

Questions 4–6 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The we-they world that emerged after 1945 is giving way to the more traditional struggles of great powers. That contest is more manageable. It permits serious negotiations. It creates new possibilities — for cooperation in combating terrorism, the spread of chemical weapons and common threats to the environment, and for shaping a less violent world.
>
> True, Europe remains torn in two; but the place where four decades of hostility began is mending and changing in complicated patterns. True, two enormous military machines still face each other around the world; but both sides are searching for ways to reduce the burdens and risks. Values continue to clash, but less profoundly as Soviet citizens start to partake in freedom. . . .
>
> The Bush Administration seems less attentive to these issues and more preoccupied with Mr. Gorbachev's seizing headlines worldwide. It would do better to think of him as part of the solution, not the problem. . . .
>
> Hints dribble out about senior [Bush Administration] officials worrying that Mr. Reagan was too friendly with Mr. Gorbachev and too eager for arms-control. That's self-defeating talk. . . . It would be unfortunate if the Bush team worried too much about their right flank and tried to prove that it can out-tough Mr. Reagan. That would drain them of the imagination and boldness necessary to go beyond the cold war."
>
> Editorial from *The New York Times*, April 2, 1989.
> © 1989 *The New York Times*. All rights reserved. Used by permission and protected by the Copyright Laws of the United States. The printing, copying, redistribution, or retransmission of this Content without express written permission is prohibited.

4. The excerpt from the *New York Times* editorial placed the greatest responsibility for ending the Cold War on
   - **a.** President Reagan's military escalations.
   - **b.** the risks posed by the global war on terrorism.
   - **c.** long-term success of the policy of containment.
   - **d.** the power of the United States' unilateral foreign policy.
5. The trends described in the *New York Times* editorial contributed most directly to
   - **a.** intensifying debates over the appropriate use of American power in the world.
   - **b.** a greater emphasis in American foreign policy on imperialist territorial ambitions.
   - **c.** increased calls for international isolationism in U.S. public opinion.
   - **d.** new awareness of the dangers of permanent foreign alliances.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Reagan worked very hard to show conservative evangelicals that he was their candidate. In August 1980 he appeared at the National Affairs Briefing . . . an event organized by the Religious Roundtable . . . the seeming answer to the prayers of the evangelicals: here was the man who would lead Christians back to the White House. . . . Reagan painted the Christian worldview in broad strokes that made clear its commonalities with the larger antistate agenda of his campaign, denouncing the [Federal Communications Commission] for interfering with religious schools, and the [National Labor Relations Board] for meddling with church employees. . . . One newspaper described the entire National Affairs Briefing as a 'thinly disguised religious pep rally for Ronald Reagan.'"

Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan*, 2009

"When conservative pragmatists, including Reagan himself, moved slowly or cautiously on many issues, especially abortion, religious and pro-family activists believed they had been betrayed. . . . The president's rhetorical support was unwavering: he gave . . . antiabortion speeches, appointed right-to-life leaders to his administration, [and] declared support for a Human Life Amendment [an amendment to the Constitution that would have outlawed abortion]. . . . But Reagan watched the polls and chose not to leap too far ahead of public opinion. His support for . . . right-to-life Senate initiatives was calibrated not to disrupt his economic agenda. . . . [H]e seized the opportunity to name the [Supreme] court's first woman, Sandra Day O'Connor, ignoring vocal right-to-life opposition. As an Arizona state senator in 1970, O'Connor had voted to repeal Arizona's abortion law, which had permanently disqualified her from the bench in the minds of right-to-life activists."

Robert O. Self, *All in the Family: The Realignment of American Democracy Since the 1960s*, 2012.

1. Using the two excerpts at left, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Phillips-Fein's and Self's historical interpretations of the Reagan presidency.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Phillips-Fein's argument.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific event, development, or circumstance not directly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Self's argument.
2. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain why ONE of the following developments led to the most significant changes in United States society after 1980.
     - religious fundamentalism among Christians
     - economic policies of deregulation
     - taxation and budgetary policies
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development supports your argument in (a).
   - **c.** Briefly explain why ONE of the other options less significantly changed United States society after 1980.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE important historical difference in the foreign policies of the Reagan administration from the Carter administration.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ANOTHER important historical difference in the foreign policies of the Reagan administration from the Carter administration.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE important historical similarity in the foreign policies of the Reagan administration to the Carter administration.

CHAPTER 30

Confronting Global and National Dilemmas

1989 to the Present

America in the Global Economy

The Rise of the European Union and China

A New Era of Globalization

Revolutions in Technology

Politics and Partisanship in a Contentious Era

An Increasingly Plural Society

Clashes over "Family Values"

Bill Clinton and the New Democrats

Post–Cold War Foreign Policy

Into a New Century

The Ascendance of George W. Bush

Violence Abroad and Economic Collapse at Home

Reform and Stalemate in the Obama Years

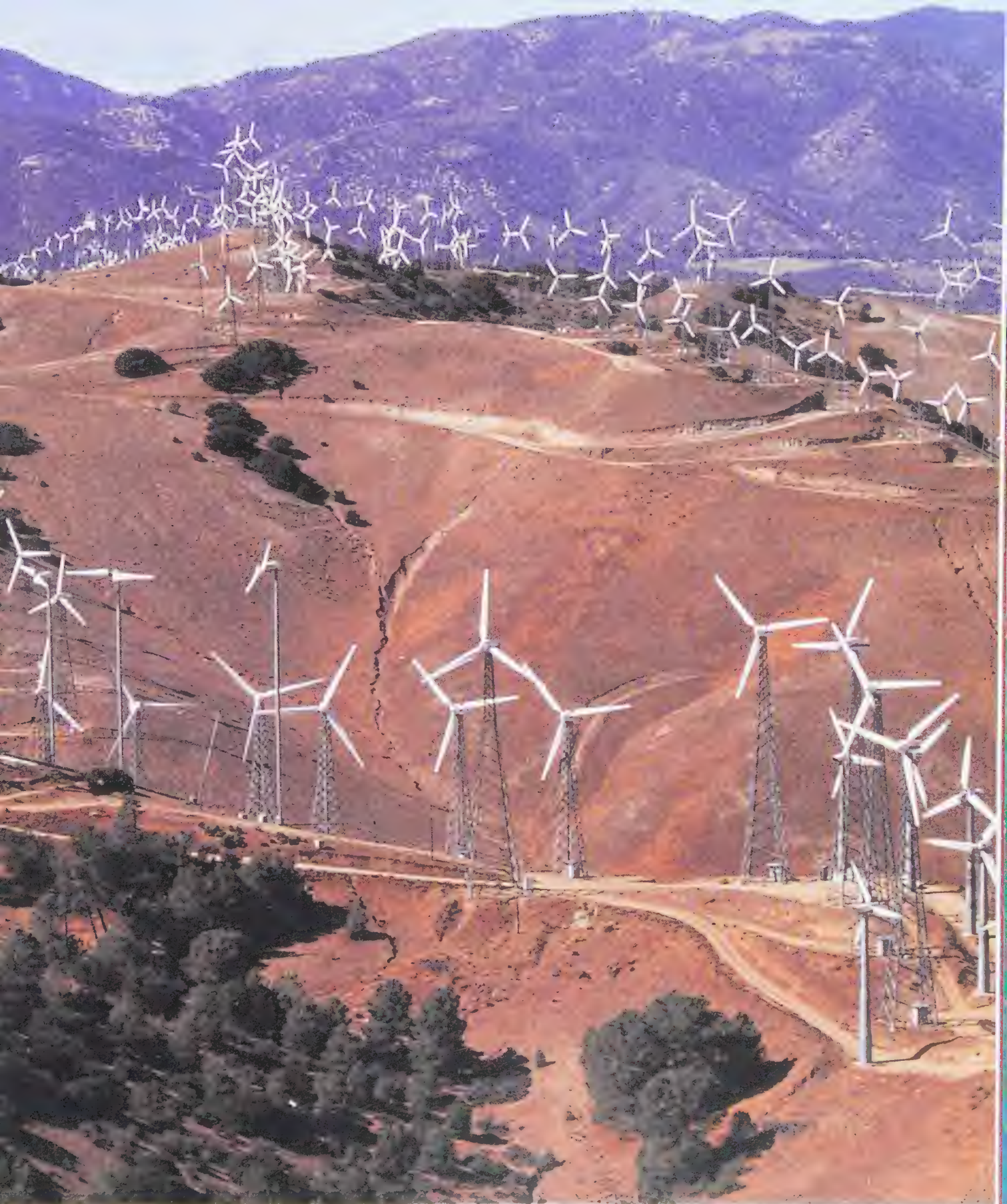
AP® LEARNING FOCUS

How has the post–Cold War era of globalization affected American politics, economics, and society?

On the morning of September 11, 2001, two commercial airliners were deliberately flown into the World Trade Center in lower Manhattan. Millions of Americans, and many more people worldwide, watched live on television and the Internet as the towers burned and collapsed. Simultaneously, a third plane was flown into the Pentagon, and a fourth hijacked plane crashed in rural Pennsylvania. It took Federal Bureau of Investigation officials only a few hours to determine the identity of most of the hijackers, as well as the organization behind the murderous attacks, a radical Islamic group known as **Al Qaeda**.

The attacks were made possible by the new era of globalization. Of the nineteen hijackers, fifteen were from Saudi Arabia, two were from the United Arab Emirates, one was from Egypt, and one was from Lebanon. Many had trained in Afghanistan, in guerrilla warfare camps operated by Osama bin Laden, Al Qaeda's leader. Four had gone to flight school in the United States itself. Several had lived and studied in Germany. They communicated with one another and with planners in Afghanistan through e-mail, Web sites, and cell phones. The most conspicuous crime of the twenty-first century, which left 2,900 people dead and sent waves of shock and anxiety through the American public, would have been impossible without the openness and interconnectivity that are central features of globalization.

The emergence in the Middle East of a radical Islamic movement willing to use terrorism to inflict major damage on the United States and the West testified to the altered realities of global politics. The simple Cold War duality — communism versus capitalism — had for decades obscured regional, ethnic, and religious loyalties and conflicts. Absent the global Cold War rivalry, those loyalties and conflicts moved to center stage. For the United States, the period between the end of the Cold War and the present has been defined by twin dilemmas. The first relates to **globalization**. How would the United States engage in global trade and commerce? How would it engage with the emerging economic strength of Europe and Asia? And how would it conceptualize and address new threats to the nation and to global stability? The second dilemma relates to domestic politics and the economy. In an era of conservative ideological dominance, how would Americans reconcile their political differences, and how would the nation continue to ensure economic opportunity and security for its citizens? As profound geopolitical changes shook the world, these were, as the chapter title suggests, Americans' dilemmas in a global society.



Energy and the Environment At the dawn of the twenty-first century, few issues were more critical, in the United States and across the globe, than energy and the environment. This wind farm is an example of the search for nonfossil sources of new energy, a search that is among the many challenges facing the globalized world of our century.

Raphio via Getty Images

CHAPTER CHRONOLOGY

As you read, ask yourself why this chapter begins and ends with these dates and then identify the links among related events.

- **1992** ▸ Democratic moderate Bill Clinton elected president
  - ▸ *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*
- **1993** ▸ North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
  - ▸ Clinton budget plan balances federal budget and begins to pay down federal debt
- **1994** ▸ Clinton health insurance reform effort fails
  - ▸ Republicans gain control of Congress
- **1995** ▸ U.S. troops enforce peace in Bosnia
- **1996** ▸ Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act reforms welfare system
- **1998** ▸ Bill Clinton impeached by House of Representatives
  - ▸ Defense of Marriage Act
- **1999** ▸ Clinton acquitted by Senate
  - ▸ World Trade Organization (WTO) protests
- **2000** ▸ George W. Bush wins contested presidential election
- **2001** ▸ Bush tax cuts
  - ▸ September 11: Al Qaeda terrorists attack World Trade Center and Pentagon
  - ▸ Congress passes USA PATRIOT Act
- **2002** ▸ United States unseats Taliban in Afghanistan
  - ▸ President Bush declares Iran, North Korea, and Iraq an "axis of evil"
- **2003** ▸ United States invades Iraq in March
- **2004** ▸ Torture at Abu Ghraib prison becomes public
  - ▸ President Bush wins reelection
- **2007** ▸ Great Recession begins
- **2008** ▸ Barack Obama elected president
- **2009** ▸ American Recovery and Reinvestment Act
- **2010** ▸ Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act
- **2011** ▸ Osama bin Laden killed by U.S. forces
  - ▸ Last U.S. combat troops withdrawn from Iraq
- **2014** ▸ Shooting of Michael Brown and demonstrations in Ferguson, Missouri
- **2015** ▸ Obama introduces Clean Power Plan
- **2016** ▸ Donald Trump elected president

America in the Global Economy

In the decade following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, Americans rediscovered a long-standing truth: the United States was not an island but was linked in countless ways to a global economy and society. Economic prosperity in the post–World War II decades had obscured for Americans this fundamental reality (Figure 30.1). Globalization was not itself new—think of the Atlantic economy of the eighteenth century linking Europe, the Americas, and Africa—but a new and distinct era of global integration emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century. This current era has seen the rapid spread of capitalism around the world, huge increases in global trade and commerce, and a diffusion of communications technology, including the Internet, linking the world's people to one another in ways unimaginable a generation earlier (AP® Thinking Like a Historian).

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate arguments for and against free trade since the 1990s.

Suddenly, the United States faced a dizzying array of opportunities and challenges, both at home and abroad. "Profound and powerful forces are shaking and remaking our world," said a young President Bill Clinton in his first inaugural address in 1993. "The urgent question of our time is whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy." For many, globalization indeed looked like an enemy. In late 1999, more than 50,000 protesters took to the streets of Seattle, Washington, immobilizing a wide swath of the city's downtown. Police, armed with pepper spray and arrayed in riot gear, worked feverishly to clear the clogged streets, get traffic moving, and usher well-dressed government ministers from around the world into a conference hall. Protesters jeered, chanted, and held hundreds of signs and banners aloft. A radical contingent joined the otherwise peaceful march, and a handful of them began breaking the windows of the chain stores they saw as symbols of global capitalism: Starbucks, Gap, Old Navy.

Turn to the **Glossary of Academic & Historical Terms** in the back of the book for definitions of bolded terms.

What aroused such passion in the so-called battle of Seattle was a meeting of the **World Trade Organization (WTO)**, one of the principal institutions pushing unrestrained global trade. Protestors raised a question both fundamental and easily

misunderstood: In whose interest was the global economy structured? Many of the Seattle activists took inspiration from the five-point "Declaration for Global Democracy," issued by the human rights organization Global Exchange during the WTO's Seattle meeting. "Global trade and investment," the declaration demanded, "must not be ends in themselves but rather the instruments for achieving equitable and sustainable development, including protections for workers and the environment." This was precisely what the demonstrators charged the WTO with failing to do. The declaration also addressed inequality among nations, calling attention to who benefitted from globalization and who did not.

The Rise of the European Union and China

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union oversaw what observers called a bipolar world — two powerful poles, one capitalist and the other communist, around which global geopolitics were organized. Since the early 1990s, however, a multipolar world has emerged — with centers of power in Europe, Japan, China, and the United States, along with rising regional powers such as India and Brazil (AP® America in the World).

In 1992, the nations of Western Europe created the European Union (EU) and moved toward the creation of a single federal state, somewhat like the United States. By the first decades of the twenty-first century, the European Union included twenty-eight countries and 500 million people — collectively, the third largest population in the world, behind China and India — and accounted for a fifth of all global imports and exports. In 2002, the EU introduced a single currency, the euro, which soon rivaled the dollar and the Japanese yen as a major international currency (Map 30.1). The EU has remained an economic juggernaut and trading rival of the United States, but following the Great Recession of 2007–2008, it pursued a policy of **austerity** largely unpopular outside of Germany, its dominant economic member. In a stunning referendum in 2016, the voters of the United Kingdom rejected EU membership on the grounds that it compromised national sovereignty and permitted unregulated immigration. Whatever its future, the EU has presented a number of new dilemmas for American officials, especially economic competition and the strength of the EU currency.

China has also presented dilemmas. A vast nation of 1.3 billion people that was the world's fastest-rising economic power in the first decade of the twenty-first century, China *quadrupled* its gross domestic product (GDP) between 2000 and 2008. Economic growth rates during those years were consistently near 10 percent — higher than the United States achieved during its periods of furious economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Although still governed by the Communist Party, China embraced capitalism, and its factories produced inexpensive products that Americans eagerly

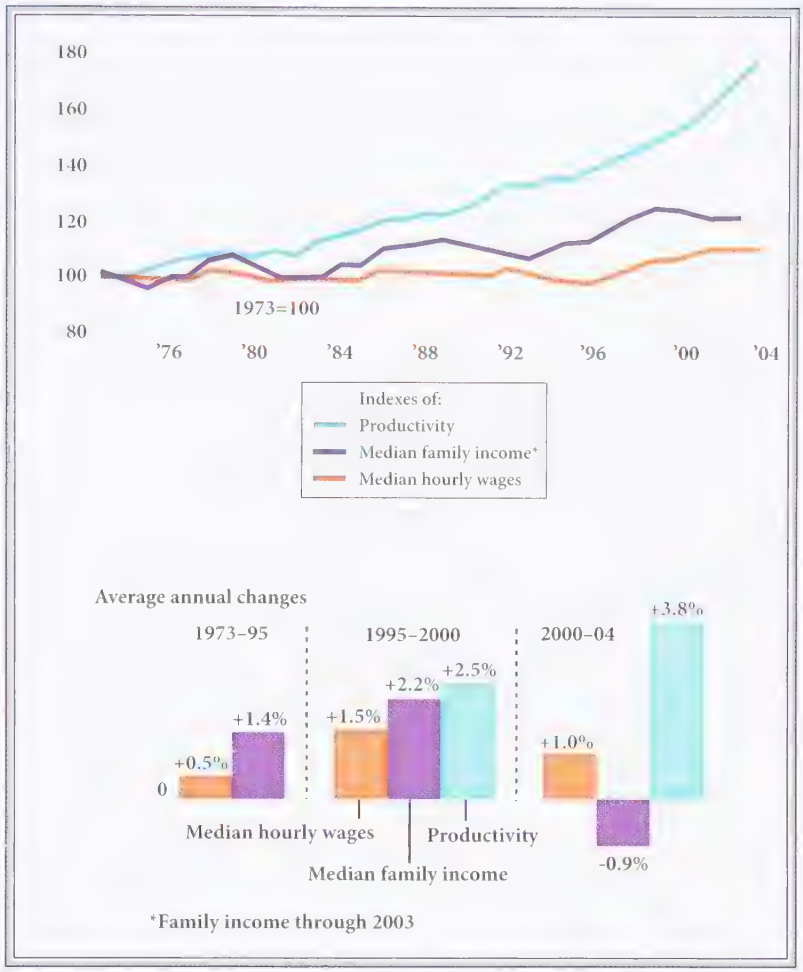


FIGURE 30.1 Productivity, Family Income, and Wages, 1970–2004
This chart tells a complex and not altogether happy story. The median hourly wages of American workers (adjusted for inflation) stagnated between 1970 and 1995. The rise in median family income reflected the increasing proportion of two-earner families, as more married women entered the workforce. The dramatic increases in productivity did not lead to higher wages for workers. Rather, businesses used those gains either to cut prices to compete in the global marketplace or to reward owners, shareholders, and, particularly, corporate executives.

AP® EXAM TIP
Recognize the impact of globalization on the American economy and politics since the 1990s.

Globalization: Its Proponents and Its Discontents

Globalization is perhaps one of the most commonly used, yet least understood, concepts in our modern vocabulary. This chapter explores how, while there has long been an international, or global, dimension to trade, migration, and other economic activity, there is nevertheless something distinct about the post–Cold War global order. Economic integration and communications networking have created new opportunities for millions of people. Yet those same processes may not benefit all equally. The following documents offer different perspectives on the broad process called globalization.

1. Interview with Petra Mata, Mexican immigrant to the United States, 2003. *An immigrant from a low-wage country who was "insourced," Mata worked as a low-paid garment worker until she lost her job in the United States because it was outsourced — sent abroad to workers paid even less.*

My name is Petra Mata. I was born in Mexico. I have completed no more than the sixth grade in school. In 1969, my husband and I came to the U.S. believing we would find better opportunities for our children and ourselves. We first arrived without documents, then became legal, and finally became citizens. For years I moved from job to job until I was employed in 1976 by the most popular company in the market, Levi Strauss & Company. I earned $9.73 an hour and also had vacation and sick leave. Levi's provided me and my family with a stable situation, and in return I was a loyal employee and worked there for fourteen years.

On January 16, 1990, Levi's closed its plant in San Antonio, Texas, where I had been working, leaving 1,150 workers unemployed, a majority of whom were Mexican-American women. The company moved its factory to Costa Rica. . . .

As a result of being laid off, I personally lost my house, my method of transportation, and the tranquility of my home. My family and I had to face new problems. My husband was forced to look for a second job on top of the one he already had. He worked from seven in the morning to six at night. Our reality was very difficult. At that time, I had not the slightest idea what free trade was or meant. . . .

Our governments make agreements behind closed doors without participation from the working persons who are most affected by these decisions — decisions that to my knowledge only benefit large corporations and those in positions of power.

2. iPhone global supply chain figure, 2011.

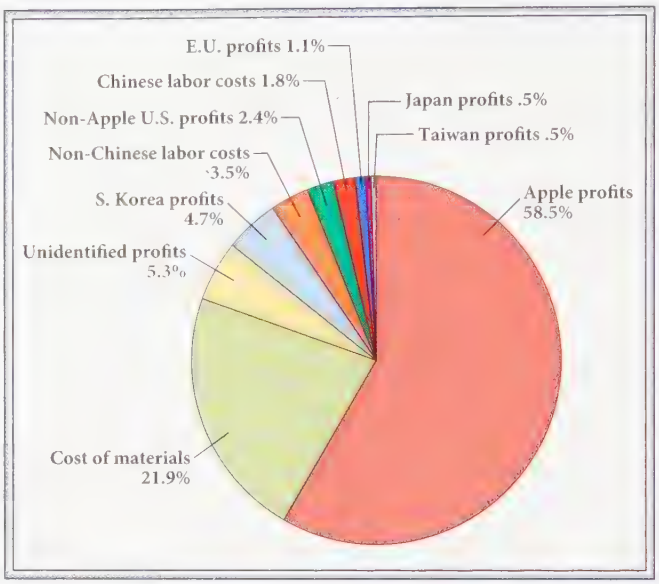


FIGURE 30.2

3. Seattle Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, "Bringing in an Undemocratic Institution Brings an Undemocratic Response," 2000.

Many of the businesses that most promote the WTO [World Trade Organization] and its allied institutions rely on undemocratic practices to promote their business interest. In recent years these policies have included not only monopolistic business practices but also outright interference with local governments. Frequently, to promote the interests of business, a militaristic type of government is either promoted, or even created. The effects these governments and their policies have on the citizenry of these nations are disastrous. Farms and forests are ruined and denuded. Low cost toxic waste dumps are

purchased — everything from children's toys and television sets to clothing, household appliances, and video games. To maintain this **symbiotic** relationship, China deliberately kept its currency weak against the American dollar, ensuring that its exports remained cheap in the United States.

Although this relationship has been beneficial to American consumers in the short run, its implications for the future may be less promising. Two such implications stand out. First, as more and more goods that Americans buy are produced in China, the

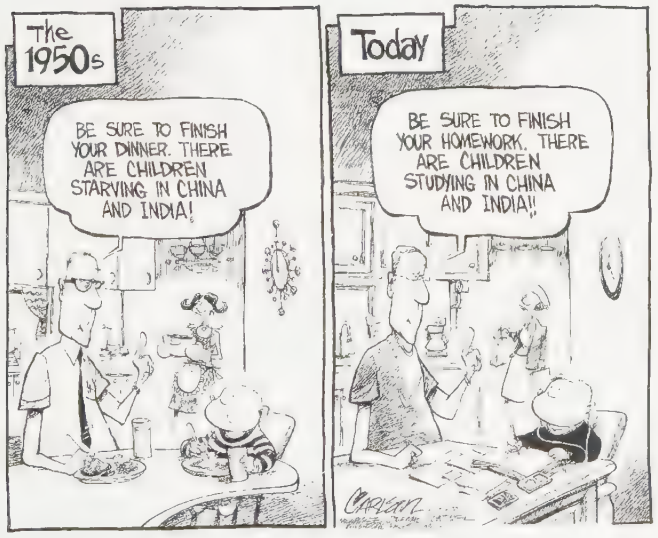
created near population centers to service skyrocketing debts. . . .

The WTO was nominally chartered as a dispute resolution organization. The problem is it is an organization with no real oversight or accountability, and a process that favors the most powerful corporations.

4. World Trade Organization press release, 2000.

- Extreme poverty is a huge problem. 1.2 billion people survive on less than a dollar a day. A further 1.6 billion, more than a quarter of the world's population, make do with one to two dollars a day.
- To alleviate poverty, developing economies need to grow faster, and the poor need to benefit from this growth. Trade can play an important part in reducing poverty, because it boosts economic growth and the poor tend to benefit from that faster growth.
- The study finds that, in general, living standards in developing countries are not catching up with those in developed countries. But some developing countries are catching up. What distinguishes them is their openness to trade. The countries that are catching up with rich ones are those that are open to trade; and the more open they are, the faster they are converging.

5. Stuart Carlson, political cartoon from the *Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel*, 2005.


The 1950s
BE SURE TO FINISH YOUR DINNER. THERE ARE CHILDREN STARVING IN CHINA AND INDIA!
Today
BE SURE TO FINISH YOUR HOMEWORK. THERE ARE CHILDREN STUDYING IN CHINA AND INDIA!!
CARLSON

SOURCE: Stuart Carlson © 2005 *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Reprinted with permission of UNIVERSAL UCLICK. All rights reserved.

6. Former president Bill Clinton, speech at Guildhall, London, 2006.

I spent a lot of time working on globalization when I was president, coming to terms with the fundamental fact of interdependence that goes far beyond economics: open border, easy travel, easy immigration, free flow of money as well as people, products, and services. I tried to figure out how to maximize the dynamism of global interdependence and still broaden its impact in terms of economics and opportunity. The one thing that I am quite sure of is that interdependence is not a choice, it's not a policy, it is the inevitable condition of our time. So, divorce is not an option. . . .

Therefore, the mission of the moment clearly is to build up the positive and reduce the negative forces of global interdependence in a way that enables us to keep score in the right way. Are people going to be better off, will our children have a better chance, will we be more united than divided?

SOURCES: (1) From *Shafted: Free Trade and America's Working Poor*, by Christine Ahn (Food First Books, 2003). Reprinted by permission of the Institute for Food and Development Policy, 398 60th Street, Oakland, CA 94618; (2) Kenneth L. Kraemer, Greg Linden, and Jason Dedrick, "Capturing Value in Global Networks: Apple's iPad and iPhone" (Paul Merage School of Business, University of California, Irvine, July 2011). Used by permission of the authors; (3) Seattle Chapter, National Lawyers Guild, "Bringing in an Undemocratic Institution Brings an Undemocratic Response," July 5, 2000, ii, 5; (4) WTO press release, June 13, 2000, quoting WTO Special Study No. 5, "Trade, Income Disparity, and Poverty," June 2000. Used by permission of the World Trade Organization; (6) collegeofpublicspeaking.co.uk/Clinton-London-2006.html.

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

1. Free trade means that goods can move between countries without restriction or taxation (such as tariffs or duties). Compare sources 1, 3, 5, and 6. How do these different sources explain the effects of freer trade across the globe? How would you interpret the WTO's optimism about free trade alongside Petra Mata's personal experience of displacement?
2. How is increased global communication important to the trade relationships described in source 2? According to source 4, what are some other effects associated with the trade relationships shown here?
3. What tension in globalization is the cartoonist in source 5 attempting to capture? What kind of change over time has the cartoonist identified?

AP® DBQ PRACTICE

Based on this chapter's discussion of globalization, and using the above documents, write an essay in which you examine the economic effects of recent global integration. In particular, use your essay to define globalization and to outline some of its potential positive and negative effects.

manufacturing base in the United States continues to shrink, costing jobs and adversely affecting communities. Second, until quite recently China kept its currency low against the dollar primarily by purchasing American debt. China now owns 7 percent of total U.S. debt, making it the largest foreign holder alongside Japan. Many economists believe that it is unwise to allow a single country to wield so much influence over the U.S. currency supply. Should this relationship continue unchanged, Americans may find their manufacturing sector contracting even more severely in the coming decades.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

What were the major consequences for the United States of the economic rise of China and the European Union?

WTO Demonstration, Seattle, 1999 In November 1999, an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 people from many states and foreign nations staged a major protest at a World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle. The goals of the protesters were diffuse; many feared that the trend toward a system of free (capitalist-run) trade would primarily benefit multinational corporations and would hurt both developing nations and the working classes in the industrialized world. Protests have continued at subsequent meetings of the WTO and the World Bank. Hector M...

A New Era of Globalization

Americans have long depended on foreign markets to which they export their goods and have long received imported products and immigrants from other countries. But the *intensity* of international exchange has varied over time. The end of the Cold War shattered barriers that had restrained international trade and impeded capitalist development of vast areas of the world. New communications systems — satellites, fiber-optic cables, global positioning networks — were shrinking the world's physical spaces to a degree unimaginable at the beginning of the twentieth century. Perhaps most important, global financial markets became integrated to an unprecedented extent, allowing investment capital to "flow" into and out of nations and around the world in a matter of moments.

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the role of world organizations in promoting global economic change.

International Organizations and Corporations International organizations, many of them created in the wake of World War II, set the rules for capitalism's worldwide expansion: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). During the final decades of the Cold War, the leading capitalist industrial nations formed the Group of Seven (G7) to manage global economic policy. Russia joined in 1997, creating the **Group of Eight (G8)**. The G8 nations — the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, and

Global Trade, 1960–2009

One of the major consequences of economic globalization is an increase in trade among nations. The figures below show imports and exports for four of the world's largest economies.

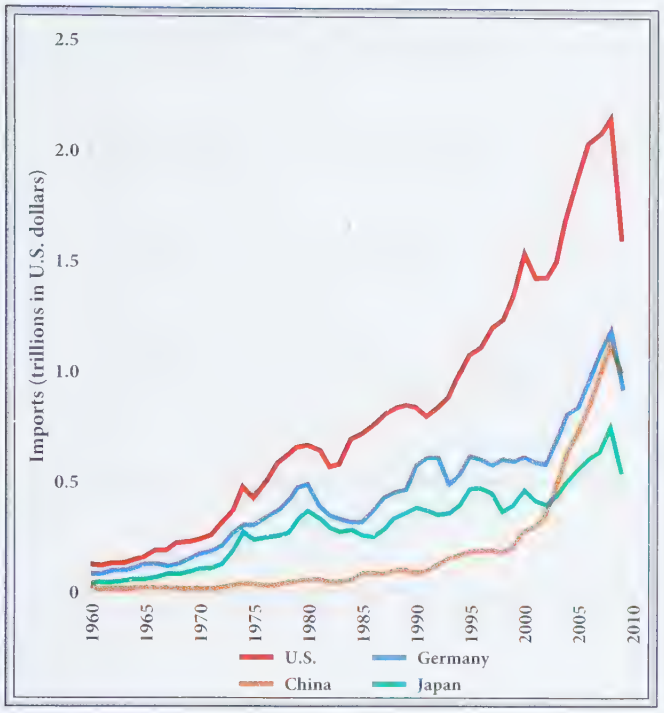


FIGURE 30.3 Imports, 1960–2009

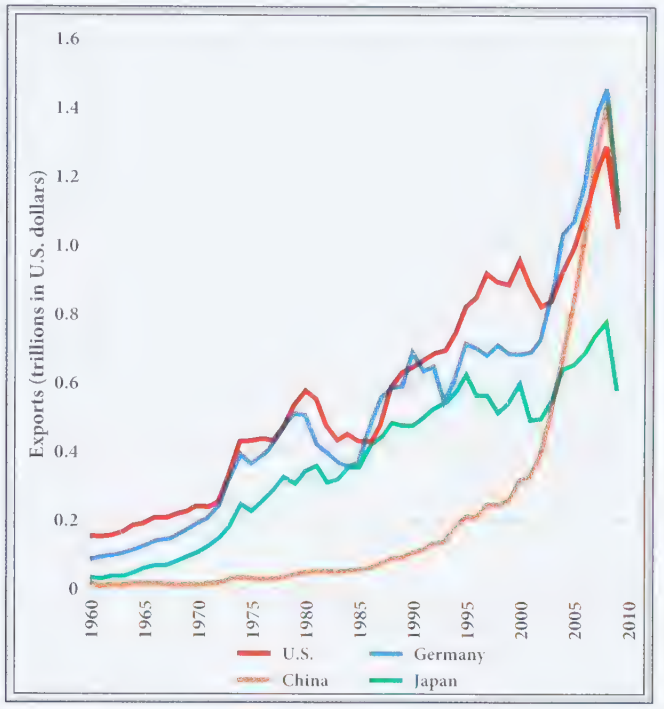


FIGURE 30.4 Exports, 1960–2009

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Notice how U.S. imports rose at roughly the same rate as those of other countries until the 1970s. What accounts for the acceleration of U.S. imports thereafter?
2. China's exports rose spectacularly after the 1990s. Germany increased its exports in this period dramatically as well. What evidence do you see here for increasing competition for the United States in a globalizing economy?

Russia—largely controlled the major international financial organizations (Russia was suspended from the G8 in 2014). In 1995, GATT evolved into the World Trade Organization (WTO), with nearly 150 participating nations that regulate and formalize trade agreements with member states.

As globalization accelerated, so did the integration of regional economies. To offset the economic clout of the European bloc, in 1993 the United States, Canada, and Mexico signed the **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)**. This treaty, as ratified by the U.S. Congress, envisioned the eventual creation of a free-trade zone covering all of North America. In East Asia, the capitalist nations of Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore consulted on economic policy; as China developed a quasi-capitalist economy and became a major exporter of manufactures, its Communist-led government joined their deliberations.

International organizations set the rules, but globalization was made possible by the proliferation of **multinational corporations** (MNCs). In 1970, there were 7,000 corporations with offices and factories in multiple countries; by 2000, the number had

MAP 30.1 Growth of the European Community, 1951–2016
The European Community (EU) began in the 1950s as a loose organization of Western European nations. Over the course of the following decades, it created stronger common institutions, such as the European Parliament in Strasbourg, the EU Commission in Brussels, and the Court of Justice in Luxembourg. With the collapse of communism, the EU expanded to include the nations of Eastern and Central Europe. It now includes twenty-eight nations and over 500 million people. Many states have applied for membership and are awaiting official ascension into the union, while in 2016 the United Kingdom voted to exit the EU.

exploded to 63,000. Many of the most powerful MNCs were, and continue to be, based in the United States. Walmart, the biggest American retailer, is also one of the world's largest corporations, with 6,000 stores in other nations and more than $475 billion in sales in 2015. Apple, maker of the iPhone and iPad, grew spectacularly in the 2000s and now has more than $170 billion in annual global sales. The McDonald's restaurant chain had 1,000 outlets outside the United States in 1980; twenty years later, there were nearly 13,000, and "McWorld" had become a popular shorthand term for globalization.

Globalization was driven by more than a quest for new markets. Corporations also sought ever-cheaper sources of labor. Many American MNCs closed their factories in the United States and outsourced manufacturing jobs to plants in Mexico, Eastern Europe, and especially Asia. The athletic sportswear firm Nike was a prime example. By 2005, Nike had established 700 factories worldwide that employed more than 650,000 workers, most of whom received low wages, endured harsh working conditions, and had no health or pension benefits. Highly skilled jobs were outsourced as well.

Financial Deregulation One of the principal differences between this new era of globalization and previous eras has been the opening of national financial and currency markets to investment from around the world. The United States and Britain led the way. Both countries came under the sway of powerful political forces in the 1980s calling for the total deregulation of banks, brokerage houses, investment firms, and financial markets — letting the free market replace government oversight. Together, the United States and Britain led a quiet revolution in which investment markets around the world were gradually set free.

Financial deregulation led to spectacular profits for investors but produced a more fragile, crash-prone global economy. On the profit side, financial-industry profits in the United States rose from less than 10 percent of total business profits in the 1950s to more than 40 percent beginning in the 1990s. But the costs were becoming clear as well: the bankruptcy of the American savings and loan industry in the 1980s; the "lost decade" in Japan in the 1990s; the near bankruptcy of Russia in the late 1990s and of Argentina in 2001; the 1997 Asian financial crisis, centered in Thailand and Indonesia; and the Great Recession, which affected the entire global economy in 2008. These and other episodes dramatized the extraordinary risks that financial globalization has introduced.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

What were the potential benefits and risks of globalization to the United States and other countries?

Revolutions in Technology

The technological advances of the 1980s and 1990s changed the character of everyday life for millions of Americans, linking them with a global information and media environment unprecedented in world history. Not since television was introduced to American homes in the years following World War II had technology so profoundly

A Nike Factory in Vietnam In 2000, Nike was the largest foreign investor in Vietnam, where the company produced shoes and sportswear in ten subcontracting factories employing nearly 40,000 workers. Most of the workers were young women from small, rural villages who earned the equivalent of about $60 a month. Those wages were low, but still above the country's minimum wage. Nike in Vietnam epitomized the globalization of manufacturing and trade and the quest by American companies for a low-wage workforce. Nike also dramatically expanded its presence in China during the 2000s, where the company's products were produced in 124 subcontracted factories. AP Photo/Richard Vogel

changed the way people lived their lives. Personal computers, cell phones and smartphones, the Internet and the World Wide Web, and other electronic devices and systems altered work, leisure, and access to knowledge in stunning ways. Like unimpeded trade, these advances in communications and personal technologies enhanced globalization.

During the 1990s, personal computers, which had emerged in the late 1970s, grew even more significant with the spread of the Internet and the World Wide Web. Like the computer itself, the Internet was the product of military-based research. During the late 1960s, the U.S. Department of Defense, in conjunction with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, began developing a decentralized computer network, the **Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET)**. The Internet, which grew out of the ARPANET, was soon used by government scientists, academic specialists, and military contractors to exchange data, information, and electronic mail (e-mail). By the 1980s, the Internet had spread to universities, businesses, and the general public. The debut in 1991 of the graphics-based **World Wide Web**—a collection of servers that allowed access to millions of documents, pictures, and other materials—enhanced the popular appeal and commercial possibilities of the Internet. By 2011, 78 percent of all Americans and more than two billion people worldwide used the Internet to send messages, view information, and buy and sell products and services.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did globalization redefine the relationship of the United States to the rest of the world after the end of the Cold War?

Politics and Partisanship in a Contentious Era

Standing at the podium at the 1992 Republican National Convention, his supporters cheering by the thousands, Patrick Buchanan did not mince words. Buchanan was a former speechwriter for President Richard Nixon and a White House aide to President Ronald Reagan. Despite having lost the nomination for president, Buchanan still hoped to shape the party's message to voters. This election, he told the audience—including millions watching on television—"is about what we stand for as Americans." Citing Democratic support for abortion rights and the rights of lesbians and gay men, Buchanan claimed there was "a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America." He also called it "a cultural war," and his address became known as the "**culture war**" speech.

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the "culture war" of the 1990s to the cultural conflicts in the 1920s and 1950s.

Buchanan's war was another name for a long-standing political struggle, dating to the 1920s, between religious traditionalists and secular liberals (Chapter 21). This time, however, Americans struggled over these questions in the long shadow of the 1960s, which had taken on an exaggerated meaning in the nation's politics. Against the backdrop of globalization, American politics in the 1990s and early 2000s careened back and forth between contests over divisive social issues and concern over the nation's economic future.

An Increasingly Plural Society

Exact estimates vary, but demographers predict that at some point between 2040 and 2050 the United States will become a "majority-minority" nation: no single ethnic or racial group will be in the numerical majority. This was already the case in four states by 2010—California, Texas, Hawaii, and New Mexico—where African Americans, Latinos, and Asians together constituted a majority of the state's residents. As this unmistakable trend became apparent in the 1990s, it fueled renewed debates over ethnic and racial identity and over public policies such as affirmative action.

New Immigrants According to the Census Bureau, the population of the United States grew from 203 million in 1970 to 280 million in 2000 (AP® Analyzing Voices). Of that 77-million-person increase, immigrants accounted for 28 million, with documented entrants numbering 21 million and undocumented entrants adding another 7 million (Figure 30.5). As a result, by 2010, 27 percent of California's population was foreign-born, as was 20 percent of New York's and 17 percent each of New Jersey's and Florida's (these percentages declined somewhat in the 2010 Census). Relatively few immigrants came from Europe, which had dominated immigration to the United States between 1880 and 1924. The overwhelming majority—some 25 million—now came from Latin America (16 million) and East Asia (9 million) (Map 30.2).

AP® EXAM TIP

Recognize the impact of changes in immigration policy on American culture and the economy.

This extraordinary inflow of immigrants was the unintended result of the **Immigration and Nationality Act** of 1965, one of the less well-known but most influential pieces of Great Society legislation (Chapter 27). Known as the Hart-Celler Act, the legislation eliminated the 1924 quota system, which had favored Northern Europe. In its place, Congress created a more equal playing field among nations and a slightly higher total limit on immigration. The legislation also eased the entry of immigrants who possessed skills in high demand in the United States. Finally, a provision with far-reaching implications was included in the new law: immediate family members of those legally resident in the United States were admitted outside of the total numerical limit.

American residents from Latin America and the Caribbean were best positioned to take advantage of the family provision. Millions of Mexicans came to the United States to join their families, and U.S. residents from El Salvador and Guatemala—tens of thousands of whom had arrived seeking sanctuary or asylum during the civil wars of the 1980s—and the Dominican Republic now brought their families to join them.

Nationally, there were now more Latinos than African Americans. Many of these immigrants profoundly shaped the emerging global economy by sending substantial portions of their earnings, called remittances, back to family members in their home countries. In 2015, for instance, workers in the United States sent $25 billion to Mexico, a massive remittance flow that constituted Mexico's third largest source of foreign exchange.

Asian immigrants came largely from China, the Philippines, South Korea, India, and Pakistan. In addition, 700,000 refugees came to the United States from Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) after the Vietnam War. This immigration signaled more than new flows of people into the United States. Throughout much of its history, the United States had oriented itself toward the Atlantic. Indeed, at the end of the nineteenth century, American secretary of state John Hay observed, "The Mediterranean is the ocean of the past; the Atlantic the ocean of the present." He added, presciently, "The Pacific [is] the ocean of the future." By the last decades of the twentieth century, Hay's future had arrived. As immigration from Asia increased, as Japan and China grew more influential

New Immigrants In the early years of the 2000s, more immigrants lived in the United States than at any time since the first decades of the twentieth century. Most came from Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Many, like those pictured here, started small businesses that helped revive the economies of urban and suburban neighborhoods across the country. Brand X Pictures/SuperStock

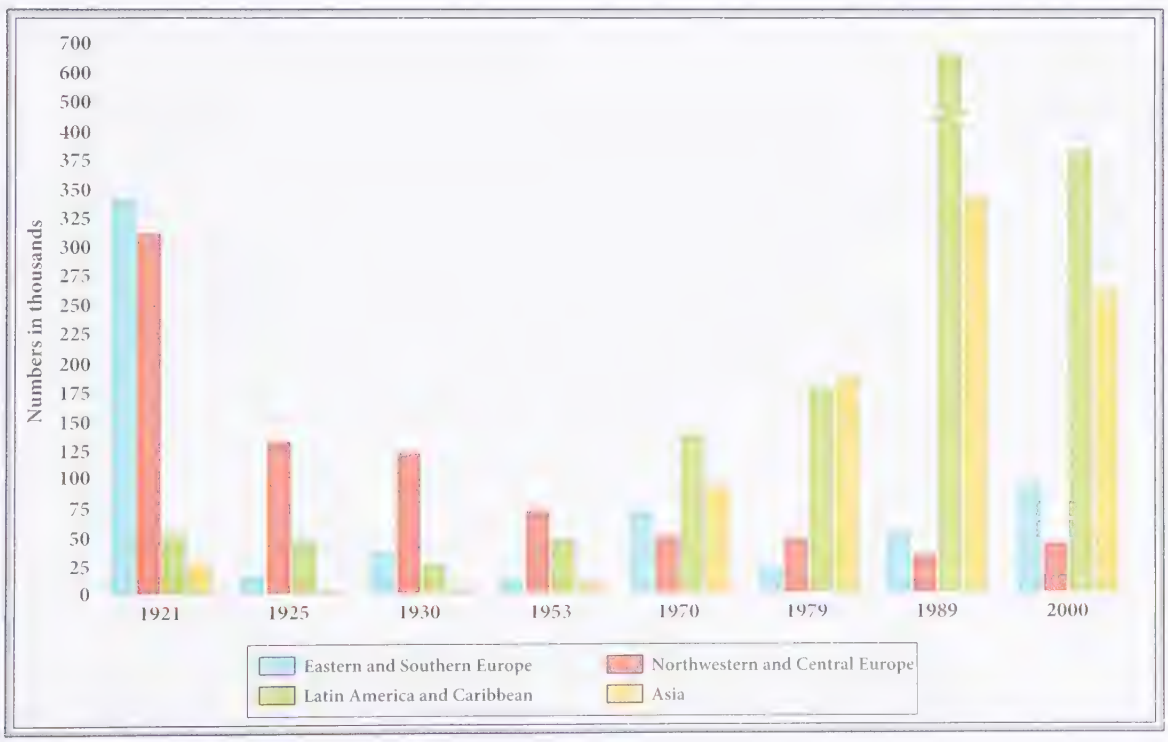


FIGURE 30.5 American Immigration, 1920–2000
Legislation inspired by nativism slowed the influx of immigrants after 1920, as did the dislocations brought on by economic depression and war in the 1930s and 1940s. Note the high rate of non-European immigration since the 1970s, the result of new eligibility rules in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Chapter 27). The dramatic increase since 1980 in the number of migrants from Latin America and Asia reflects American economic prosperity, traditionally a magnet for migrants, and the rapid acceleration of undocumented immigration.

Immigration After 1965: Its Defenders and Critics

As we have seen in this chapter, the immigration law passed by Congress in 1965 combined with global developments to shift the flows of people seeking entry to the United States. More and more immigrants came from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa. Immigration has always been politically controversial, but in the 1990s a renewed, and often polarized, debate over immigration emerged.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

A Nation of Immigrants, 1964

This selection is from a revised, and posthumously published, version of a book Kennedy originally published in 1958.

SOURCE: Nicholas Capaldi, ed., *Immigration: Debating the Issues* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1997), 128.

"Immigration policy should be generous; it should be fair; it should be flexible. With such a policy we can turn to the world, and to our own past with clean hands and a clean conscience. Such a policy would be a reaffirmation of old principles. It would be an expression of our agreement with George Washington that 'The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.'"

ROY BECK

"A Nation of (Too Many) Immigrants?" 1996

Roy Beck is a former journalist who became an activist for immigration reduction.

SOURCE: From *The Case Against Immigration: The Moral, Economic, Social, and Environmental Reasons for Reducing U.S. Immigration Back to Traditional Levels*, by Roy H. Beck (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1996). Used by permission of the author.

"Since 1970, more than 30 million foreign citizens and their descendants have been added to the local communities and labor pools of the United States. It is the numerical equivalent of having relocated within our borders the entire present population of all Central American countries.

Demographic change on such a massive scale — primarily caused by the increased admission of *legal* immigrants — inevitably has created winners and losers among Americans. Based on opinion polls, it appears that most Americans consider themselves net losers and believe that the United States has become 'a nation of too many immigrants.'

What level of immigration is best for America, and of real help to the world? Although we often hear that the United States is a nation of immigrants, we seldom ask just what that means. It can be difficult to ask tough questions about immigration when we see nostalgic images of Ellis Island, recall our own families' coming to America, or encounter a new immigrant who is striving admirably to achieve the American dream.

But tough questions about immigration can no longer be avoided as we enter a fourth decade of unprecedentedly high immigration and struggle with its impact on our job markets, on the quality of life and social fabric of our communities, and on the state of the environment. . . .

The task before the nation in setting a fair level of immigration is not about race or some vision of a homogenous white America; it is about protecting and enhancing the United States' unique experiment in democracy for all Americans, including recent immigrants, regardless of their particular ethnicity. It is time to confront the true costs and benefits of immigration numbers, which have skyrocketed beyond our society's ability to handle them successfully."

economically, and as more and more transnational trade crossed the Pacific, commentators on both sides of the ocean began speaking of the Pacific Rim as an important new region.

Multiculturalism and Its Critics Most new immigrants arrived under the terms of the 1965 law. But those who entered without legal documentation stirred political controversy. After twenty years under the new law, there were between three and five million immigrants without legal status. In 1986, to remedy this situation, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The law granted citizenship to many of those who had arrived outside the law's numerical limits, provided incentives for employers not to hire undocumented immigrants, and increased surveillance along the border with Mexico.

VERNON M. BRIGGS JR. AND STEPHEN MOORE

"Still an Open Door?" 1994

Two academic policy analysts weigh in on the immigration debate.

SOURCE: Vernon M. Briggs Jr. and Stephen Moore, *Still an Open Door? U.S. Immigration Policy and the American Economy* (Washington, DC: The American University Press, 1994), 78.

"Immigrants are certainly not an unmixed blessing. When the newcomers first arrive, they impose short-term costs on the citizenry. Because immigration means more people, they cause more congestion of our highways, a more crowded housing market, and longer waiting lines in stores and hospitals. In states such as California, immigrants' children are heavy users of an already overburdened public school system, and so on. Some immigrants abuse the welfare system, which means that tax dollars from Americans are transferred to immigrant populations. Los Angeles County officials estimate that immigrants' use of county services costs the local government hundreds of millions of dollars each year. . . .

The benefits of immigration, however, are manifold. Perhaps the most important benefit is that immigrants come to the United States with critically needed talents, energies, and ambitions that serve as an engine for economic progress and help the United States retain economic and geopolitical leadership. Because for most of the world's immigrants, America is their first choice, the United States is in a unique position to select the most brilliant and inventive minds from the United Kingdom, Canada, China, Korea, India, Ireland, Mexico, Philippines, Russia, Taiwan, and other nations. Because most immigrants are not poor, tired, huddled masses, but rather are above the average of their compatriots in skill and education levels, the immigration process has a highly beneficial self-selection component, a skimming of the cream of the best workers and top brainpower from the rest of the world."

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA

June 15, 2012, Announcement at the White House Rose Garden

In 2012 the president announced a new policy allowing many immigrants to avoid deportation and apply for work authorization.

SOURCE: *New York Times*, June 15, 2012.

"This morning, Secretary Napolitano [Secretary of Department of Homeland Security] announced new actions my administration will take to mend our nation's immigration policy, to make it more fair, more efficient and more just, specifically for certain young people sometimes called DREAMers.

Now, these are young people who study in our schools, they play in our neighborhoods, they're friends with our kids, they pledge allegiance to our flag. They are Americans in their heart, in their minds, in every single way but one: on paper. They were brought to this country by their parents, sometimes even as infants, and often have no idea that they're undocumented until they apply for a job or a driver's license or a college scholarship.

Put yourself in their shoes. Imagine you've done everything right your entire life, studied hard, worked hard, maybe even graduated at the top of your class, only to suddenly face the threat of deportation to a country that you know nothing about, with a language that you may not even speak.

That's what gave rise to the Dream Act. It says that if your parents brought you here as a child, you've been here for five years and you're willing to go to college or serve in our military, you can one day earn your citizenship. And I've said time and time and time again to Congress that — send me the Dream Act, put it on my desk, and I will sign it right away. . . ."

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS

1. Compare and contrast the different views on immigration presented here. What are the pros and cons of immigration?
2. Does the debate over immigration depend on whether immigrants are pictured as skilled and educated or unskilled and poor? Explain why it should or shouldn't.
3. The Dream Act that President Obama mentions was stalled in Congress in 2012. What kinds of appeals does he make on behalf of immigrants? How do they compare with Kennedy's remarks?

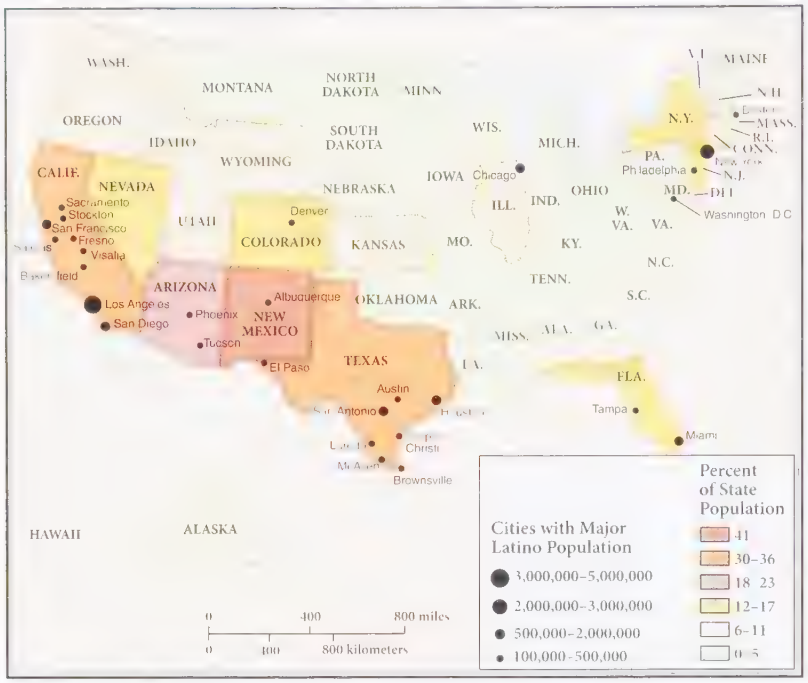
Immigration critics persisted, however. In 1992, Patrick Buchanan warned Americans that their country was "undergoing the greatest invasion in its history, a migration of millions of illegal aliens a year from Mexico." Many states took immigration matters into their own hands. In 1994, for instance, Californians approved Proposition 187, a ballot initiative that barred undocumented immigrants from public schools, nonemergency care at public health clinics, and all other state social services (after five years in federal court, the controversial measure was ruled unconstitutional). Two decades later, in 2016, immigration's critics massed behind Republican presidential nominee Donald Trump, who repeatedly pledged to "build a wall" between the U.S. and Mexico and to deport the approximately 11 million undocumented immigrants who resided in the country.

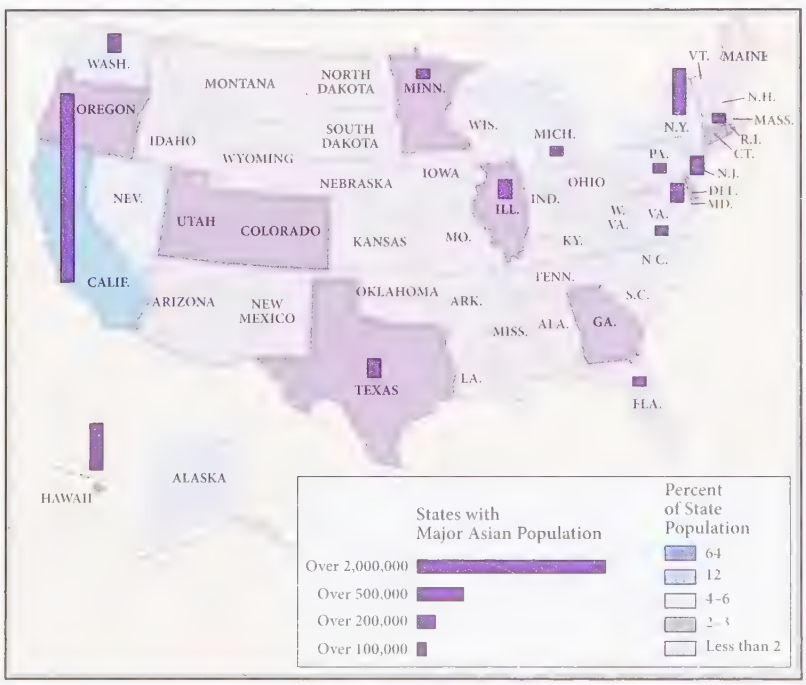
Debates over post-1965 immigration looked a great deal like conflicts in the early decades of the century. Then, many native-born white Protestants worried that the

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the degree to which the criticism of multiculturalism in the 1990s represented change or continuity in American history.

To see a portion of Proposition 187, along with other primary sources from this period, see ***Sources for America's History***.





MAP 30.2 Latino and Asian Populations, 2000
In 2000, people of Latin American descent made up more than 11 percent of the American population, and they now outnumber African Americans as the largest minority group. Asian Americans accounted for an additional 4 percent of the population. Demographers predict that by the year 2050 only about half of the U.S. population will be composed of non-Latino whites. Note the high percentage of Latinos and Asians in California and certain other states.

largely Jewish and Catholic immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, along with African American migrants leaving the South, could not assimilate and threatened the "purity" of the nation. Although the conflicts looked the same, the cultural paradigm had shifted. In the earlier era, the *melting pot*—a term borrowed from the title of a 1908 play—became the metaphor for how American society would accommodate its newfound diversity. Some native-born Americans found solace in the melting-pot concept because it implied that a single "American" culture would predominate. In the 1990s, however, a different concept, **multiculturalism**, emerged to define social diversity. Americans, this concept suggested, were not a single people into whom others melted; rather, they comprised a diverse set of ethnic and racial groups living and working together. A shared set of public values held the multicultural society together, even as different groups maintained unique practices and traditions.

Critics, however, charged that multiculturalism sowed division and conferred preferential treatment on minority groups. Many government policies, as well as a large number of private employers, for instance, continued to support affirmative action programs designed to bring African Americans and Latinos into public- and private-sector jobs and universities in larger numbers. Conservatives argued that such governmental programs were deeply flawed because they promoted "reverse discrimination" against white men and women and resulted in the selection and promotion of less qualified applicants for jobs and educational advancement.

California stood at the center of the debate. In 1995, under pressure from Republican governor Pete Wilson, the regents of the University of California scrapped their entire affirmative action admissions policy. A year later, California voters approved **Proposition 209**, which outlawed affirmative action in state employment and public education. At the height of the 1995 controversy, President Bill Clinton delivered a major speech defending affirmative action. He reminded Americans that Richard Nixon, a Republican president, had endorsed affirmative action, and he concluded by saying the nation should "mend it," not "end it." However, as in the *Bakke* decision of the 1970s (Chapter 28), it was the U.S. Supreme Court that spoke loudest on the subject. In two parallel 2003 cases, the Court invalidated one affirmative action plan at the University of Michigan but allowed racial preference policies that promoted a

"diverse" student body. Thus diversity became the law of the land, the constitutionally acceptable basis for affirmative action. The policy had been narrowed but preserved.

Additional anxieties about a multicultural nation centered on language. In 1998, Silicon Valley software entrepreneur Ron Unz sponsored a California initiative calling for an end to bilingual education in public schools. Unz argued that bilingual education had failed because it did not adequately prepare Spanish-speaking students to succeed in an English-speaking society. The state's white, Anglo residents largely approved of the measure; most Mexican American, Asian American, and civil rights organizations opposed it. When Unz's measure, Proposition 227, passed with a 61 percent majority, it seemed to confirm the limits of multiculturalism in the nation's most diverse state.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CHANGE OVER TIME

How did anti-immigrant sentiment increase between the 1960s and the 1990s, and what sorts of actions were taken by those opposed to immigration?

Clashes over "Family Values"

If the promise of a multicultural nation was one contested political issue, another was American families. New Right conservatives charged that the "abrasive experiments of two liberal decades," as a Reagan administration report put it, had eroded respect for marriage and what they had called, since the 1970s, "family values." They pointed to the 40 percent rate of divorce among whites and the nearly 60 percent rate of out-of-wedlock pregnancies among African Americans. To conservatives, there was a wide range of culprits: legislators who enacted liberal divorce laws, funded child care, and allowed welfare payments to unmarried mothers, as well as judges who condoned abortion and banished religious instruction from public schools.

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the intense debates that continue in American society over diversity, gender, and family.

Abortion Abortion was central to the battles between feminists and religious conservatives and a defining issue between Democrats and Republicans. Feminists who described themselves as prochoice viewed the issue from the perspective of the pregnant woman; they argued that the right to a legal, safe abortion was crucial to her autonomy over her body and life. Conversely, religious conservatives, who pronounced themselves prolife, viewed abortion from the perspective of the unborn fetus and claimed that its rights trumped those of the mother. That is where the debate had stood since the U.S. Supreme Court's 1973 decision in *Roe v. Wade*.

By the 1980s, fundamentalist Protestants had assumed leadership of the antiabortion movement, which became increasingly confrontational and politically powerful. In 1987, the religious activist Randall Terry founded **Operation Rescue**, which mounted protests outside abortion clinics and harassed their staffs and clients. While such vocal protests took shape outside clinics, antiabortion activists also won state laws that limited public funding for abortions, required parental notification before minors could obtain abortions, and mandated waiting periods before any woman could undergo an abortion procedure. Such laws further restricted women's reproductive choices.

Gay Rights The issue of homosexuality stirred equally deep passions. As more gay men and women came out of the closet in the years after Stonewall (Chapter 27), they demanded legal protections from discrimination in housing, education, and employment. Public opinion about these demands varied by region, but by the 1990s, many cities and states had banned discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Gay rights groups also sought legal rights for same-sex couples — such as the eligibility for workplace health-care coverage — that were akin to those enjoyed by married heterosexuals. In later years, activists pushed to have transgender persons included in such protections. Many of the most prominent national gay rights organizations, such as the Human Rights Campaign, focused on full marriage equality: a legal recognition of same-sex marriage that was on par with opposite-sex marriages.

The Religious Right had long condemned homosexuality as morally wrong, and public opinion remained sharply divided. In 1992, Colorado voters approved an amendment to the state constitution that prevented local governments from enacting

Activists Protesting Outside the Supreme Court in 2002 In 2002 the Supreme Court considered a case in which the National Organization for Women (NOW) had challenged the legality of abortion clinic protests, such as those undertaken by Operation Rescue. The activists, and the case itself, demonstrated that the question of abortion remained far from settled, and Americans on all sides of the issue continued to hold passionate opinions. Mark Wilson/Ge

ordinances protecting gays and lesbians—a measure that the Supreme Court subsequently overturned as unconstitutional. That same year, however, Oregon voters defeated a more radical initiative that would have prevented the state from using any funds "to promote, encourage or facilitate" homosexuality. In 1998, Congress entered the fray by enacting the **Defense of Marriage Act**, which allowed states to refuse to recognize gay marriages or civil unions formed in other jurisdictions. Following the lead of Massachusetts, which legalized same-sex marriage in 2004, in the first decades of the twenty-first century, ten states approved gay unions: California, Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Maryland, New Hampshire, New York, Vermont, Washington, and Rhode Island. Then, in *Obergefell v. Hodges* in 2015, the Supreme Court ruled that states could not prohibit same-sex marriage under the constitution. Remarkably, in a generation, marriage equality had prevailed.

Culture Wars and the Supreme Court Divisive rights issues increasingly came before the U.S. Supreme Court. Abortion led the way, with abortion rights activists challenging the constitutionality of the new state laws limiting access to the procedure. In ***Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*** (1989), the Supreme Court upheld the authority of state governments to limit the use of public funds and facilities for abortions. Then, in the important case of ***Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey*** (1992), the Court upheld a law requiring a twenty-four-hour waiting period prior to an abortion. Surveying these and other decisions, a reporter suggested that 1989 was "the year the Court turned right," with a conservative majority ready and willing to limit or invalidate liberal legislation and legal precedents.

This observation was only partly correct. The Court was not yet firmly conservative. Although the *Casey* decision upheld certain restrictions on abortions, it affirmed the "essential holding" in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) that women had a constitutional right to control their reproduction. Justice David Souter, appointed to the Court by President George H. W. Bush in 1990, voted with Reagan appointees Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy to uphold *Roe*. Souter, like O'Connor, emerged as an ideologically moderate justice on a range of issues. Moreover, in a landmark decision, ***Lawrence v. Texas*** (2003), the Supreme Court limited the power of states to prohibit private homosexual activity between consenting adults and, more recently, in *Windsor v. United States* (2013) declared the Defense of Marriage Act unconstitutional. The Court had crept incrementally, rather than lurched, to the right while signaling its continued desire to remain within the broad mainstream of American public opinion, particularly on the issues of reproduction and marriage equality.

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

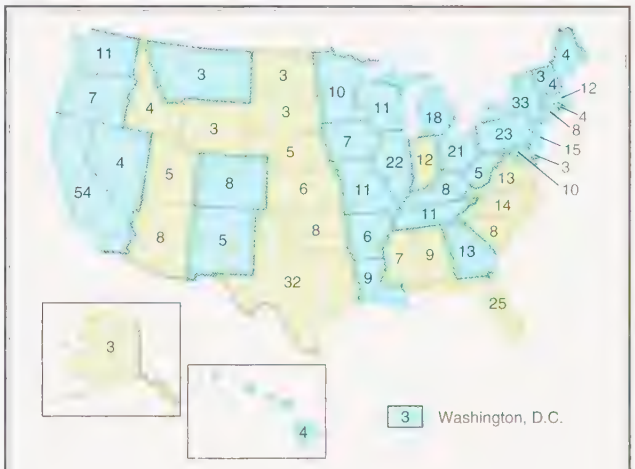
How did clashes over "family values" alter American politics in the 1990s?

Bill Clinton and the New Democrats

The culture wars contributed to a new, divisive partisanship in national politics. Rarely in the twentieth century had the two major parties so adamantly refused to work together. Also rare was the vitriolic rhetoric that politicians used to describe their opponents. The fractious partisanship was filtered through — or, many would argue, created by — the new twenty-four-hour cable news television networks, such as Fox News and CNN. Commentators on these channels, finding that nothing drew viewers like aggressive partisanship, increasingly abandoned their roles as conveyors of information and became entertainers and provocateurs.

That divisiveness was a hallmark of the presidency of William (Bill) Jefferson Clinton. In 1992, Clinton, the governor of Arkansas, styled himself a New Democrat who would bring Reagan Democrats and middle-class voters back to the party. Only forty-six, he was an energetic, ambitious policy wonk — extraordinarily well informed about the details of public policy. To win the Democratic nomination in 1992, Clinton had to survive charges that he embodied the permissive social values conservatives associated with the 1960s: namely, that he dodged the draft to avoid service in Vietnam, smoked marijuana, and cheated repeatedly on his wife. The charges were damaging, but Clinton **adroitly** talked his way into the presidential nomination: he had charisma and a way with words. When he chose Albert A. Gore, a senator from Tennessee, as his running mate, they became the first baby boom national ticket as well as the nation's first all-southern major-party ticket.

President George H. W. Bush won renomination over his lone opponent Pat Buchanan. The Democrats mounted an aggressive campaign that focused on Clinton's domestic agenda: he promised a tax cut for the middle class, universal health insurance, and a reduction of the huge Republican budget deficit. It was an audacious combination of traditional social-welfare liberalism and fiscal conservatism. For his part, Bush could not overcome voters' discontent with the weak economy and conservatives' disgust at his tax hikes. He received only 38.0 percent of the popular vote as millions of Republicans cast their ballots for independent businessman Ross Perot, who won more votes (19.0 percent) than any independent candidate since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912. With 43.7 percent of the vote, Clinton won the election (Map 30.3).



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
William J. Clinton (Democrat)	370	44,908,232	43.7
George H. W. Bush (Republican)	168	39,102,282	38.0
H. Ross Perot (Independent)	0	19,725,433	19.0

MAP 30.3 The Presidential Election of 1992

The first national election after the end of the Cold War focused on the economy, which had fallen into a recession in 1991. The first-ever all-southern Democratic ticket of Bill Clinton (Arkansas) and Al Gore (Tennessee) won support across the country but won the election with only 43.7 percent of the popular vote. The Republican candidate, President George H. W. Bush, ran strongly in his home state of Texas and the South, an emerging Republican stronghold. Independent candidate H. Ross Perot, a wealthy technology entrepreneur, polled an impressive 19.0 percent of the popular vote by capitalizing on voter dissatisfaction with the huge federal deficits of the Reagan-Bush administrations.

Among all post–World War II presidents, only Richard Nixon (in 1969) entered the White House with a comparably small share of the national vote.

AP® EXAM TIP

Analyze the successes and failures of Bill Clinton and the New Democrats.

New Democrats and Public Policy Clinton tried to steer a middle course through the nation's increasingly divisive partisanship. On his left was the Democratic Party's weakened but still vocal liberal wing. On his right were party moderates influenced by Reagan-era notions of reducing government regulation and the welfare state. Clinton's "third way," as he dubbed it, called for the new president to tailor his proposals to satisfy these two quite different — and often antagonistic — political constituencies. Clinton had notable successes as well as spectacular failures pursuing this course.

The spectacular failure came first. Clinton's most ambitious social-welfare goal was to provide a system of health care that would cover all Americans and reduce the burden of health-care costs on the larger economy. It was an objective that had eluded every Democratic president since Harry Truman. Recognizing the potency of Reagan's attack on "big government," Clinton's health-care task force — led by First Lady Hillary Clinton — proposed a system of "managed competition." Private insurance companies and market forces were to rein in health-care expenditures. The cost of this system would fall heavily on employers, and many smaller businesses campaigned strongly against it. So did the health insurance industry and the American Medical Association, powerful lobbies with considerable influence in Washington. By mid-1994, Democratic leaders in Congress declared that the Clintons' universal health-care proposal was dead. Forty million Americans, or 15 percent of the population, remained without health insurance coverage.

More successful was Clinton's plan to reduce the budget deficits of the Reagan-Bush presidencies. In 1993, he secured a five-year budget package that would reduce the federal deficit by $500 billion. Republicans unanimously opposed the proposal because it raised taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals, and liberal Democrats complained because it limited social spending. But shared sacrifice led to shared rewards. By 1998, Clinton's fiscal policies had balanced the federal budget and begun to pay down the federal debt — at a rate of $156 billion a year between 1999 and 2001. As fiscal sanity returned to Washington, the economy boomed, thanks in part to the low interest rates stemming from deficit reduction.

The Republican Resurgence The midterm election of 1994 confirmed that the Clinton presidency had not produced an electoral realignment: conservatives still had a working majority. In a well-organized campaign, in which grassroots appeals to the New Right dominated, Republicans gained fifty-two seats in the House of Representatives, giving them a majority for the first time since 1954. They also retook control of the Senate and captured eleven governorships. Leading the Republican charge was Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who revived calls for significant tax cuts, reductions in welfare programs, anticrime initiatives, and cutbacks in federal regulations. These initiatives, which Gingrich promoted under the banner of a "**Contract with America**," had been central components of the conservative-backed Reagan Revolution of the 1980s, but Gingrich believed that under the presidency of George H. W. Bush Republicans had not emphasized them enough.

In response to the massive Democratic losses in 1994, Clinton moved to the right. Claiming in 1996 that "the era of big government is over," he avoided expansive social-welfare proposals for the remainder of his presidency and sought Republican support for a centrist New Democrat program. The signal piece of that program was reforming the welfare system, a measure that saved relatively little money but carried a big ideological message. Many taxpaying Americans believed — with some supporting evidence — that the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program encouraged female recipients to remain on welfare rather than seek employment. In August 1996, the federal government abolished AFDC, achieving a long-standing goal of conservatives when Clinton signed the **Personal Responsibility and Work**

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

POINT OF VIEW

What made President Clinton a "New Democrat," and how much did his proposals differ from traditional liberal objectives?

Opportunity Reconciliation Act. Liberals were furious with the president.

Clinton's Impeachment Following a relatively easy victory in the 1996 election, Clinton's second term unraveled when a sex scandal led to his impeachment. Clinton denied having had a sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky, a former White House intern, and Republicans concluded that Clinton had committed perjury and obstructed justice and that these actions were grounds for impeachment. Viewed historically, Americans have usually defined "high crimes and misdemeanors" — the constitutional standard for impeachment — as involving a serious abuse of public trust that endangered the republic. In 1998, conservative Republicans favored a much lower standard because of their total opposition to the Clinton presidency. On December 19, the House of Representatives narrowly approved two articles of impeachment. Only a minority of Americans supported the House's action; according to a CBS News poll, 38 percent favored impeachment while 58 percent opposed it. Chastened by the lack of public support, in early 1999 Republicans in the Senate fell well short of the two-thirds majority they needed to remove the president. But like Andrew Johnson, the only other president to be tried by the Senate, Clinton and the Democratic Party paid a high price for his acquittal. Preoccupied with defending himself, the president was unable to fashion a Democratic alternative to the Republicans' domestic agenda.

Bill Clinton President William (Bill) Clinton returned the Democratic Party to the White House after twelve years under Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush. Clinton was best known politically for what he called the *third way*, a phrase that described his efforts to craft policies that appealed to both liberals and moderates in his party. Here he signs the Welfare Reform Act of 1996 (officially the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act), which brought an end to the federal AFDC program that Democrats had created in 1935. AP Photo/J. Scott Applewhite

Post–Cold War Foreign Policy

Politically weakened after 1994, Clinton believed he could nonetheless make a difference on the international stage. There, post–Cold War developments gave him historic opportunities. The 1990s was a decade of stunning change in Europe and Central Asia. A great arc of newly independent states emerged as the Soviet empire collapsed. The majority of the 142 million people living in the former Soviet states were poor, but the region had a sizable middle class and was rich in natural resources, especially oil and natural gas.

Among the challenges for the United States was the question of whether to support the admission of some of the new states into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (Chapter 24). Many observers believed, with ample justification, that extending the NATO alliance into Eastern Europe, right up to Russia's western border, would damage U.S-Russian relations. However, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary were also eager to become NATO members — three nations that Stalin had decisively placed in the Soviet sphere of influence at the close of World War II. Clinton encouraged NATO admission for those three countries but stopped short of advocating a broader expansion of the alliance. Nonetheless, by 2010, twelve new nations — most of them in Eastern Europe — had been admitted to the NATO alliance. Nothing symbolized the end of the Cold War more than the fact that ten of those nations were former members of the Warsaw Pact. As some observers had feared, however, NATO's expansion damaged U.S.-Russian relations. Russia's leader since 2000, Vladimir Putin, has made no secret of his disdain for the West's encroachment.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the role of the U.S. as the world's leading superpower since the 1990s.

The Breakup of Yugoslavia Two of the new NATO states, Slovenia and Croatia, emerged from an intractable set of conflicts that led to the dissolution of the communist nation of Yugoslavia. In 1992, the heavily Muslim province of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared its independence, but its substantial Serbian population refused to live in a Muslim-run multiethnic state. Slobodan Milosevic, an uncompromising Serbian nationalist, launched a ruthless campaign of "ethnic cleansing" to create a Serbian state. In November 1995, Clinton organized a NATO-led bombing campaign and peacekeeping effort, backed by 20,000 American troops, that ended the Serbs' vicious expansionist drive. Four years later, a new crisis emerged in Kosovo, another province of the Serbian-dominated Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Again led by the United States, NATO intervened with air strikes and military forces to preserve Kosovo's autonomy. By 2008, seven independent nations had emerged from the wreckage of Yugoslavia.

America and the Middle East No post–Cold War development proved more challenging than the emergence of radical Islamic movements in the Middle East. Muslim nations there had a long list of grievances against the West. Colonialism — both British and French — in the early decades of the twentieth century had been thoroughly exploitive. A U.S.-sponsored overthrow of Iran's government in 1953 — and twenty-five years of American support for the Iranian shah — was also a sore point. America's support for Israel in the 1967 Six-Day War and the 1973 Yom Kippur War and its near-unconditional backing of Israel in the 1980s were particularly galling to Muslims. The region's religious and secular moderates complained about these injustices, but many of them had political and economic ties to the West that constrained their criticism.

This situation left an opening for radical Islamic fundamentalists to build a movement based on fanatical opposition to Western imperialism and consumer culture. These groups interpreted the American presence in Saudi Arabia as signaling new U.S. colonial ambitions in the region. Clinton had inherited from President George H. W. Bush a defeated Iraq and a sizable military force — about 4,000 Air Force personnel — in Saudi Arabia. Clinton also enforced a UN-sanctioned embargo on trade with Iraq, a policy designed to constrain Saddam Hussein's military that ultimately denied crucial goods to the civilian population. Spurred by their opposition to U.S. intervention in the region, Muslim fundamentalists soon began targeting Americans. In 1993, radical Muslim immigrants set off a bomb beneath the World Trade Center in New York City, killing six people and injuring more than a thousand. Terrorists used truck bombs to blow up U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, and they bombed the USS *Cole* in the Yemeni port of Aden in 2000.

Saudi Arabia: Oil Exporter and U.S. Ally The Defense and Aviation Minister of Saudi Arabia presents President Bill Clinton with airplane contracts with U.S. companies worth $6 billion. Between the oil crisis of the 1970s and the date of this photograph, the U.S. forged an alliance with the government of Saudi Arabia. Access to oil became increasingly critical to the U.S. in these years, and the Saudi alliance became a symbol of the indelible presence of the U.S. in the Middle East. Richard Ellis/AFP/Getty Images

The Clinton administration knew these attacks were the work of Al Qaeda, a network of radical Islamic terrorists organized by the wealthy Saudi exile Osama bin Laden. In February 1998, bin Laden had issued a call for a global struggle — a "Jihad against Jews and Crusaders," in which it was said to be the duty of every Muslim to kill Americans and their allies. After the embassy attacks, Clinton ordered air strikes on Al Qaeda bases in Afghanistan, where an estimated 15,000

operatives had been trained since 1990. The strikes failed to disrupt this growing terrorist network, and when Clinton left office, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the State Department, and the Pentagon were well aware of the potential threat posed by bin Laden's followers. That was where things stood on September 10, 2001.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS What were the sources of domestic division in the United States after 1988, and how did they reshape the political landscape?

AP® PRACTICES & SKILLS

CONTEXTUALIZATION

In what specific ways were foreign policy developments during the Clinton presidency evidence of the end of the Cold War?

Into a New Century

In the second decade of the new century, Americans can reflect on three significant developments that have profoundly shaped their own day: the long war in the Middle East that began with the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001; the election of the nation's first African American president in 2008, Barack Obama (reelected in 2012); and the election of the brazenly contrarian businessman and television personality, Donald Trump, as president on November 8, 2016. Too little time has passed for us to assess exactly how these events will help to define the twenty-first century, but all three have indelibly marked our present.

The Ascendance of George W. Bush

The 2000 presidential election briefly offered the promise of a break with the intense partisanship of the final Clinton years. The Republican nominee, George W. Bush, the son of President George H. W. Bush, cast himself as a "uniter, not a divider" against his opponent, Al Gore, Clinton's vice president. The election of 2000 would join those of 1876 and 1960 as the closest and most contested in American history. Gore won the popular vote, amassing 50.9 million votes to Bush's 50.4 million, but fell short in the electoral college, 267 to 271.

Late on election night, the vote tally in Florida gave Bush the narrowest of victories. As was their legal prerogative, the Democrats demanded hand recounts in several counties. A month of tumult followed, until the U.S. Supreme Court, splitting directly along conservative-liberal lines, ordered the recount stopped and let Bush's victory stand. Recounting ballots without a consistent standard to determine "voter intent," the Court reasoned, violated the rights of Floridian voters under the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. As if acknowledging the frailty of this argument, the Court declared that *Bush v. Gore* was not to be regarded as precedent. But in a dissenting opinion, Justice John Paul Stevens warned that the transparently partisan decision undermined "the Nation's confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law."

Although Bush had positioned himself as a moderate, countertendencies drove his administration. His vice president, the uncompromising conservative Richard (Dick) Cheney, became, with Bush's consent, virtually a copresident. Bush also brought into the administration his campaign advisor, Karl Rove, who argued that a permanent Republican majority could be built on the party's conservative base. On Capitol Hill, Rove's hard line was reinforced by Tom DeLay, the House majority leader, who in 1995 had declared "all-out war" on the Democrats. To win that war, DeLay pushed congressional Republicans to endorse a fierce partisanship. The Senate, although more **collegial**, went through a similar hardening process. After 2002, with Republicans in control of both Congress and the White House, bipartisan lawmaking came to an end.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of tax policy under George W. Bush.

Tax Cuts The domestic issue that most engaged President Bush, as it had Ronald Reagan, was taxes. Bush's **Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act** of 2001 had

TABLE 30.1

Impact of the Bush Tax Cuts, 2001–2003

Income in 2003	Taxpayers	Gross Income	Total Tax Cut	% Change in Tax Bill	Tax Bill	Tax Rate
Less than $50,000	92,093,452	$19,521	$435	–48%	$474	2%
$50,000 to 100,000	26,915,091	70,096	1,656	–21	6,417	9
$100,000 to 200,000	8,878,643	131,797	3,625	–17	18,281	14
$200,000 to 500,000	1,999,061	288,296	7,088	–10	60,464	21
$500,000 to 1,000,000	356,140	677,294	22,479	–12	169,074	25
$1,000,000 to 10,000,000	175,157	2,146,100	84,666	–13	554,286	26
$10,000,000 or more	6,126	25,975,532	1,019,369	–15	5,780,926	22

SOURCE: *New York Times*, April 5, 2006.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

COMPARE & CONTRAST

In what ways was George W. Bush a political follower of Ronald Reagan (Chapter 29)? If they embraced similar policies, how did the era of Bush's presidency, the 2000s, differ from Reagan's, the 1980s?

something for everyone. It slashed income tax rates, extended the earned income credit for the poor, and marked the estate tax to be phased out by 2010. A second round of cuts in 2003 targeted dividend income and capital gains. Bush's signature cuts — those favoring big estates and well-to-do owners of stocks and bonds — skewed the distribution of tax benefits upward (Table 30.1) and pushed far beyond those of any other postwar president, even Reagan.

Critics warned that such massive tax cuts would plunge the federal government into debt. By 2006, federal expenditures had jumped 33 percent, at a faster clip than under any president since Lyndon Johnson. Huge increases in health-care costs were the main culprit. Two of the largest federal programs, Medicare and Medicaid — health care for the elderly and the poor, respectively — could not contain runaway medical costs. Midway through Bush's second term, the national debt stood at over $8 trillion — much of it owned by foreign investors, who also financed the nation's huge trade deficit. On top of that, staggering Social Security and Medicare obligations were beginning to come due for retiring baby boomers, burdens the tax cuts passed on to future generations (Figure 30.6).

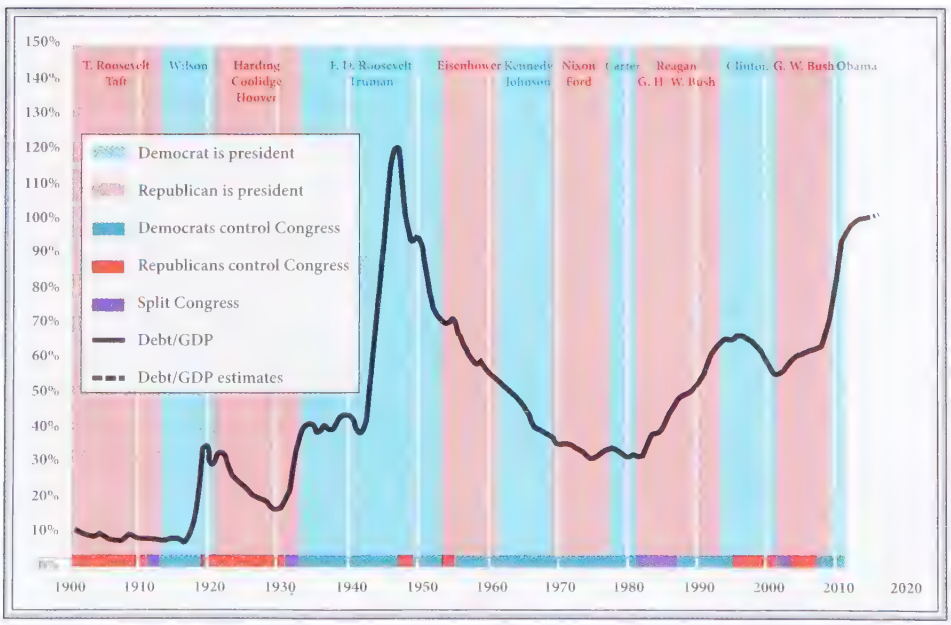


FIGURE 30.6 Gross Federal Debt as a Percentage of Gross Domestic Product

Economists argue that the best measure of a nation's debt is its size relative to the overall economy — that is, its percentage of gross domestic product (GDP). The size of the total U.S. debt declined from its World War II high until the 1980s, when it increased dramatically under President Reagan. Since then, the debt has consistently increased as a percentage of GDP, aside from a small decline under President Clinton's deficit-reduction plans in the mid-1990s. dmarts.com

September 11, 2001 As a candidate in 2000, George W. Bush had said little about foreign policy. He had assumed that his administration would rise or fall on his domestic program. But nine months into his presidency, an altogether different political scenario unfolded. On a sunny September morning, nineteen Al Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial jets and flew two of them into

New York City's World Trade Center, destroying its twin towers and killing nearly 2,900 people. A third plane crashed into the Pentagon, near Washington, D.C. The fourth, presumably headed for the White House or possibly the U.S. Capitol, crashed in Pennsylvania when the passengers fought back and thwarted the hijackers. As an outburst of patriotism swept the United States in the wake of the September 11 attacks, George W. Bush proclaimed a "war on terror" and vowed to carry the battle to Al Qaeda.

Operating out of Afghanistan, where they had been harbored by the fundamentalist Taliban regime, the elusive Al Qaeda briefly offered a clear target. In October 2001, while Afghani allies carried the ground war, American planes attacked the enemy. By early 2002, this lethal combination had ousted the Taliban, destroyed Al Qaeda's training camps, and killed or captured many of its operatives. However, the big prize, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden, had retreated to a mountain hideout. Inexplicably, U.S. forces failed to press the attack, and bin Laden escaped over the border into Pakistan.

September 11, 2001 Photographers at the scene after a plane crashed into the north tower of New York City's World Trade Center on September 11 found themselves recording a defining moment in the nation's history. When a second airliner approached and then slammed into the building's south tower at 9:03 A.M., the nation knew this was no accident. The United States was under attack. Of the nearly 2,900 people killed on that day, 2,600 died at the World Trade Center. Spencer Platt/Getty Images

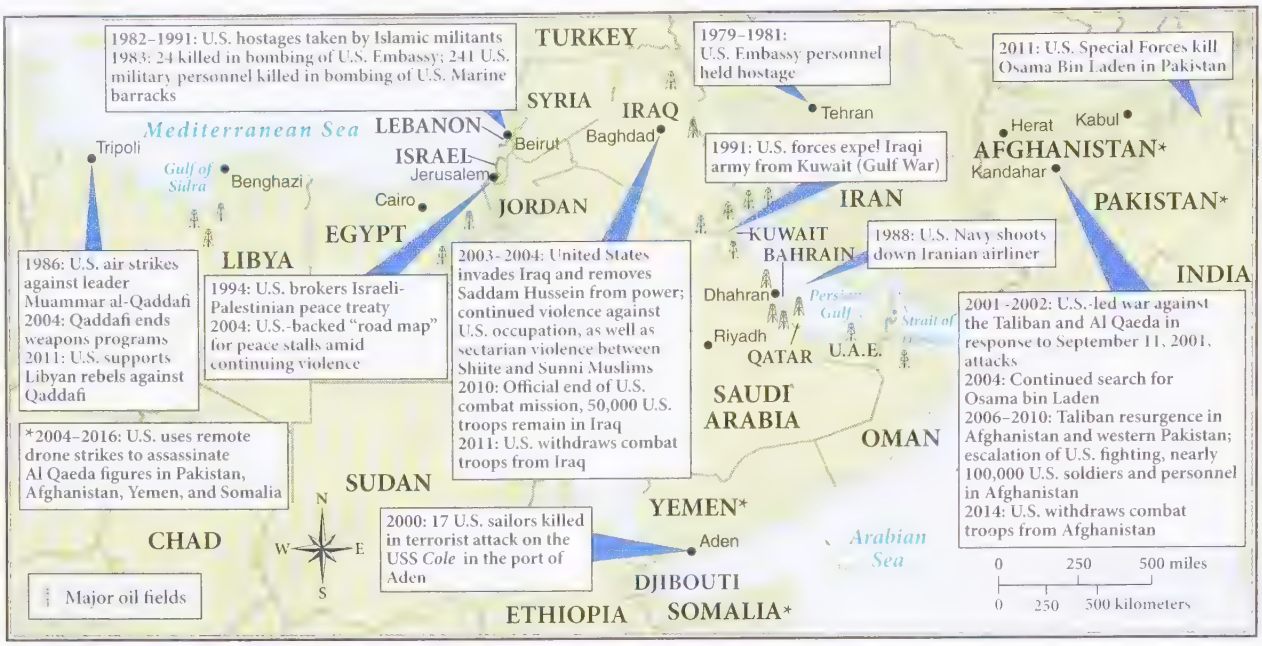
The Invasion of Iraq On the domestic side, Bush declared the terrorist threat too big to be contained by ordinary law-enforcement means. He wanted the government's powers of domestic surveillance placed on a wartime footing. With little debate, in 2001 Congress passed the **USA PATRIOT Act**, granting the administration sweeping authority to monitor citizens and apprehend suspected terrorists. On the international front, Bush used the war on terror as the premise for a new policy of preventive war. Under international law, only an imminent threat justified a nation's right to strike first, but with what became known as the Bush doctrine, the United States lowered the bar. It reserved for itself the right to act in "anticipatory self-defense." In 2002, President Bush singled out Iran, North Korea, and Iraq — "an axis of evil" — as the targeted states.

AP® EXAM TIP

Evaluate the impact of the 9/11 attacks on American foreign policy and on domestic issues of civil liberties.

Of the three, Iraq was the preferred mark. Officials in the Pentagon regarded Iraq as unfinished business, left over from the Gulf War of 1991. More grandly, Bush administration officials saw in Iraq an opportunity to fulfill what they believed to be America's mission to democratize the world. Iraqis, they contended, would abandon the tyrant Saddam Hussein and embrace democracy if given the chance. The democratizing effect would spread across the Middle East, toppling or reforming other unpopular Arab regimes and stabilizing the region. That, in turn, would secure the Middle East's oil supply, whose fragility Hussein's 1990 invasion of Kuwait had made all too clear. It was the oil, in the end, that was of vital interest to the United States (Map 30.4).

None of these considerations, either singly or together, met Bush's declared threshold for preventive war. So the president reluctantly acceded to the demand by anxious European allies that the United States go to the UN Security Council, which demanded that Saddam Hussein allow the return of the UN weapons inspectors expelled in 1998. Hussein surprisingly agreed. Anxious to invade Iraq for its own reasons, the Bush administration insisted that Hussein's regime constituted a "grave and gathering danger" and ignored further UN deliberations. American forces invaded in March 2003 in what newspapers in France, which refused to cooperate with its longtime ally, called simply "Bush's war." America's one major ally in the rush to war was Great Britain. Relations with France and Germany became poisonous. Even neighboring Mexico and Canada condemned the invasion, and Turkey, a key military ally, refused transit permission, ruining the army's plan for a northern thrust into Iraq. As for the Arab world, it exploded in anti-American demonstrations.


1982–1991: U.S. hostages taken by Islamic militants
1983: 24 killed in bombing of U.S. Embassy; 241 U.S. military personnel killed in bombing of U.S. Marine barracks
TURKEY
1979–1981: U.S. Embassy personnel held hostage
2011: U.S. Special Forces kill Osama Bin Laden in Pakistan
SYRIA
IRAQ
Tehran
Herat
Kabul
Mediterranean Sea
LEBANON
Beirut
Baghdad
Tripoli
ISRAEL
Jerusalem
1991: U.S. forces expel Iraqi army from Kuwait (Gulf War)
AFGHANISTAN*
Kandahar
Gulf of Sidra
Benghazi
Cairo
JORDAN
IRAN
PAKISTAN*
EGYPT
KUWAIT
BAHRAIN
1988: U.S. Navy shoots down Iranian airliner
INDIA
LIBYA
1986: U.S. air strikes against leader Muammar al-Qaddafi
2004: Qaddafi ends weapons programs
2011: U.S. supports Libyan rebels against Qaddafi
1994: U.S. brokers Israeli-Palestinian peace treaty
2004: U.S.-backed "road map" for peace stalls amid continuing violence
2003–2004: United States invades Iraq and removes Saddam Hussein from power; continued violence against U.S. occupation, as well as sectarian violence between Shiite and Sunni Muslims
2010: Official end of U.S. combat mission, 50,000 U.S. troops remain in Iraq
2011: U.S. withdraws combat troops from Iraq
Dhahran
Persian Gulf
Strait of Hormuz
Riyadh
QATAR
U.A.E.
2001–2002: U.S.-led war against the Taliban and Al Qaeda in response to September 11, 2001, attacks
2004: Continued search for Osama bin Laden
2006–2010: Taliban resurgence in Afghanistan and western Pakistan; escalation of U.S. fighting, nearly 100,000 U.S. soldiers and personnel in Afghanistan
2014: U.S. withdraws combat troops from Afghanistan
SAUDI ARABIA
OMAN
*2004–2016: U.S. uses remote drone strikes to assassinate Al Qaeda figures in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Somalia
SUDAN
YEMEN*
CHAD
2000: 17 U.S. sailors killed in terrorist attack on the USS Cole in the port of Aden
Aden
Arabian Sea
N
W
E
S
Major oil fields
DJIBOUTI
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA*
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers

MAP 30.4 U.S. Involvement in the Middle East, 1979–2016
The United States has long played an active role in the Middle East, driven by the strategic importance of that region and, most important, by America's need to ensure a reliable supply of oil from the Persian Gulf states. This map shows the highlights of that troubled involvement, from the Tehran embassy hostage taking in 1979 to the invasion and occupation of both Iraq and Afghanistan. President Obama withdrew most combat troops from Iraq in 2011 and from Afghanistan in 2014, but U.S. involvement in the region, in the form of drone strikes, material assistance to various states and factions, and other forms of diplomatic and military assistance continues.

Within three weeks, American troops had taken the Iraqi capital. The regime collapsed, and its leaders went into hiding (Saddam Hussein was captured nine months later). But despite meticulous military planning, the Pentagon had made no provision for postconflict operations. The war shattered the infrastructure of Iraq's cities, leaving them without reliable supplies of electricity and water. In the midst of this turmoil, an insurgency began, sparked by Sunni Muslims, a minority religious faction who had nonetheless dominated Iraq under Hussein's Baathist regime. Iraq's Shiite majority, long oppressed by Hussein, at first welcomed the Americans, but extremist Shiite elements soon turned hostile, and U.S. forces found themselves under fire from both sides. With the borders unguarded, Al Qaeda supporters flocked in from all over the Middle East, eager to do battle with the **infidel** Americans.

Blinded by their own nationalism, dominant nations tend to underestimate the strength of religious and national identities in other people. Although it was hard for Bush administration officials to believe, Iraqis of all stripes viewed the U.S. forces as invaders. Moreover, in a war against insurgents, no occupation force comes out with clean hands. In 2004 in Iraq, that painful truth burst forth graphically in photographs showing American guards at Baghdad's **Abu Ghraib prison** abusing and torturing suspected insurgents. The ghastly images shocked the world. For Muslims, they offered final proof of American treachery. At that low point, in 2004, the United States had spent upward of $100 billion. More than 1,000 American soldiers had died, and 10,000 others had been wounded, many maimed for life. But if the United States pulled out, Iraq would descend into chaos. So, as Bush took to saying, the United States had to "stay the course."

The 2004 Election As the 2004 presidential election approached, Karl Rove, Bush's top advisor, theorized that stirring the culture wars and emphasizing patriotism and Bush's war on terror would mobilize conservatives to vote for Bush. Rove encouraged activists to place antigay initiatives on the ballot in key states to draw conservative voters to the

polls; in all, eleven states would pass ballot initiatives that wrote bans on gay marriage equality into state constitutions that year. The Democratic nominee, Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, was a Vietnam hero, twice wounded and decorated for bravery — in contrast to the president, who had spent the Vietnam years in the Texas Air National Guard. But when Kerry returned from service in Vietnam, he had joined the antiwar group Vietnam Veterans Against the War and in 1971 had delivered a blistering critique of the war to the Senate Armed Services Committee. In the logic of the culture wars, this made him vulnerable to charges of being weak and unpatriotic. Nearly 60 percent of eligible voters — the highest percentage since 1968 — went to the polls. Bush beat Kerry, with 286 electoral votes to Kerry's 252. In exit polls, Bush did well among voters for whom moral "values" and national security were top concerns. Voters told interviewers that Bush, a wartime president, made them feel "safer."

Abu Ghraib This image of one of the milder forms of torture experienced by inmates at the Abu Ghraib prison was obtained by the Associated Press in 2003. It shows a detainee bent over with his hands through the bars of a cell while being watched by a comfortably seated soldier. This photograph and others showing far worse treatment administered by sometimes jeering military personnel outraged many in the United States and abroad, particularly in the Muslim world. AP Photo

Violence Abroad and Economic Collapse at Home

George Bush's second term was defined by crisis management. In 2005, Hurricane Katrina — one of the deadliest hurricanes in the nation's history — devastated New Orleans. Chaos ensued as floodwaters breached earthen barricades surrounding the city. Many residents remained without food, drinking water, or shelter for days following the storm, and deaths mounted — the final death toll stood at more than 2,000. Initial emergency responses to the catastrophe by federal and local authorities were uncoordinated and inadequate. Because the hardest-hit parts of the city were poor and African American, Katrina had revealed the poverty and vulnerability, alongside decaying and vulnerable infrastructure, at the heart of American cities.

The run of crises did not abate after Katrina. Increasing violence and a rising insurgency in Iraq made the war there even more unpopular in the United States. In 2007, changes in U.S. military strategy helped quell some of the worst violence, but the war dragged into its fifth and sixth years under Bush. Then, in 2008, the American economy began to stumble. By the fall, the Dow Jones Industrial Average had lost half its total value, and major banks, insurance companies, and financial institutions were on the verge of collapse. The entire automobile industry was near bankruptcy. Millions of Americans lost their jobs, and the unemployment rate surged to 10 percent. Housing prices dropped by as much as 40 percent in some parts of the country, and millions of Americans defaulted on their mortgages. The United States had entered the worst economic recession since the 1930s, what soon became known as the Great Recession — technically, the recession had begun in 2007, but its major effects were not felt until the fall of 2008.

The 2008 presidential election took shape in that perilous context. In a historically remarkable primary season, the Democratic nomination was contested between the first woman and the first African American to be viable presidential contenders, Hillary R. Clinton and Barack H. Obama. In a close-fought contest, Obama emerged by early summer as the nominee.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration confronted an economy in free fall. In September, less than two months before the election, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Paulson urged Congress to pass the Emergency Economic Stabilization Act, commonly

referred to as the bailout of the financial sector. Passed in early October, the act dedicated $700 billion to rescuing many of the nation's largest banks and brokerage houses. Between Congress's actions and the independent efforts of the Treasury Department and the Federal Reserve, the U.S. government invested close to $1 trillion in saving the nation's financial system.

Reform and Stalemate in the Obama Years

During his campaign for the presidency against Republican senator John McCain, Barack Obama, a Democratic senator from Illinois, established himself as a unique figure in American politics. The son of an African immigrant-student and a young white woman from Kansas, Obama was raised in Hawaii and Indonesia, and he easily connected with an increasingly multiracial America (AP® Interpreting the Past). A generation younger than Bill Clinton and George W. Bush, Obama (born in 1961) seemed at once a product of the 1960s, especially civil rights gains, and outside its heated conflicts. He took the oath of office of the presidency on January 21, 2009, amid the deepest economic recession since the Great Depression and with the United States mired in two wars in the Middle East. From the podium, the new president recognized the crises and, striking an optimistic tone, encouraged the country to "begin again the work of remaking America."

AP® EXAM TIP

Compare the successes and failures of the Obama administration to the administration of Bill Clinton.

"Remaking America" A nation that a mere two generations ago would not allow black Americans to dine with white Americans had elected a black man to the highest office. Obama himself was less taken with this historic accomplishment — which was also part of his deliberate strategy to downplay race — than with developing a plan to deal with the nation's innumerable challenges, at home and abroad. With explicit comparisons to Franklin Roosevelt, Obama used the "first hundred days" of his presidency to lay out an ambitious agenda: an economic stimulus package of federal spending to invigorate the economy; plans to draw down the war in Iraq and refocus American military efforts in Afghanistan; a reform of the nation's health insurance system; and new federal laws to regulate Wall Street.

Remarkably, the president accomplished much of that agenda. The Democratic-controlled Congress elected alongside Obama passed the **American Recovery and Reinvestment Act**, an economic stimulus bill that provided $787 billion to state and local governments — one of the largest single packages of government spending in American history. Congress next passed the Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, a complex law that added new regulations limiting the financial industry and new consumer protections. The president's signal accomplishment, however, was the first major reform of the nation's health-care system since the introduction of Medicare in 1965: the **Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act**, signed into law by Obama on March 23, 2010. Political opposition and the powerful lobbying of the private health insurance industry ensured that the new law contained enough compromises that few could predict its long-term impact.

Barack Obama In 2008, Barack Obama became the first African American president in U.S. history. And in 2012, he was reelected to a second term. Here, President Obama and First Lady Michelle Obama walk along Pennsylvania Avenue during his second inauguration.

How Should Historians Write the History of Current Events?

At what point does the present become the past? Today's headlines become the primary sources for the historian of the future, but what about the historian of today? Is it advisable for historians to interpret current events? This final chapter, which brings America's history to the 2017 presidential inauguration, includes events in the living memory and experience of everyone writing and reading these words. What do we say about our own time? What historical interpretation is possible?

In the excerpts below, two scholars, Thomas J. Sugrue and Michael Eric Dyson, attempt historical interpretations of Barack Obama's presidency. Specifically, both scholars offer an assessment of President Obama by placing him and his presidency in the context of America's racial history. How does their historical lens shape their perspective of America's most recent past?

THOMAS J. SUGRUE

SOURCE: Thomas J. Sugrue, *Not Even Past: Barack Obama and the Burden of Race* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 54–55.

Situating himself in a current of civil rights history that emphasized its radical currents would be political suicide. But there was something deeper than simple political instrumentality at work. During his journey through the polarized racial world of late twentieth-century America, Obama discovered his calling . . . to overcome the acrimonious history of racial polarization — whether it be black power or the culture wars . . . to act on the understanding that such polarization was anathema to national unity. . . . By the time that Obama was inaugurated president, he had recast himself as an agent of national unification, one who could finally bring to fruition the few lingering, unmet promises of the civil rights movement. . . . From the cacophony of the recent past, from its messiness and tumult, Obama extracts a powerful, reassuring message of progress . . . both true and mythological at the same time. Thus Barack Obama's own quest for identity and the distinctive history of the black freedom struggle, of urban politics, of civil rights and black power, became the American story. What Obama called "my story" became "our story."

MICHAEL ERIC DYSON

SOURCE: Michael Eric Dyson, *The Black Presidency: Barack Obama and the Politics of Race in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016), 156.

It is understandable that Obama prefers being seen as the black *president* rather than the *black* president. But his refusal to address race except when he has no choice — a kind of racial procrastination — leaves him little control of the conversation. When he is boxed into a racial corner, often as a result of black social unrest sparked by claims of police brutality, Obama has been mostly uninspiring: he has warned (black) citizens to obey the law and affirmed the status quo. Yet Obama energetically peppers his words to blacks with talk of responsibility in one public scolding after another. When Obama upbraids black folks while barely mentioning the flaws of white America, he leaves the impression that race is the concern solely of black people, and that blackness is full of pathology.

AP SHORT ANSWER PRACTICE

1. What tone does each of these scholars adopt in assessing Obama's approach to issues of race in America?
2. Name two ways in which Sugrue and Dyson diverge in their assessment of Obama's relationship to race during his presidency.
3. From your reading of Chapter 30's discussion of Obama's two terms in office, which assessment — Sugrue's or Dyson's — is more convincing and why?

Following the legislative accomplishments of his first two years in office, President Obama faced a divided Congress. During the fierce debate over health-care reform, a coalition of far-right groups, known collectively as the Tea Party, emerged to catalyze Republican opposition to the president. Democrats lost their majority in the House of Representatives in 2010 and in the Senate in 2014. With **Tea Party**–backed Republicans leading the way, the GOP refused to consider virtually any Democratic legislation. In the face of the legislative stalemate, Obama turned to executive authority to advance his

broader, cautiously liberal, agenda. In 2011, for instance, the president ordered that gay men and lesbians be allowed to serve openly in the armed forces, a reversal of decades of military policy. He made two appointments to the Supreme Court: Sonia Sotomayor in 2009, the first Latina to serve on the high court, and Elena Kagan in 2010. Both are committed liberals. And in 2015, Obama directed the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to adopt the Clean Power Plan to combat greenhouse gases (an action blocked by a Supreme Court stay and further limited by President Trump).

Climate Change Obama took the executive action on climate change because of congressional inaction on that issue. A scientific consensus has existed for decades that the production of energy through the burning of carbon-based substances (especially petroleum and coal) increases the presence of greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, warming the earth. Increasing temperatures have begun to produce dramatically new weather patterns and promise rising sea levels in this century, developments that threaten agriculture, the global distributions of plant and animal life, and whole cities and regions at or near the current sea level. How to halt, or at least **mitigate**, climate change has been one of the most pressing public policy issues of the twenty-first century.

Arriving at the scientific consensus on climate change has proven easier than developing government policies to address it. This has been especially true in the United States, where oil company lobbyists, defenders of free-market capitalism, and conservatives who deny global warming altogether have been instrumental in blocking action. For instance, the United States is not a signatory to the major international treaty — the so-called Kyoto Protocol — designed to reduce carbon emissions. Legislative proposals have not fared better. Cap-and-trade legislation, so named because it places a cap on individual polluters' emissions but allows those companies to trade for more emission allowances from low polluters, has stalled in Congress. Another proposal, a tax on carbon emissions, has likewise gained little political support. There is little doubt, however, that global climate change, and the role of the United States in both causing and mitigating it, will remain among the most critical questions of the next decades.

War and Instability in the Middle East Even as he pursued an ambitious domestic agenda, Obama faced two wars in the Middle East that he inherited from his predecessor. Determined to end American occupation of Iraq, in 2010 the president began to draw down troops stationed there, and the last convoy of U.S. soldiers departed in late 2011. The nine-year war in Iraq, begun to find alleged weapons of mass destruction, had followed a long and bloody arc to its end. That same year, in May, U.S. Special Forces found and killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan, where he had been hiding for many years, an action for which the president won a great deal of praise domestically. More controversial has been the president's use of "drone" strikes to assassinate Al Qaeda leaders and other U.S. enemies in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and elsewhere in the region.

Whatever the nature of the president's efforts, disengaging from Afghanistan proved difficult. Early in his first term, and despite his campaign promise to end the war there, the president ordered an additional 30,000 American troops to prevent further Taliban victories. The surge temporarily stabilized the country, but securing long-term political and military stability eluded Obama in the long run, and he left office in 2017 having been unable to withdraw the remaining 8,000 to 10,000 U.S. troops stationed there.

Meanwhile, a host of events in the Middle East deepened the region's volatility. In late 2010, a series of multicountry demonstrations and protests, dubbed the Arab Spring, toppled autocratic rulers in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Yemen. Obama and the U.S. State Department cautiously supported the uprisings but were unable to significantly shape events thereafter. In Syria, for instance, the Arab Spring insurgency produced a brutal civil war that has resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths, nearly five million refugees, and the internal displacement of nearly six million Syrian citizens. Syria has also

been plagued by the Islamic State, an ultraviolent, fundamentalist Sunni group that emerged in the chaos of war-torn Iraq. It has conquered territory and sown instability and fear among populations across northern Iraq and northern Syria since 2011. Between 2001, when the war against the Taliban began in Afghanistan, and 2016, when the Syrian refugee crisis and the Islamic State dominated headlines, the United States demonstrated that it could make war far more readily and easily than it could control the events that followed.

Domestic Crisis Much as in the era of the Vietnam War, violence abroad came to have an eerie echo at home. African Americans have long endured, and have long resisted, police brutality, in cycles of pain and protest dating to the nineteenth century. One such cycle began in 2014 with the killing of an unarmed black teenager named Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri. Weeks of demonstrations followed, as black activists, joined by many white and Latino supporters, converged on Ferguson from around the country. Many groups and leaders articulated calls for police reform and a renewed struggle against racism.

Amid this increased activism, an organization called Black Lives Matter (BLM) emerged at the fore of a broader movement. Formed two years earlier, in response to the 2012 killing of Trayvon Martin, an unarmed black teenager, by a civilian neighborhood watch captain, BLM put forth a comprehensive agenda of police reform, economic justice, political empowerment, and, echoing Black Power activists from the 1960s, black community control. Between 2014 and 2016, BLM and other activists staged protests in more than one hundred American cities, as the shooting and/or killing of black men by police came to the public's attention through cell phone, surveillance, and police videos. Many activists stressed that the ongoing crisis disproved the notion that electing a black president represented a fundamental transformation in American racial history. Indeed, many activists claimed that the Tea Party's opposition to the president was racially charged. Evidence for such a claim could be found in the appearance of "go back to Kenya" signs directed at Obama at Tea Party rallies or in the so-called "birther" movement, which questioned the president's U.S. citizenship.

The 2016 Election From one political vantage point, President Obama and the Democratic Party looked like the beneficiaries of an electoral shift in a liberal direction. Between 1992 and 2012, Democrats won the popular vote in five of the six presidential elections, and in 2008 Obama won a greater share of the popular vote (53 percent) than any Democratic nominee since Lyndon Johnson in 1964. He won the support of 93 percent of African Americans, 71 percent of Hispanics, 73 percent of Asian Americans, 55 percent of women, and 60 percent of Americans under the age of thirty. His coalition was multiracial, heavily female, and young.

That coalition appears strong enough to win popular majorities for Democratic presidential nominees into the foreseeable future. Yet the nation's peculiar constitutional method of awarding the presidency through the electoral college allows for the possibility, as in 2000 and again in 2016, that a candidate with the lower national vote total can win. Moreover, the Constitution's awarding of two senators to each state regardless of population means that a fiercely conservative state with a small population, like North Dakota, has as much influence in the U.S. Senate as a fiercely liberal state with a massive population, like California. In that context, the Democratic coalition has struggled to sustain Senate majorities. Furthermore, changes in House districts after the 2010 Census have further disadvantaged Democrats (Table 30.2). In 2012, Democratic candidates for the House of Representatives

TABLE 30.2

Political Realignment: Congressional Seats

As Table 28.1 (p. 892) demonstrated, between 1940 and 1990 the Rust Belt states lost population and political representation in Congress, and the Sunbelt states gained both. That trend continued between 1990 and 2010. Geographic shifts in population, especially continued population growth in California, Texas, and Florida, shaped which parts of the country had the loudest voice in Congress. In 1940, the major industrial states accounted for 45 percent of congressional seats. By 2010, they accounted for only 31 percent. Meanwhile, the Sunbelt moved in the opposite direction: in 1940, those ten states had only 20 percent of congressional seats, but by 2010 they held 40 percent. Political influence had shifted geographically over the course of seven decades.

	Apportionment	
State	**1990**	**2010**
Rust Belt		
Massachusetts	10	9
Connecticut	6	5
New York	31	27
New Jersey	13	12
Pennsylvania	21	18
Ohio	19	16
Illinois	20	18
Indiana	10	9
Michigan	16	14
Wisconsin	9	8
Total	**155**	**136**
Sunbelt		
California	52	53
Arizona	6	9
Nevada	2	4
Colorado	6	7
New Mexico	3	3
Texas	30	36
Georgia	11	14
North Carolina	12	13
Virginia	11	11
Florida	23	27
Total	**156**	**177**

SOURCE: Office of the Clerk of the House, clerk.house.gov/art_history/house_history/congApp/bystate.html.

AP PRACTICES & SKILLS

CAUSATION

As the nation's first African American president, what kinds of unique challenges did Barack Obama face, and how did they affect his presidency?

AP EXAM TIP

Compare the election of 2016 to the election of 1980.

won more votes nationally than Republican candidates did (59.6 million to 58.2 million), but Republicans still won a majority of seats. Thus, heading into the 2016 election, the long-term fate of the liberal Obama coalition remained unclear.

Few historians can predict the future of the Obama coalition, but in the short term the outcome of the 2016 presidential election proved to be a stunning surprise to many Americans. First, the presidential campaign itself looked nothing like recent contests. The Republican nominee was Donald Trump, a political novice who had never held elective office and who defeated a series of more experienced, and traditionally conservative, politicians for the Republican nomination. A Manhattan real estate developer and symbol of the "rich and famous" celebrity culture of the 1980s, Trump was primarily known for building a series of failed casinos in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and for starring in the reality television show *The Apprentice*. As a candidate, Trump secured ample media coverage with disparaging remarks about immigrants and his oft-recited promise to "build a wall" along the U.S.-Mexico border, alongside other nationalist slogans. His speeches, impromptu and off-the-cuff, railed against globalization, President Obama, the media, the political establishment, and the Democratic nominee, Hillary Clinton.

Clinton had secured the Democratic nomination after a spirited primary campaign against the social-democratic Bernie Sanders, a U.S. senator from Vermont. The first woman to lead a major-party ticket for U.S. president, Clinton boasted a resume with decades of high-level political service, including eight years as First Lady, eight years as a U.S. senator, and four years as secretary of state. In the general election campaign against Trump, Clinton emphasized this experience and proposed detailed plans of action on a wide range of issues, including climate change, criminal justice reform, workers' rights, early childhood education, tax reform, the nation's deteriorating infrastructure, and many more. For its part, the Trump campaign issued no specific proposals and instead ran a populist campaign that featured few substantive issues—the exception being global trade policy—and relied on inaccurate claims about the threat of immigration and urban crime along with promises to restore a romanticized American past. Trump remained a viable presidential candidate despite revelations that many observers believed were disqualifying: that he likely avoided paying federal income taxes for decades, for instance, and his bragging in a 2005 video about sexually assaulting women.

Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton Television monitors capture the 2016 Republican and Democratic presidential nominees in their second debate, at Washington University in St. Louis.

National polls predicted a close election, with many indicating a likely Clinton victory. But in one of the most surprising presidential elections in more than a generation, Trump achieved an electoral college majority and won the presidency. As in 2000, the Democratic nominee, Clinton, won the popular vote (by more than 2.8 million votes) but could not secure a majority in enough key states to emerge victorious. Between Trump's election in November 2016 and his inauguration on January 20, 2017, Americans debated the meaning of that victory, the fate of the Obama coalition, and the capacity of the nation's governing institutions to

successfully address the major national and global challenges of the twenty-first century. As we go to press, history is unfolding at a furious pace, as President Trump has begun his administration with a series of unprecedented executive orders, while anti-Trump protests, both massive and small-scale, roil American cities.

IN YOUR OWN WORDS How did wars abroad and political contest at home shape the United States in the first decades of the twenty-first century?

SUMMARY

This chapter has stressed how globalization — the worldwide flow of capital, goods, and people — entered a new phase after the end of the Cold War. The number of multinational corporations, many of them based in the United States, increased dramatically, and people, goods, and investment capital moved easily across political boundaries. Financial markets, in particular, grew increasingly open and interconnected across the globe. Technological innovations strengthened the American economy and transformed daily life. The computer revolution and the spread of the Internet changed the ways in which Americans shopped, worked, learned, and stayed in touch with family and friends. Globalization also facilitated the immigration of millions of Asians and Latin Americans into the United States.

Women's March On January 21, 2017, the day following the inauguration of Donald Trump as the 45th President of the United States, one of the largest combined protest marches in U.S. history took place, the Women's March. From Washington, D.C., to Los Angeles, California, at least 3.7 million people (some estimates placed the number higher) took to the streets. Mario Tama/Getty Images

In the decades since 1989, American life has been characterized by the dilemmas presented by the twin issues of globalization and divisive cultural politics. Conservatives spoke out strongly, and with increasing effectiveness, against multiculturalism and what they viewed as serious threats to "family values." Debates over access to abortion, affirmative action, and the legal rights of homosexuals intensified. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, diverted attention from this increasingly bitter partisanship, but that partisanship was revived after President Bush's decision to invade Iraq (a nation not involved in the events of 9/11) in 2003 led to a protracted war. When Barack Obama was elected in 2008, the first African American president in the nation's history, he inherited two wars and the Great Recession, the most significant economic collapse since the 1930s. His, and the nation's, efforts to address these and other pressing issues enjoyed initial success before stalling in a deepening partisan stalemate, especially after his reelection in 2012. Finally, bringing matters nearly to the present, the election of the celebrity businessman Donald Trump to the presidency in 2016 confirmed that globalization and domestic cultural divisions remain at the core of American politics. Trump won the election (over Democrat Hillary Clinton), as George W. Bush had in 2000, while losing the popular vote, giving his presidency a fragile legitimacy and leaving the country as divided politically as it has been since the 1960s.

CHAPTER 30 REVIEW

AP® CONTENT REVIEW

Answer these questions to demonstrate your understanding of the chapter's main ideas.

1. How did globalization redefine the relationship of the United States to the rest of the world after the end of the Cold War?
2. What were the sources of domestic division in the United States after 1988, and how did they reshape the political landscape?
3. How did wars abroad and political contest at home shape the United States in the first decades of the twenty-first century?
4. Review the events included on the thematic timeline on pages 910–911. In what ways does the period between 1992 (Bill Clinton's election) and 2016 (Donald Trump's election) suggest a postliberal era in American politics? In what ways was the conservative resurgence under Reagan preserved, and in what ways was it not?

AP® TERMS TO KNOW

Identify and explain the significance of each term below.

Key Concepts and Events

Al Qaeda (p. 942)
globalization (p. 942)
World Trade Organization (WTO) (p. 944)
Group of Eight (G8) (p. 948)
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (p. 949)
multinational corporations (p. 949)
Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET) (p. 951)
World Wide Web (p. 951)
culture war (p. 952)
Immigration and Nationality Act (p. 952)
multiculturalism (p. 956)
Proposition 209 (p. 956)
Operation Rescue (p. 957)
Defense of Marriage Act (p. 958)
Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (p. 958)
Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (p. 958)
Lawrence v. Texas (p. 959)
Contract with America (p. 960)
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (p. 960)
Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act (p. 963)
USA PATRIOT Act (p. 965)
Abu Ghraib prison (p. 966)
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (p. 968)
Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (p. 968)
Tea Party (p. 969)

Key People

William (Bill) Jefferson Clinton (p. 959)
Hillary Clinton (p. 960)
Newt Gingrich (p. 960)
Saddam Hussein (p. 962)
Osama bin Laden (p. 962)
George W. Bush (p. 963)
Barack Obama (p. 968)

Key Academic Terms

austere (p. 945)
symbiotic (p. 946)
adroit (p. 959)
collegial (p. 963)
infidel (p. 966)
mitigate (p. 970)

MAKING CONNECTIONS

Recognize the larger developments and continuities within and across chapters by answering these questions.

1. How would you compare the Iraq War with previous wars in U.S. history? Compare in particular the reasons for entering the war, support for the war abroad and at home, and the outcome of the conflict.
2. How would you explain the geography of American politics after World War II? Compare Table 28.1 (p. 892) and Table 30.2 (p. 971), which show how population gains and losses over several decades shaped which states and regions had greater representation in Congress. How would you explain the significance of those changes?

KEY TURNING POINTS

Refer to the chapter chronology on page 944 for help in answering the question below.

What were the major domestic and foreign policy challenges between the 1990s and 2016?

AP® PRACTICE QUESTIONS

MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS

Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–4 refer to the excerpt below.

"[W]ithin the first 100 days of the 104th Congress, we shall bring to the House Floor the following bills . . .

1. THE FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT: A balanced budget/tax limitation amendment and a legislative line-item veto to restore fiscal responsibility to an out-of-control Congress, requiring them to live under the same budget constraints as families and businesses.

2. THE TAKING BACK OUR STREETS ACT: An anti-crime package including stronger truth-in-sentencing, 'good faith' exclusionary rule exemptions, effective death penalty provisions, and cuts in social spending from this summer's 'crime' bill to fund prison construction and additional law enforcement to keep people secure in their neighborhoods and kids safe in their schools.

3. THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY ACT: Discourage illegitimacy and teen pregnancy by prohibiting welfare to minor mothers and denying increased AFDC [Aid to Families with Dependent Children] for additional children while on welfare, cut spending for welfare programs, and enact a tough two-years-and-out provision with work requirements to promote individual responsibility. . . .

6. THE NATIONAL SECURITY RESTORATION ACT: No U.S. troops under U.N. command and restoration of the essential parts of our national security funding to strengthen our national defense and maintain our credibility around the world. . . .

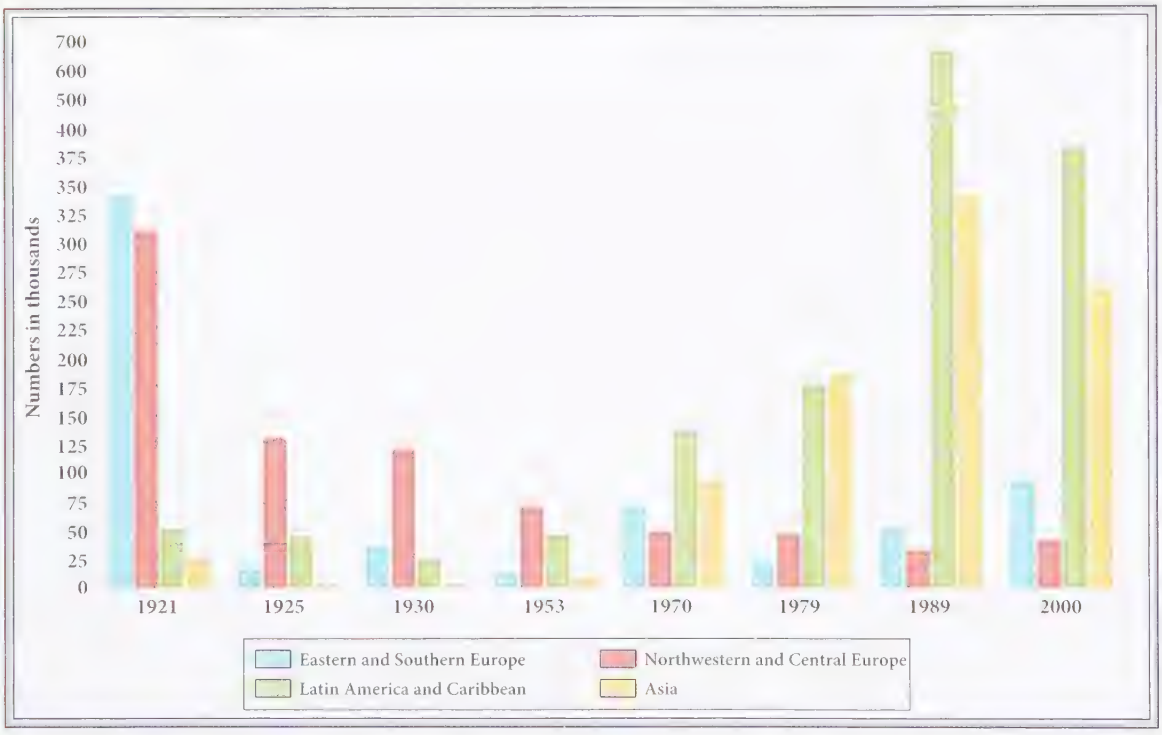
8. THE JOB CREATION AND WAGE ENHANCEMENT ACT: Small business incentives, capital gains cut and indexation, neutral cost recovery, risk assessment/cost-benefit analysis, strengthening the Regulatory Flexibility Act and unfunded mandate reform to create jobs and raise worker wages."

Republican Party Contract with America, 1994

1. The excerpt from the Republican Party resulted most directly from
   a. the end of the Cold War.
   b. demographic shifts in the United States.
   c. the rise of new conservative political movements.
   d. the rapid nature of economic globalization.

2. The policies proposed in the excerpt from the "Contract with America" are best understood in the context of growing concerns about
   a. the decay of traditional United States moral values.
   b. the effects of growing international migration from Latin America and Asia.
   c. lessening the political influence of union organizations.
   d. international free-trade agreements.
3. The proposals in the excerpt best represent a continuation of the policies of which previous presidential administration?
   a. Woodrow Wilson
   b. Franklin Roosevelt
   c. Lyndon Johnson
   d. Ronald Reagan
4. Advocates for legislation enacting the "Contract with America" were LEAST likely to endorse which of the following policy goals?
   a. Promoting economic growth
   b. Reducing the social safety net
   c. Expanding civil liberties
   d. Deregulating businesses

Questions 5–7 refer to the graph below.



American Immigration, 1920–2000

5. The pattern depicted in the graph between 1921 and 1953 most directly resulted from
   a. federal laws strictly limiting the number of immigrants.
   b. nativist violence toward undocumented immigrants.
   c. efforts to deport immigrants to their countries of origin.
   d. increased security along the Mexican and Canadian borders.
6. The majority of immigrants who arrived in the U.S. between 1970 and 2000 settled
   a. throughout the small towns of rural America.
   b. in the Northeast and Midwest.
   c. in the South and West.
   d. along the borders with Canada and Mexico.
7. The pattern depicted in the graph between 1979 and 2000 directly contributed to all of the following EXCEPT
   a. providing a vital source of labor for the American economy.
   b. ongoing political debates over U.S. immigration policy.
   c. fears of cultural changes diminishing traditional values.
   d. declining economic productivity from a surplus of unskilled immigrant labor.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

Read each question carefully and write a short response. Use complete sentences.

"Situating himself [Barack Obama] in a current of civil rights history that emphasized its radical currents would be political suicide.

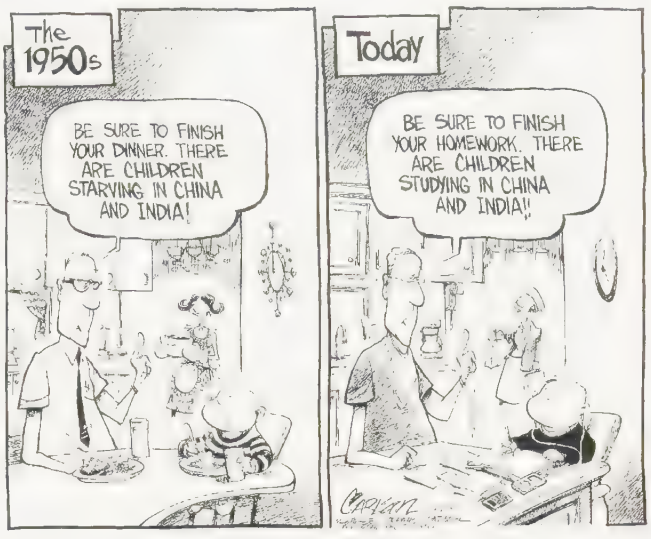
"But there was something deeper than simple political instrumentality at work. During his journey through the polarized racial world of late twentieth-century America, Obama discovered his calling . . . to overcome the acrimonious history of racial polarization — whether it be black power or the culture wars . . . to act on the understanding that such polarization was anathema to national unity. . . . By the time that Obama was inaugurated president, he had recast himself as an agent of national unification, one who could finally bring to fruition the few lingering, unmet promises of the civil rights movement. . . . From the cacophony of the recent past, from its messiness and tumult, Obama extracts a powerful, reassuring message of progress . . . both true and mythological at the same time. Thus Barack Obama's own quest for identity and the distinctive history of the black freedom struggle, of urban politics, of civil rights and black power, became the American story. What Obama called 'my story' became 'our story.'"

Thomas J. Sugrue, *Not Even Past: Barack Obama and the Burden of Race*, 2010

"It is understandable that Obama prefers being seen as the black *president* rather than the *black* president. But his refusal to address race except when he has no choice — a kind of racial procrastination — leaves him little control of the conversation. When he is boxed into a racial corner, often as a result of black social unrest sparked by claims of police brutality, Obama has been mostly uninspiring: he has warned (black) citizens to obey the law and affirmed the status quo. Yet Obama energetically peppers his words to blacks with talk of responsibility in one public scolding after another. When Obama upbraids black folks while barely mentioning the flaws of white America, he leaves the impression that race is the concern solely of black people, and that blackness is full of pathology."

Michael Eric Dyson, *The Black Presidency: Barack Obama and the Politics of Race in America*, 2016

1. Using the two excerpts above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE major difference between Sugrue's and Dyson's historical interpretations of the Obama presidency.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 2000 to the present that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Sugrue's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific historical event or development from the period 2000 to the present that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Dyson's interpretation.


The 1950s
BE SURE TO FINISH YOUR DINNER. THERE ARE CHILDREN STARVING IN CHINA AND INDIA!
Today
BE SURE TO FINISH YOUR HOMEWORK. THERE ARE CHILDREN STUDYING IN CHINA AND INDIA!!

Tuart Carlson © 2005 *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Reprinted with permission of UNIVERSAL UCLICK. All rights reserved.

2. Using the political cartoon above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE historical perspective about the changes from the 1950s to the early 2000s expressed in the cartoon.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific event or development led to a historical change suggested by the cartoon.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific result of a historical change suggested by the cartoon in the period 2000 to the present.
3. Answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between immigration to the U.S. in the period 1880 to 1920 and in the period 1980 to the present.
   - **b.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between immigration to the U.S. in the period 1880 to 1920 and in the period 1980 to the present.
   - **c.** Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of immigration to the U.S. in the period 1980 to the present.

DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION

Suggested reading period: 15 minutes. Suggested writing time: 45 minutes.

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise.

1. Evaluate the extent to which technological innovations have changed the American economy since 1980.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: Andrew Pollack, "Rising Trend of the Computer Age: Employees Who Work at Home," from *The New York Times*, March 12, 1981. © 1981 *The New York Times*. All rights reserved. Used by permission and protected by the Copyright Laws of the United States. The printing, copying, redistribution, or retransmission of this Content without express written permission is prohibited.

"Louise Priester used to key-punch insurance claims into a computer in the office of Blue Cross–Blue Shield of South Carolina. Now she does the same thing from a bedroom in her house in Columbia, S.C., using a terminal connected to the office's computer by telephone.

Like Mrs. Priester, a small but growing number of workers are doing office work at home on small computers or terminals with typewriter keyboards. Corporations encourage the practice, to save commuting time for their employees and to recruit some workers, such as mothers of small children, who might not be able to hold conventional jobs.

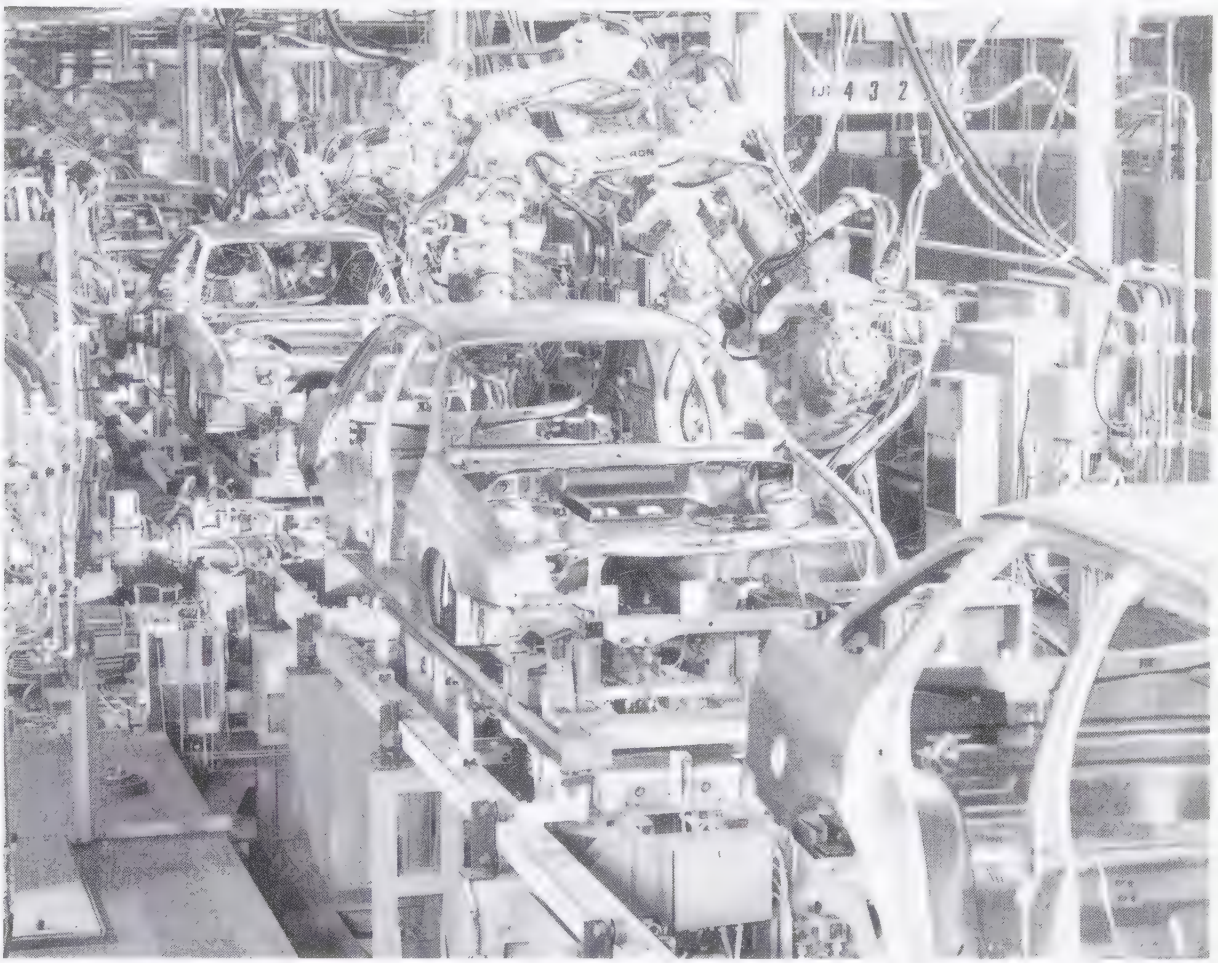
Working at home gives employees more flexibility in scheduling other activities. 'I can get up when I want to and work when I want to,' said Mrs. Priester, adding that she can now take better care of her elderly mother.

Companies and workers say the new system can transform relationships between co-workers, between employees and employers and between workers and their families.

What we're really talking about is returning production to the home, which is where it was before the Industrial Revolution."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Ford Assembly Line, 1980.



Keystone/Hulton Archive/Getty Images

DOCUMENT 3

Source: Martin Feldstein, American Economic Policy in the 1980s, 1995.

"The decade of the 1980s was a time of fundamental changes in American economic policy. These changes were influenced by the economic conditions that prevailed as the decade began, by the style and political philosophy of President Ronald Reagan, and by the new intellectual climate among economists and policy officials. . . . Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 . . . provided a president who was committed to achieving low inflation, to lowering tax rates, and to shrinking the role of the government in the economy."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Peter F. Drucker, "Beyond the Information Revolution," *The Atlantic*, October 1999.

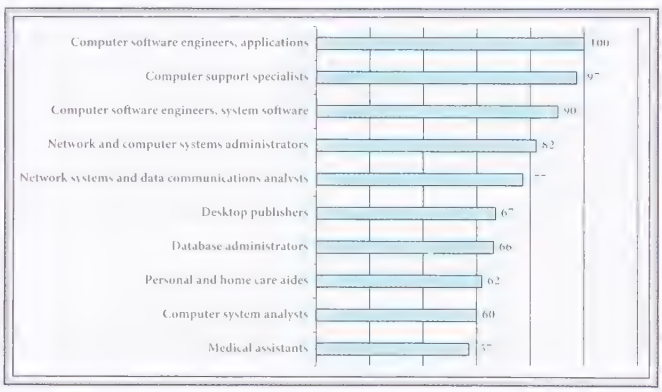
"The truly revolutionary impact of the Information Revolution is just beginning to be felt. . . . It is something that practically no one foresaw or, indeed, even talked about ten or fifteen years ago: e-commerce — that is, the explosive emergence of the Internet as a major, perhaps eventually the major, worldwide distribution channel for goods, for services, and, surprisingly, for managerial and professional jobs. This is profoundly changing economies, markets, and industry structures; products and services and their flow; consumer segmentation, consumer values, and consumer behavior; jobs and labor markets. . . .

E-commerce is to the Information Revolution what the railroad was to the Industrial Revolution — a totally new, totally unprecedented, totally unexpected development. And like the railroad 170 years ago, e-commerce is creating a new and distinct boom, rapidly changing the economy, society, and politics. . . .

In the new mental geography created by the railroad, humanity mastered distance. In the mental geography of e-commerce, distance has been eliminated. There is only one economy and only one market."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, November 2001.



Fastest Growing Occupations (by percentage), 2000 to 2010

DOCUMENT 6

Source: Leroy McClelland Sr., a steelworker, Interview with Bill Barry, 2006.

"Mr. McClelland: [W]ith technology being advanced and computers and what have you, we've had operations that would never ever operate unless you had a person there. Now, that's not necessary. In fact, it can have a crew —it used to be six people on a mill reduced to three. Why? Computer, and then it advances further on down the road for technology. When that happened, too, you've got to understand that the idea of the union was to protect jobs, create jobs, not eliminate jobs. Well, I had the unfortunate experience of being the zone committeeman at the time when a lot of this technology was starting to really grow.

Mr. Barry: When was this?

Mr. McClelland: Well, it really started in 1975, from '75 on, '80, '90s, biggest part being in the '80s really, the advanced technology. But when these other things started to take place, guys and gals sort of looked at this change coming down, felt hey, that's a God send, not realizing that when that takes place you ain't going to be there to see it because your job is going to be gone. . . . I mean reality is technology is the future and competitiveness is strong. If you can't deal with competitiveness, if you don't have tons per hour and manpower per hour was the way it was, and that's what had to happen. . . .

Mr. Barry: These were people who were eligible to retire and the technology in effect drove them out?

Mr. McClelland: Yes, absolutely it did. And change is tough for anybody."

DOCUMENT 7

Source: Robin Harding, "Technology Shakes Up U.S. Economy," *Financial Times*, March 26, 2014. Used under license from the *Financial Times*. All rights reserved.

"New technologies are transforming the structure of the US economy but creating only modest numbers of jobs, according to the biggest official survey of businesses, conducted only once every five years. . . .

It highlights concerns that recent innovations in information technology tend to raise productivity by replacing existing workers, rather than creating new products that demand more labour to produce. . . .

In manufacturing, the story is of a productivity boom that allowed a solid increase in sales, coupled with falling employment and payrolls. Manufacturing sales rose 8 per cent between 2007 and 2012 to reach $5.8 trillion.

However, the industry shed 2.1 million jobs — employment falling to 11.3 million — and its payroll dropped $20 billion to $593 billion.

The relatively greater drop in jobs than payrolls highlights how remaining jobs in the sector are becoming more skilled. Annual payroll per employee in the manufacturing sector rose from $45,818 in 2007 to $52,686 in 2012.

That is among the highest of any big industry, but highlights how manufacturing increasingly employs skilled engineers to tend complex equipment, rather than being a source of well-paid jobs for less-skilled workers."

LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS *Suggested writing time: 40 minutes.*

DIRECTIONS: Please choose one of the following two questions to answer.

2. **Evaluate the extent to which demographic shifts changed politics in the United States from 1980 to 2000.**

3. **Evaluate the extent to which demographic shifts changed culture in the United States from 1980 to 2000.**

4. **Evaluate the extent to which the end of the Cold War changed U.S. foreign policy from 1980 to 2010.**

AP UNITED STATES HISTORY PRACTICE EXAM

EXAM OVERVIEW

Section	Question Type	Number of Questions	Timing	% of Total Exam Score
Section I	Part A: Multiple Choice Questions	55 questions	55 minutes	40%
	Part B: Short Answer Questions	3 questions	40 minutes	20%
Section II	Part A: Document-Based Question	1 question	60 minutes	25%
	Part B: Long Essay Question	1 question	40 minutes	15%

SECTION I
PART A: MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS
55 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Choose the correct answer for each question.

Questions 1–3 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The extremely heterogeneous population confronted Pennsylvania with a unique set of problems that could have impeded the creation of a stable society. Nevertheless, despite the inevitable tensions, exacerbated by waves of new immigration, wars, and religious conflict, colonial Pennsylvanians managed to develop new ideals of pluralism and tolerance on which they built their province. . . . William Penn . . . set forth a new, ideological basis for pluralism and tolerance that transformed the tentative pattern of relative harmony and toleration into one of official policy.
>
> . . . [H]e drafted a series of constitutions that guaranteed religious freedom and promoted his colony not only in the British Isles but on the Continent as well."
>
> Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania*, 1987

1. Which of the following later developments can best be used to support Schwartz's argument regarding the colonial culture in Pennsylvania?
   a. A strong abolitionist movement developed in Pennsylvania in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
   b. Relations with American Indians deteriorated over time as colonists demanded more land.
   c. Pennsylvania's nineteenth-century leaders rejected the development of a strong national government.
   d. The overt resistance of African Americans revolting against slavery.
2. Which of the following best explains the context in which Pennsylvania's culture in the colonial era developed?
   a. Leaders' insistence on tolerance in accordance with religious policy in England
   b. The colony's strong emphasis on economic goods as Pennsylvania was founded as a corporate colony
   c. The Anglicization of diverse migrants to Pennsylvania
   d. The Quaker founders' established policies favoring tolerance and individual freedom of conscience
3. In the seventeenth century, Pennsylvania merchants engaged in the transatlantic trade most extensively by
   a. exporting tobacco from Pennsylvania to England.
   b. importing enslaved Africans to Pennsylvania.
   c. exporting staple crop rice from Pennsylvania to the Caribbean.
   d. importing goods manufactured in England.

Questions 4–6 refer to the image below.

The Great Migration: Union Station, Jacksonville, Florida

Photo by Woodward courtesy of the State Archives of Florida

4. This image illustrates which of the following trends in African Americans' experience in the period 1917-1945?
   a. The expansion of civil rights and suffrage that accompanied new opportunities for African Americans in the North
   b. The restrictions placed on African American voting rights in the North and the South
   c. The expansion of job opportunities in the North because of wartime labor shortages
   d. The tendency of African Americans to abandon Northern industrial jobs in favor of agricultural opportunities in the South
5. This image can best be understood as a contributing factor to the development of which of the following?
   a. Progressive Era
   b. Harlem Renaissance
   c. Romantic movement
   d. Reconstruction
6. Which of the following was likely the most important contributing factor in the decisions made by the individuals pictured in this image?
   a. Support for civil rights of African Americans in the North
   b. Passage of laws that disenfranchised African Americans in the South
   c. Inability of most African Americans to escape the system of sharecropping
   d. Propaganda created by Northern political machines to attract voters

Questions 7–9 refer to the excerpt below.

> "I Shall disclose several Principles of Natural Knowledge; plainly discovering the Law of Nature; or the true sentiments of Natural Reason, with Respect to Mans Being and Government. . . . I shall consider Man in a state of Natural Being, as a Free-Born Subject under the Crown of Heaven, and owing Homage to none but God himself. It is certain Civil Government in General, is a very Admirable Result of Providence, and an Incomparable Benefit to Mankind, yet must needs be acknowledged to be the Effect of Humane Free-Compacts and not of Divine Institution; it is the Produce of Mans Reason, of Humane and Rational Combinations, and not from any direct Orders of Infinite Wisdom. . . .
>
> The Prime Immunity in Mans State, is that he is most properly the Subject of the Law of Nature. He is the Favourite Animal on Earth; in that this Part of Gods Image, viz. Reason is Congenate with his Nature, wherein by a Law Immutable, Instampt upon his Frame, God has provided a Rule for Men in all their Actions; obliging each one to the performance of that which is Right, not only as to Justice, but likewise as to all other Moral Vertues, which is nothing but the Dictate of Right Reason founded in the Soul of Man. . . .
>
> The Second Great Immunity of Man is an Original Liberty Instampt upon his Rational Nature. He that intrudes upon this Liberty, Violates the Law of Nature. . . .
>
> The Third Capital Immunity belonging to Mans Nature, is an equality amongst Men; Which is not to be denyed by the Law of Nature, till Man has Resigned himself with all his Rights for the sake of a Civil State; and then his Personal Liberty and Equality is to be cherished, and preserved to the highest degree."
>
> John Wise, *A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches,* 1717

7. The excerpt could be best used as evidence to support an argument that
   - **a.** Enlightenment ideals spread through transatlantic print culture influenced colonial political ideology.
   - **b.** American Indian political systems such as the Iroquois League shaped colonial ideas about government.
   - **c.** British North American colonies developed an original political philosophy.
   - **d.** Parliament failed in efforts to control American political developments.
8. The excerpt from "The Primacy of Human Reason and Natural Laws" expresses ideas most similar to those in the House of Burgesses, the Virginia representative assembly founded in 1619, that emphasized
   - **a.** the importance of religion in government.
   - **b.** the rights of citizens.
   - **c.** a rigid social hierarchy.
   - **d.** royal authority.
9. The ideas expressed by John Wise in this excerpt share the most continuity with the later ideas of
   - **a.** the Declaration of Sentiments.
   - **b.** the U.S. Constitution.
   - **c.** Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*.
   - **d.** the Declaration of Independence.

Questions 10–13 refer to the image below.

"The Boston Massacre," Engraving, Silversmith Paul Revere, 1790

Library of Congress

10. The events portrayed in this 1770 image resulted most directly from
    a. a declaration of independence by colonial Americans.
    b. British attempts to assert royal authority over the North American colonies.
    c. the organization of the Sons of Liberty to promote a unified North American colonial government.
    d. colonial boycotts of British manufactured goods.
11. This image best represents the ideology of
    a. colonial governors.
    b. Patriots.
    c. British soldiers.
    d. the Great Awakening.
12. Which of the following most directly led to the events represented in this image?
    a. British enforcement of mercantilist policies in the colonies
    b. Dissenting ideas of Protestant evangelicalism
    c. George Washington's appointment as general of the Continental army
    d. British royal decrees that formally recognized American Indian lands west of the Appalachians
13. The image could best be used as evidence to support an argument that colonial leaders
    a. incorporated popular movements into calls for changes in British policy.
    b. used the free press to secure European allies to support colonial independence.
    c. placed political freedom and liberty above economic interests.
    d. rejected compromise in conflicts over British colonial rule as early as 1770.

Questions 14–16 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The President assumes, what no one doubts, that the late rebel States have lost their constitutional relations to the Union, and are incapable of representation in Congress, except by permission of the Government. It matters but little, with this admission, whether you call them States out of the Union, and now conquered territories, or assert that because the Constitution forbids them to do what they did do, that they are therefore only dead as to all national and political action, and will remain so until the Government shall breathe into them the breath of life anew and permit them to occupy their former position. In other words, that they are not out of the Union, but are only dead carcasses lying within the Union. In either case, it is very plain that it requires the action of Congress to enable them to form a State government and send representatives to Congress. Nobody, I believe, pretends that with their old constitutions and frames of government they can be permitted to claim their old rights under the Constitution. . . . Dead men cannot raise themselves. Dead States cannot restore their existence '*as it was.*' Whose especial duty is it to do it? In whom does the Constitution place the power? Not in the judicial branch of Government, for it only adjudicates and does not prescribe laws. Not in the Executive, for he only executes and cannot make laws. Not in the Commander-in-Chief of the armies, for he can only hold them under military rule until the sovereign legislative power of the conqueror shall give them law."
>
> Thaddeus Stevens, Speech to Congress, December 18, 1865

14. Which of the following best explains the context in which Thaddeus Stevens delivered this speech?
    a. The assassination of President Lincoln reopening debates over presidential Reconstruction
    b. Political resistance to radical Republican use of military districts in Reconstruction
    c. Debate over passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in Congress
    d. The challenge presented by the passage in southern states of Black Codes after the Civil War
15. Thaddeus Stevens's arguments regarding which branch of the federal government holds power over the status of lands and admission of states shows the greatest similarity to the precedent of the
    a. Kansas-Nebraska Act.
    b. Dred Scott decision.
    c. Missouri Compromise.
    d. Louisiana Purchase.
16. The most important cause of the northern victory in the Civil War was
    a. the superiority of northern military leadership.
    b. aid from European allies for the Union.
    c. the advantageous geographical features of Union states.
    d. a larger population.

Questions 17–19 are based on the image below.

King Andrew the First, 1833

17. The cartoon most reflects the political views of the
    a. Federalist Party.
    b. Democratic Party.
    c. Whig Party.
    d. Republican Party.

18. At the time of its publication in 1833, the cartoon criticized political developments in the federal government that increased the
    a. role of Congress in promoting national economic growth.
    b. power of the president.
    c. power of the Supreme Court in enforcing judicial decisions.
    d. role of the people in electing federal politicians.

19. All of the following developments during the 1820s and 1830s reveal similar political party divisions as those reflected in the image EXCEPT
    a. federal investment in roads, canals, and railroads.
    b. the gag rule passed in Congress to avoid confrontations over slavery.
    c. resistance to Indian Removal by federal politicians.
    d. refusal to recharter the national bank.

Questions 20–23 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Most of the men was gone, and . . . most of the women was in my bracket, five or six years younger or older. I was twenty-four. There was a black girl that hired in with me. I went to work the next day, sixty cents an hour. . . . I could see where they made a difference in placing you in certain jobs. They had fifteen or twenty departments, but all the Negroes went to Department 17 because there was nothing but shooting and bucking rivets. . . . Some weeks I brought home twenty-six dollars . . . then it gradually went up to thirty dollars. . . . Whatever you make you're supposed to save some. I was also getting that fifty dollars a month from my husband and that was just saved right away. I was planning on buying a home and a car. . . . My husband came back [from the war, and] . . . looked for a job in the cleaning and pressing place. . . . But what we both weren't thinking about was that they [North American] have better benefits because they did have an insurance plan and a union to back you up. Later he did come to work there, in 1951 or 1952. . . . [After I left to have a baby] North American called me back [and] was I a happy soul! . . . It made me live better. It really did. We always say that Lincoln took the bale off of the Negroes. I think there is a statue up there in Washington, D.C., where he's lifting something off the Negro. Well, my sister always said — that's why you can't interview her because she's so radical — 'Hitler was the one that got us out of the white folks' kitchen."
>
> Fanny Christina (Tina) Hill, "War Work: Social and Racial Mobility," from *Rosie the Riveter Revisited*, by Sherna B. Gluck, 1987.

20. Fanny Hill's experiences working in World War II differed most from those of women working in World War I in that
    a. during World War I industries hired almost exclusively white workers.
    b. when World War I ended most female workers left the industrial workforce.
    c. the World War II factory jobs were concentrated in the Sunbelt.
    d. women working during World War II refused to join labor unions.
21. The story told by Fanny Hill in the excerpt could be used to support all of the following arguments EXCEPT
    a. employers allowed women significant roles in producing war supplies in World War II.
    b. women experienced more respect for their work in World War II than in World War I.
    c. World War II led to improvements in working conditions.
    d. labor unions advocated on behalf of women workers during World War I.
22. Fanny Hill's comments about her sister can best be understood as resulting most directly from the
    a. international concerns leading to the founding of the United Nations.
    b. political and cultural expressions of domestic anticommunism.
    c. increasingly confrontational African American civil rights movement.
    d. foreign policies aiming at containment.
23. The excerpt from Fanny Hill related developments that most directly participated in the trend after World War II toward
    a. suburbanization.
    b. the baby boom.
    c. conservatism.
    d. a more educated populace.

Questions 24–26 refer to the excerpt below.

> "The question whether or no there shall be slavery in the new territories . . . is a question between the grand body of white workingmen, the millions of mechanics, farmers, and operatives of our country, with their interests on the one side — and the interests of the few thousand rich, 'polished,' and aristocratic owners of slaves at the South, on the other side.
>
> Experience has proved . . . that a stalwart mass of respectable workingmen, cannot exist, much less flourish, in a thorough slave State. Let any one think for a moment what a different appearance New York, Pennsylvania, or Ohio, would present — how much less sturdy independence and family happiness there would be — were slaves the workmen there, instead of each man as a general thing being his own workman. . . .
>
> Slavery is a good thing enough . . . to the rich — the one out of thousands; but it is destructive to the dignity and independence of all who work, and to labor itself. . . . All practice and theory . . . are strongly arrayed in favor of limiting slavery to where it already exists."
>
> Walt Whitman, Editorial, September 1, 1847

24. Which of the following developments led most directly to this editorial by Walt Whitman?
    a. The U.S.-Mexico War
    b. Conflicts with Britain over Oregon
    c. The discovery of gold in California
    d. The abolitionist activism of Harriet Tubman and Frederick Douglass
25. The ideas expressed by Whitman in the third paragraph share the most continuity to the later political platform of the
    a. Progressive Party.
    b. Reconstruction-era Democratic Party.
    c. antebellum Republican Party.
    d. Populist Party.

26. The ideas of Walt Whitman in the excerpt show the most similarity to
    a. the Cult of Domesticity.
    b. free soil ideology.
    c. the Supreme Court decisions of the Marshall Court.
    d. abolitionist ideology.

Questions 27–30 refer to the map below.

The Compromise of 1850 and the Kansas–Nebraska Act of 1854

27. In reference to territorial agreements shown in this map, which of the following was the most important concession made to southern Congressmen in exchange for the agreement regarding California?
    a. The passage of a new Fugitive Slave Law
    b. The establishment of popular sovereignty in the Kansas Territory
    c. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise
    d. The federal government investment in a transcontinental railroad

28. The map illustrates a trend after the U.S.-Mexico War in the direction of
    a. compromise avoiding violent conflict over slavery.
    b. expansion of women's rights to vote granted by western states.
    c. more extensive efforts to assimilate and incorporate American Indians.
    d. allowing local autonomy in decisions over slavery.

29. The Kansas-Nebraska Act changed federal policy most significantly by
    a. eliminating the 36°30′ division in territory gained in the Louisiana Purchase.
    b. introducing measures reducing American Indian tribal lands.
    c. promoting the establishment of Homestead Act settlements by farmers.
    d. opening western lands to migrations of African American farmers such as the Exodusters.

30. Agreements made in the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the Compromise of 1850 show the greatest continuity with the
    a. Three-Fifths Compromise.
    b. Missouri Compromise.
    c. treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
    d. Compromise of 1877.

Questions 31–33 refer to the excerpt below.

> "It was upon these gentle lambs, imbued by the Creator with all the qualities we have mentioned, that from the very first day they clapped eyes on them the Spanish fell like ravening wolves upon the fold, or like tigers and savage lions who have not eaten meat for days. The pattern established at the outset has remained unchanged to this day, and the Spaniards still do nothing save tear the natives to shreds, murder them and inflict upon them untold misery, suffering and distress, tormenting, harrying and persecuting them mercilessly. . . . When the Spanish first journeyed there, the indigenous population of the island of Hispaniola stood at some three million; today only two hundred survive. The island of Cuba, which extends for a distance almost as great as that separating Valladolid from Rome, is now to all intents and purposes uninhabited; and two other large, beautiful and fertile islands, Puerto Rico and Jamaica, have been similarly devastated. Not a living soul remains today on any of the islands of the Bahamas. . . . On the mainland, we know for sure that our fellow-countrymen have, through their cruelty and wickedness, depopulated and laid waste an area which once boasted more than ten kingdoms, each of them larger in area than the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. . . . At a conservative estimate, the despotic and diabolical behaviour of the Christians has, over the last forty years, led to the unjust and totally unwarranted deaths of more than twelve million souls, women and children among them, and there are grounds for believing my own estimate of more than fifteen million to be nearer the mark."
>
> Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, 1542

31. The immediate result of the influence of this document was the
    a. exile of de las Casas from the Spanish colonies.
    b. passage of the New Laws ending Native American slavery under Charles V.
    c. establishment of the Atlantic slave trade with Africa.
    d. abolition of slavery in all Spanish colonies.
32. The most direct effect of the ideas expressed by de las Casas in the excerpt was
    a. the Columbian Exchange.
    b. European competition for lands in the Americas.
    c. debates over Spanish imperial policies.
    d. King Philip's War.
33. The excerpt from de las Casas could best be used as evidence to support an argument that the Spanish
    a. utilized advanced technology in colonizing.
    b. allied with American Indians to create a mestizo society.
    c. creoles held preferred status in the Spanish caste system.
    d. prioritized use of native labor in the *encomienda* system above other interests.

Questions 34–36 refer to the image below.

Cartoon Demonstrating Anti-Chinese Racism, By James A. Wales, 1880

34. Which of the following most directly led to the situation that preceded the 1870s conflict portrayed in the image?
- **a.** Job opportunities created by rapid expansion of railroads
- **b.** Victory of the United States in the U.S.-Mexico War
- **c.** Limitations on Mexican immigration established by nativist quotas
- **d.** Increasing acceptance of Irish immigrants into the Democratic Party

35. This cartoon could best be used as evidence to support the conclusion about the late nineteenth century that
- **a.** Republicans expressed a partisan support for Chinese immigration in opposition to the Democratic Party.
- **b.** labor unions consistently opposed Chinese immigration.
- **c.** nativist ideology grew in strength.
- **d.** most Progressive-era reformers advocated for protections of Chinese American interests.

36. Which of the following best summarizes the trend in federal government immigration policy from the late nineteenth century through 1930?
- **a.** Immigration restrictions focused on the Chinese while allowing Europeans open immigration.
- **b.** Immigration restrictions against the Chinese were viewed as failed policies and reversed by the early twentieth century.
- **c.** Immigration restrictions lost the bipartisan support of Congress as business leaders advocated for more cheap labor.
- **d.** Immigration restrictions began with the Chinese and expanded to limit other groups, including Europeans.

Questions 37–39 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Municipal health officials and city inspectors did make some advances against disease, especially through the improvement of the urban environment. They banned pigs from city streets, regulated notoriously unhealthy dairies inside city limits, and stepped up oversight of street cleaning and garbage removal. . . . [T]he Ladies Health Protective Association . . . shared a concern for the vile odors emanating from a manure handler along the East River . . . [and] the entire slaughter-house district near . . . the tenements fouled by sickening smells and backed-up sewage. . . . [T]he association contacted business owners directly with their complaints, and . . . organized demonstrations at the offending locations, inviting the press to witness their lay inspections. . . . The women also gained considerable publicity when they brought their complaints to the Board of Health."
>
> David Stradling, *The Nature of New York: An Environmental History of the Empire State*, 2010

37. Based on the goals and methods described in this excerpt, which historical period is most likely being described?
    a. Social Darwinism
    b. Social Gospel
    c. Progressive Era
    d. Gospel of Wealth

38. The developments described by Stradling most reflect the context of
    a. an increasing role of the federal government in protection of the environment through propaganda campaigns.
    b. an expanding role of state governments ensuring public health through legislation.
    c. both lessening and modification of gender roles defined by domesticity.
    d. stable support for *laissez-faire* economic policies.

39. The actions of women described in this excerpt are most similar to the role of women reformers active during
    a. the First Great Awakening.
    b. the American Revolution.
    c. the Second Great Awakening.
    d. Reconstruction.

Questions 40–42 refer to the image below.

John Sloan, "In Memoriam—The Real Triangle," 1911

40. The image is best understood as a response to conditions justified most directly by the ideology of
    a. the Social Gospel.
    b. the Gospel of Wealth.
    c. *laissez faire*.
    d. late nineteenth-century domesticity.

41. People sharing the ideas supported in the image also most likely supported
    a. the application of Social Darwinist philosophy to explain poverty.
    b. the passage of labor reforms, including a minimum wage and workplace safety laws.
    c. the creation of federal regulations to protect the natural environment.
    d. continuing federal government policies denying legal sanction to labor unions.
42. Images and political cartoons like this one were most effectively used to sway public opinion to support
    a. local ordinances to protect workers in the workplace.
    b. federal legislation to limit working hours.
    c. state laws to limit the power of railroads.
    d. expansion of suffrage rights to women.

Questions 43–45 refer to the excerpt below.

> "In March, 1933, I appealed to the Congress of the United States and to the people of the United States in a new effort to restore power to those to whom it rightfully belonged. The response to that appeal resulted in the writing of a new chapter in the history of popular government. You, the members of the Legislative branch, and I, the Executive, contended for and established a new relationship between Government and people. What were the terms of that new relationship? They were an appeal from the clamor of many private and selfish interests, yes, an appeal from the clamor of partisan interest, to the ideal of the public interest. Government became the representative and the trustee of the public interest. Our aim was to build upon essentially democratic institutions, seeking all the while the adjustment of burdens, the help of the needy, the protection of the weak, the liberation of the exploited and the genuine protection of the people's property. . . . To be sure, in so doing, we have invited battle. We have earned the hatred of entrenched greed."
>
> Franklin Roosevelt, "Annual Message to Congress," 1936

43. In the excerpt, Roosevelt most directly contradicts the ideology of
    a. liberalism.
    b. *laissez faire*.
    c. the Social Gospel.
    d. prohibition.
44. The ideas expressed by Roosevelt in the excerpt contributed most directly to a trend leading to
    a. a new and unique conception of federal government power.
    b. limitations on the powers of the federal government in favor of states' rights.
    c. a renewal of federal activism building on Progressive-era policies.
    d. a return to ideas about government common among elected officeholders during the Gilded Age of the late nineteenth century.
45. Which of the following leaders would most likely have supported Franklin Roosevelt's argument regarding use of federal power in this excerpt?
    a. Ronald Reagan
    b. Henry Clay
    c. Andrew Jackson
    d. Jane Addams

Questions 46–47 refer to the excerpt below.

> "Within the context of cultural unrest and the attack on tradition made by women like [Betty] Friedan, the catalyst for a profounder criticism and a mass mobilization of American women proved to be the young female participants in the social movements of the 1960s. These daughters of the middle class had received mixed, paradoxical messages about what it meant to grow up to be women in America. On the one hand, the cultural ideal . . . informed them that their only true happiness lay in the twin roles of wife and mother. At the same time they could observe the reality that housewifery was distinctly unsatisfactory for millions of suburban women. . . . Such contradictions left young, educated women in the 1960s dry tinder for the spark of revolt. . . . [Their] experiences in the southern civil rights movement and parts of the student new left catalyzed a new feminist consciousness."
>
> Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*, 1979

46. Which of the following best represents the "social movements of the 1960s" in which women's experiences led to greater activism?

a. The movement for a Great Society
b. African American civil rights movement
c. The environmental movement
d. The antinuclear movement

47. Women's activism experienced the greatest success in the 1960s and 1970s from

a. policies requiring equal pay.
b. passage of a constitutional amendment for equal rights.
c. elimination of the cultural double standard in sexual norms.
d. overcoming social expectations of domesticity.

Questions 48–50 refer to the excerpt below.

> "I want you to know that this administration is motivated by a political philosophy that sees the greatness of America in you, her people, and in your families, churches, neighborhoods, communities — the institutions that foster and nourish values like concern for others and respect for the rule of law under God.
>
> Now, I don't have to tell you that this puts us in opposition to, or at least out of step with, a prevailing attitude of many who have turned to a modern-day secularism, discarding the tried and time-tested values upon which our very civilization is based. No matter how well intentioned, their value system is radically different from that of most Americans. And while they proclaim that they're freeing us from superstitions of the past, they've taken upon themselves the job of superintending us by government rule and regulation. Sometimes their voices are louder than ours, but they are not yet a majority. . . .
>
> Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged. When our Founding Fathers passed the First Amendment, they sought to protect churches from government interference. They never intended to construct a wall of hostility between government and the concept of religious belief itself. Last year, I sent the Congress a constitutional amendment to restore prayer to public schools. . . ."
>
> Ronald Reagan, "The Rule of Law Under God," National Association of American Evangelicals, 1983

48. The ideas expressed by Reagan in the excerpt most directly appeal to a late twentieth-century trend toward

a. increasing environmental regulation.
b. politically active Christian evangelical churches and organizations.
c. free-trade agreements.
d. increased rights for women.

49. Reagan's ideas expressed in the excerpt led most directly to policies
    a. increasing military spending.
    b. deregulating major industries.
    c. ending legalized abortion.
    d. decreasing taxes.

50. In the 1980s Reagan and the national Republican Party captured more votes from all of the following demographics EXCEPT
    a. suburbanites.
    b. former Democrats in the South.
    c. college graduates in urban areas.
    d. wealthy white Protestants.

Questions 51–53 refer to the excerpt below.

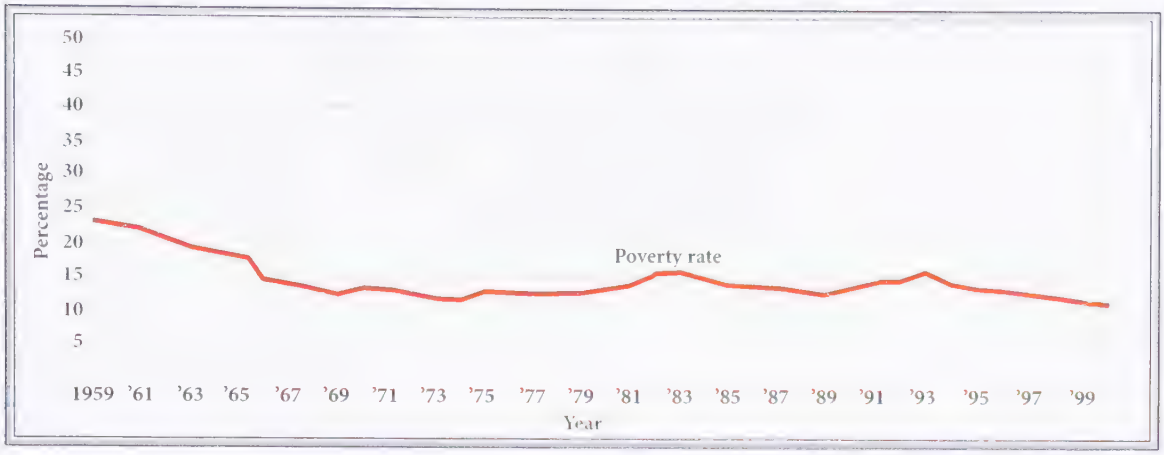
> "His [Alexander Hamilton's] plans . . . were not only a catalyst for sectional confrontation. They seemed an excellent confirmation of persistent Antifederalist suspicions of an engulfing federal power. . . . Coming in conjunction with the high style of the new government, the antipopulistic pronouncements of some of its supporters, and measures such as an excise tax and a professional army, the Hamiltonian program might as well have been designed to awaken specific expectations about the course and nature of governmental decay that were never very far beneath the surface of revolutionary minds."
>
> Lance Banning, *The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology*, 1978

51. Which of the following evidence best supports Banning's argument in the excerpt?
    a. Fear of popular rebellion expressed in the Annapolis Convention
    b. Failure of state government control as seen in Shays's Rebellion
    c. Anger at federal tax policy expressed in the Whiskey Rebellion
    d. Dissatisfaction with trade policy established with Pinckney's Treaty

52. The most immediate cause for the formulation of Hamilton's financial plans in the Early Federal Period was the
    a. threat of war with France and Great Britain created by the Napoleonic Wars.
    b. crisis over issues of debt generated by the American Revolution.
    c. establishment of the first cabinet during Washington's administration.
    d. ratification debates that led to a loss of trust in the federal government.

53. Which of the following is the best example of the type of "sectional confrontation" referred to by Banning in the excerpt?
    a. The state of Virginia's resistance to the assumption of state debts
    b. The state of Massachusetts's opposition to establishment of a federal navy
    c. State competitions over land claims in the trans-Appalachian West
    d. Refusal of city leaders in New York and Philadelphia to support creation of a national bank

Questions 54–55 refer to the figure below.



Americans in Poverty, 1959–2000

54. The information from this graph would likely be utilized by a liberal to argue that
   a. Great Society programs dramatically reduced poverty in the U.S.
   b. U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War undermined the accomplishments of the Johnson administration.
   c. federal aid to those in poverty did not drastically alter living conditions in urban areas.
   d. the early accomplishments of the Great Society were reversed by use of block grants to states.

55. Which of the following presidential policies was inspired by the level of poverty in the U.S. in the period 1959- 1961?
   a. New Frontier
   b. Dynamic Conservatism
   c. War on Poverty
   d. Reaganomics

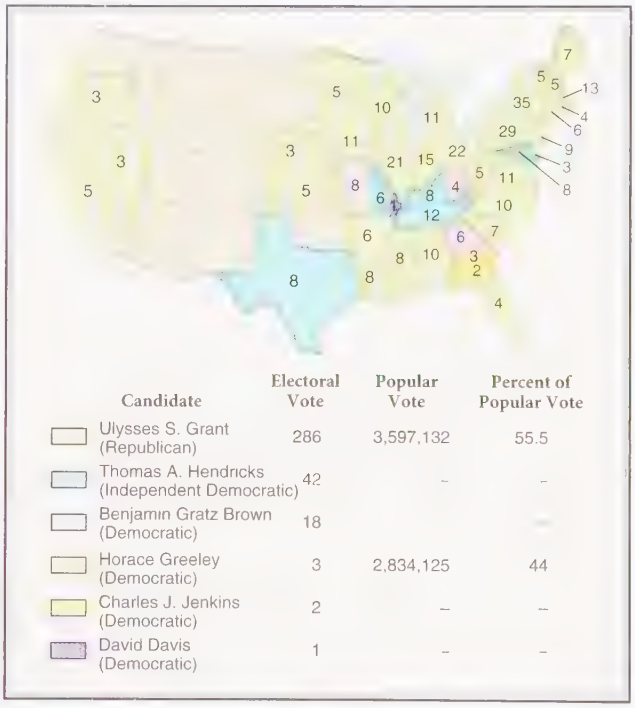
SECTION I
PART B: SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS
40 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Answer all parts of every question using complete sentences.

> "[T]he guarantor state . . . under the New Deal was . . . a vigorous and dynamic force in the society, energizing and . . . supplanting private enterprise when the general welfare required it. . . . When social and economic problems . . . were ignored or shirked by private enterprise, then the federal government undertook to do the job. [If] private enterprise failed to provide adequate and sufficient housing for a minimum standard of welfare for the people, then the government would build houses. . . . Few areas of American life were beyond the touch of the experimenting fingers of the New Deal. . . . The New Deal Revolution has become so much a part of the American Way that no political party which aspires to high office dares now to repudiate it."
>
> Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*, 1959

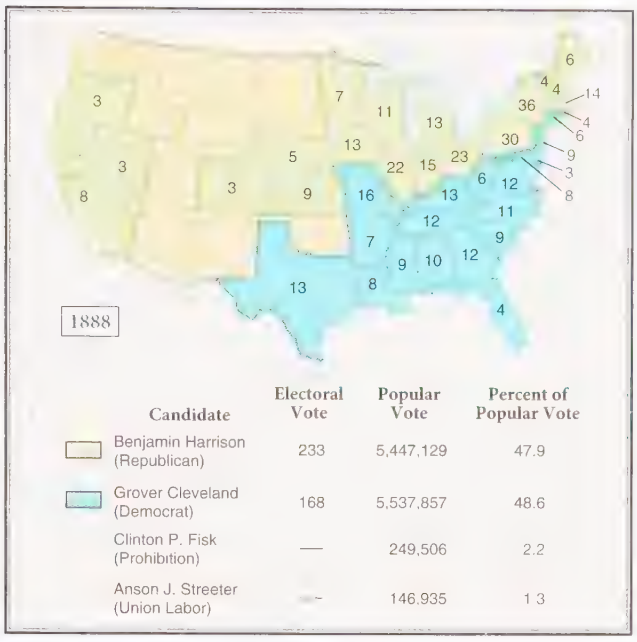
> "The critique of modern capitalism that had been so important in the early 1930s . . . was largely gone. . . . In its place was a set of liberal ideas essentially reconciled to the existing structure of the economy and committed to using the state to compensate for capitalism's inevitable flaws. . . . When liberals spoke now of government's responsibility to protect the health of the industrial world, they defined that responsibility less as a commitment to restructure the economy than as an effort to stabilize it and help it to grow. They were no longer much concerned about controlling or punishing 'plutocrats' and 'economic royalists,' an impulse central to New Deal rhetoric in the mid-1930s. Instead, they spoke of their commitment to providing a healthy environment in which the corporate world could flourish and in which the economy could sustain 'full employment.'"
>
> Alan Brinkley, *The End of Reform: New Deal Liberalism in Recession and War*, 1995

1. Using the two excerpts on the previous page and above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   - **a.** Briefly describe ONE major difference between Degler's and Brinkley's historical interpretations of the New Deal.
   - **b.** Briefly explain how ONE specific piece of historical evidence from the period 1933 to 1945 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Degler's interpretation.
   - **c.** Briefly explain how ONE specific piece of historical evidence from the period 1933 to 1945 that is not explicitly mentioned in the excerpts could be used to support Brinkley's interpretation.



Candidate	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote	Percent of Popular Vote
Ulysses S. Grant (Republican)	286	3,597,132	55.5
Thomas A. Hendricks (Independent Democratic)	42	–	–
Benjamin Gratz Brown (Democratic)	18		
Horace Greeley (Democratic)	3	2,834,125	44
Charles J. Jenkins (Democratic)	2	–	–
David Davis (Democratic)	1	–	–

The Presidential Election of 1872



The Presidential Election of 1888

2. Using the two maps on the previous page and above, answer (a), (b), and (c).
   a. Describe ONE specific late nineteenth-century event or development in the South that can be used to explain the change in election patterns from 1872 to 1888.
   b. Explain ONE specific historical change in the society of the South in the period between 1872 and 1900 that resulted from the political changes shown in the maps.
   c. Describe how one or both of the maps can be used to explain the impact of the role of the federal government on the American South from 1865 to 1900.

DIRECTIONS: Choose EITHER Question 3 OR Question 4.

3. a. Briefly explain ONE specific historical difference between the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850.
   b. Briefly explain ONE specific historical similarity between the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850.
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical event or development resulting from either the Missouri Compromise OR the Compromise of 1850.

4. a. Briefly describe ONE specific historical difference between the experiences of women in the 1920s and that of women in the 1950s.
   b. Briefly describe ONE specific historical similarity between the experiences of women in the 1920s and that of women in the 1950s.
   c. Briefly explain ONE specific historical effect of the experiences of women in either the 1920s OR the 1950s.

SECTION II
PART A: DOCUMENT-BASED QUESTION
60 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Question 1 is based on the accompanying documents. The documents have been edited for the purpose of this exercise. Write an essay using the seven documents below.

1. Evaluate the extent of change in U.S. society resulting from the activities of political parties from 1824 to 1840.

DOCUMENT 1

Source: John Marshall, Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court as a delegate to the Virginia Convention to revise the state constitution, "Memorial of the Non-Freeholders of Virginia," 1829.

"Surely it were much to be desired that every citizen should be qualified for the proper exercise of all his rights and the due performance of all his duties. But the same qualifications that entitle him to assume the management of his private affairs and to claim all other privileges of citizenship equally entitle him, in the judgment of your memorialists, to be entrusted with this, the dearest of all privileges, the most important of all his concerns. . . .

Virtue, intelligence are not products of the soil. Attachment to property, often a sordid sentiment, is not to be confounded with the sacred flame of patriotism. The love of country, like that of parents and offspring, is engrafted in our nature. It exists in all climates, among all classes, under every possible form of government. Riches more often impair it than poverty."

DOCUMENT 2

Source: Henry Clay, "Speech Against President Jackson on the Removal of the Deposits," 1833.

"The eyes and hopes of the American people are turned to Congress. They feel that they have been deceived and insulted; their confidence abused; their interests betrayed; and their liberties in danger. They see a rapid and alarming concentration of all power in one man's hands. They see that, by the exercise of the positive authority of the executive, and his negative power asserted over Congress, the will of one man alone prevails and governs the republic. The question is no longer what laws will Congress pass, but what will the executive not veto?"

DOCUMENT 3

Source: Andrew Jackson, Veto Message to Congress on the National Bank, July 10, 1832.

"Equality of talents, of education, or of wealth, cannot be produced by human institutions. . . . [E]very man is equally entitled to protection by law. But when laws undertake to add to these natural and just advantages, artificial distinctions, to grant titles, gratuities, and exclusive privileges, and to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful, the humble members of society, the farmers, mechanics, and laborers who have neither the time nor the means of securing the like favors to themselves, have a right to complain against their government. . . .

Nor is our government to be maintained, or our Union preserved, by invasions of the rights and powers of the several states. In thus attempting to make our government strong, we make it weak. Its true strength consists in leaving individuals and states as much as possible, to themselves; in making itself felt, not in its power, but in its beneficence; not in its control, but in its protection; not in its binding the states more closely to the centre, but leaving each to move, unobstructed, in its proper orbit."

DOCUMENT 4

Source: Margaret Byrd Smith, Washington socialite, letter to son, March 1829.

"But at the White House reception following the inauguration, what a scene did we witness!! The majesty of the people had disappeared, and instead a rabble, a mob . . . scrambling, fighting, romping. . . . The president after having literally been nearly pressed to death . . . escaped to his lodgings at Gadsby's. Cut glass and bone china to the amount of several thousand dollars had been broken in the struggle to get refreshments. . . . Ladies fainted, men were seen with bloody noses. . . . Ladies and gentlemen only had been expected at this reception, not the people en masse. But it was the people's day, and the people's president. . . . The . . . rabble in the president's house brought to my mind descriptions I had read of the mobs in the Tuileries and at Versailles."

DOCUMENT 5

Source: Harriet Martineau, a British author, reporting on her 1834 visit to the United States in *Society in America* (New York, 1837).

"I had been less than three weeks in the country and was in a state of something like awe at the prevalence of not only external competence but also intellectual ability. The striking effect upon a stranger of witnessing, for the first time, the absence of poverty, of gross ignorance, of all servility, of all insolence of manner cannot be exaggerated in description. I had seen every man in the towns an independent citizen; every man in the country a landowner. I had seen that the villages had their newspapers, the factory girls their libraries. I had witnessed controversies between candidates for office on some difficult subjects, of which the people were to be the judges.

With all these things in my mind, and with evidence of prosperity about me in the comfortable homesteads which every turn in the road and every reach of the lake brought into view, I was thrown into painful amazement by being told that the grand question of the time was 'whether the people should be encouraged to govern themselves, or whether the wise should save them from themselves.'"

DOCUMENT 6

Source: John C. Calhoun, South Carolina Exposition and Protest, 1828.

"[The Federal] Government is one of specific powers, and it can rightfully exercise only the powers expressly granted, and those that may be 'necessary and proper' to carry them into effect; all others being reserved expressly to the States, or to the people. It results necessarily, that those who claim to exercise a power under the Constitution, are bound to shew [sic], that it is expressly granted, or that it is necessary and proper, as a means to some of the granted powers. The advocates of the Tariff have offered no such proof. It is true, that the third [sic; eighth] section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States authorizes Congress to lay and collect an impost duty, but it is granted as a tax power, for the sole purpose of revenue; a power in its nature essentially different from that of imposing protective or prohibitory duties. . . . The Constitution grants to Congress the power of imposing a duty on imports for revenue; which power is abused by being converted into an instrument for rearing up the industry of one section of the country on the ruins of another. The violation then consists in using a power, granted for one object, to advance another, and that by the sacrifice of the original object. . . ."

DOCUMENT 7

Source: King Andrew the First, New York, 1833. Library of Congress.

SECTION II
PART B: LONG ESSAY QUESTIONS
40 minutes

DIRECTIONS: Choose one of the following three questions to answer.

2. Evaluate the extent to which the ideology of "republican motherhood" fostered change in definitions of citizenship in the United States between 1789 and 1820.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the Declaration of Sentiments fostered changes in the definitions of citizenship in the United States between 1820 and 1877.
4. Evaluate the extent to which the Progressive Era suffrage movement fostered changes in the definitions of citizenship in the United States between 1890 and 1940.

Documents

The Declaration of Independence

In Congress, July 4, 1776,
The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

John Hancock

Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
Geo. Walton
Wm. Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn
Edward Rutledge
Thos. Heyward, Junr.
Thomas Lynch, Junr.
Arthur Middleton
Samuel Chase
Wm. Paca
Thos. Stone
Charles Carroll of Carrollton

George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Th. Jefferson
Benja. Harrison
Thos. Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton
Robt. Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benja. Franklin
John Morton
Geo. Clymer
Jas. Smith
Geo. Taylor

James Wilson
Geo. Ross
Caesar Rodney
Geo. Read
Thos. M'Kean
Wm. Floyd
Phil. Livingston
Frans. Lewis
Lewis Morris
Richd. Stockton
John Witherspoon
Fras. Hopkinson
John Hart
Abra. Clark

Josiah Bartlett
Wm. Whipple
Matthew Thornton
Saml. Adams
John Adams
Robt. Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry
Step. Hopkins
William Ellery
Roger Sherman
Sam'el Huntington
Wm. Williams
Oliver Wolcott

The Constitution of the United States of America

Agreed to by Philadelphia Convention, September 17, 1787
Implemented March 4, 1789

We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Article I

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, *which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons.**
The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and *until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.*

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

Section 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, *chosen by the Legislature thereof,*† for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.‡

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of Chusing Senators.

Note: The Constitution became effective March 4, 1789. Provisions in italics are no longer relevant or have been changed by constitutional amendment.
*Changed by Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

†Changed by Section 1 of the Seventeenth Amendment.
‡Changed by Clause 2 of the Seventeenth Amendment.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting *shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.**

Section 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties, as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two-thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one-fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

Section 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and the House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

Section 8. The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may,

*Changed by Section 2 of the Twentieth Amendment.

by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; — And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

Section 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

*No capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.**

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

Section 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

Article II

Section 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; a quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.†

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers

*Changed by the Sixteenth Amendment.

†Superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, *and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.**

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

Section 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

Section 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Article III

Section 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

Section 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—*between a State and Citizens of another State*;†—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

Section 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

Article IV

Section 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records, and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

*Modified by the Twenty-Fifth Amendment.

†Restricted by the Eleventh Amendment.

Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

*No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.**

Section 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

Article V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; *Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and* that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

Article VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

Article VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names.

Go. Washington
President and deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire	*Connecticut*	*New Jersey*	*Pennsylvania*
John Langdon	Wm. Saml. Johnson	Wil. Livingston	B. Franklin
Nicholas Gilman	Roger Sherman	David Brearley	Thomas Mifflin
		Wm. Paterson	Robt. Morris
		Jona. Dayton	Geo. Clymer
			Thos. FitzSimons

*Superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment.

Massachusetts
Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut
Wm. Samuel Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York
Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey
Wil. Livingston
David Brearley
Wm. Paterson
Jona. Dayton

Pennsylvania
B. Franklin
Thomas Mifflin
Robt. Morris
Geo. Clymer
Thos. FitzSimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouv. Morris

Delaware
Geo. Read
Gunning Bedford jun
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jaco. Broom

Maryland
James McHenry
Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer
Danl. Carroll

Virginia
John Blair
James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina
Wm. Blount
Richd. Dobbs Spaight
Hu Williamson

South Carolina
J. Rutledge
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Charles Pinckney
Pierce Butler

Georgia
William Few
Abr. Baldwin

Amendments to the Constitution (Including the Six Unratified Amendments)

Amendment I [1791]*

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. - most important shows true freedom

Amendment II [1791]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms shall not be infringed.

Amendment III [1791]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Amendment IV [1791]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Amendment V [1791]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

Amendment VI [1791]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

Amendment VII [1791]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the Rules of the common law.

Amendment VIII [1791]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Amendment IX [1791]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Amendment X [1791]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Unratified Amendment

Reapportionment Amendment (proposed by Congress September 25, 1789, along with the Bill of Rights)

After the first enumeration required by the first article of the Constitution, there shall be one Representative for every thirty thousand, until the number shall amount to one hundred, after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall be not less than one hundred Representatives, nor less than one Representative for every forty thousand persons, until the number of Representatives shall amount to two hundred; after which the proportion shall be so regulated by Congress, that there shall not be less than two hundred Representatives, nor more than one Representative for every fifty thousand persons.

Amendment XI [1795]

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

*The dates in brackets indicate when the amendment was ratified.

Amendment XII [1804]

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before *the fourth day of March* next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.* — The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Unratified Amendment

Titles of Nobility Amendment (proposed by Congress May 1, 1810)

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive or retain any title of nobility or honor or shall, without the consent of Congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

*Superseded by Section 3 of the Twentieth Amendment.

Unratified Amendment

Corwin Amendment (proposed by Congress March 2, 1861)

No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

Amendment XIII [1865]

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XIV [1868]

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the *male* inhabitants of such State, being *twenty-one* years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such *male* citizens shall bear to the whole number of *male* citizens *twenty-one* years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing

insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Amendment XV [1870]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude —

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XVI [1913]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

Amendment XVII [1913]

Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of [voters for] the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

Section 2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

Section 3. *This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.*

Amendment XVIII [1919; repealed 1933 by Amendment XXI]

Section 1. *After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.*

Section 2. *The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*

Section 3. *This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.*

Amendment XIX [1920]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Unratified Amendment

Child Labor Amendment
(proposed by Congress June 2, 1924)

Section 1. *The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.*

Section 2. *The power of the several States is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress.*

Amendment XX [1933]

Section 1. The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

Section 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3rd day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

Section 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

Section 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

Section 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

Amendment XXI [1933]

Section 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

Section 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission thereof to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXII [1951]

Section 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

Section 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

Amendment XXIII [1961]

Section 1. The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct: A number of electors of President and Vice-President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered for the purposes of the election of President and Vice-President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of amendment.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXIV [1964]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice-President, for electors for President or Vice-President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Amendment XXV [1967]

Section 1. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death or resignation, the Vice-President shall become President.

Section 2. Whenever there is a vacancy in the office of the Vice-President, the President shall nominate a Vice-President who shall take office upon confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress.

Section 3. Whenever the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that he is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, and until he transmits to them a written declaration to the contrary, such powers and duties shall be discharged by the Vice-President as Acting President.

Section 4. Whenever the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive departments or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall immediately assume the powers and duties of the office as Acting President.

Thereafter, when the President transmits to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives his written declaration that no inability exists, he shall resume the powers and duties of his office unless the Vice-President and a majority of either the principal officers of the executive department[s] or of such other body as Congress may by law provide, transmit within four days to the President pro tempore of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives their written declaration that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. Thereupon Congress shall decide the issue, assembling within forty-eight hours for that purpose if not in session. If the Congress, within twenty-one days after receipt of the latter written declaration, or, if Congress is not in session, within twenty-one days after Congress is required to assemble, determines by two-thirds vote of both Houses that the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office, the Vice-President shall continue to discharge the same as Acting President; otherwise, the President shall resume the powers and duties of his office.

Amendment XXVI [1971]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Unratified Amendment

Equal Rights Amendment (proposed by Congress March 22, 1972; seven-year deadline for ratification extended to June 30, 1982)

Section 1. *Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.*

Section 2. *The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.*

Section 3. *This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.*

Unratified Amendment

District of Columbia Statehood Amendment (proposed by Congress August 22, 1978)

Section 1. *For purposes of representation in the Congress, election of the President and Vice President, and article V of this Constitution, the District constituting the seat of government of the United States shall be treated as though it were a State.*

Section 2. *The exercise of the rights and powers conferred under this article shall be by the people of the District constituting the seat of government, and as shall be provided by Congress.*

Section 3. *The twenty-third article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.*

Section 4. *This article shall be inoperative, unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states within seven years from the date of its submission.*

Amendment XXVII [1992]

No law varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened.

Appendix

The American Nation

Admission of States into the Union

State	Date of Admission	State	Date of Admission	State	Date of Admission
1. Delaware	December 7, 1787	18. Louisiana	April 30, 1812	35. West Virginia	June 20, 1863
2. Pennsylvania	December 12, 1787	19. Indiana	December 11, 1816	36. Nevada	October 31, 1864
3. New Jersey	December 18, 1787	20. Mississippi	December 10, 1817	37. Nebraska	March 1, 1867
4. Georgia	January 2, 1788	21. Illinois	December 3, 1818	38. Colorado	August 1, 1876
5. Connecticut	January 9, 1788	22. Alabama	December 14, 1819	39. North Dakota	November 2, 1889
6. Massachusetts	February 6, 1788	23. Maine	March 15, 1820	40. South Dakota	November 2, 1889
7. Maryland	April 28, 1788	24. Missouri	August 10, 1821	41. Montana	November 8, 1889
8. South Carolina	May 23, 1788	25. Arkansas	June 15, 1836	42. Washington	November 11, 1889
9. New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	26. Michigan	January 26, 1837	43. Idaho	July 3, 1890
10. Virginia	June 25, 1788	27. Florida	March 3, 1845	44. Wyoming	July 10, 1890
11. New York	July 26, 1788	28. Texas	December 29, 1845	45. Utah	January 4, 1896
12. North Carolina	November 21, 1789	29. Iowa	December 28, 1846	46. Oklahoma	November 16, 1907
13. Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	30. Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	47. New Mexico	January 6, 1912
14. Vermont	March 4, 1791	31. California	September 9, 1850	48. Arizona	February 14, 1912
15. Kentucky	June 1, 1792	32. Minnesota	May 11, 1858	49. Alaska	January 3, 1959
16. Tennessee	June 1, 1796	33. Oregon	February 14, 1859	50. Hawaii	August 21, 1959
17. Ohio	March 1, 1803	34. Kansas	January 29, 1861		

Presidential Elections

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote*	Electoral Vote
1789	**George Washington**	No party designations		69
	John Adams†			34
	Other candidates			35
1792	**George Washington**	No party designations		132
	John Adams			77
	George Clinton			50
	Other candidates			5

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (1975); *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2001*; *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2006.*

*Prior to 1824, most presidential electors were chosen by state legislators rather than by popular vote. For elections after 1824, candidates receiving less than 1.0 percent of the popular vote have been omitted from this chart. Hence the popular vote does not total 100 percent for all elections.

†Before the Twelfth Amendment was passed in 1804, the electoral college voted for two presidential candidates; the runner up became vice president.

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1796	**John Adams**	Federalist		71
	Thomas Jefferson	Democratic-Republican		68
	Thomas Pinckney	Federalist		59
	Aaron Burr	Democratic-Republican		30
	Other candidates			48
1800	**Thomas Jefferson**	Democratic-Republican		73
	Aaron Burr	Democratic-Republican		73
	John Adams	Federalist		65
	Charles C. Pinckney	Federalist		64
	John Jay	Federalist		1
1804	**Thomas Jefferson**	Democratic-Republican		162
	Charles C. Pinckney	Federalist		14
1808	**James Madison**	Democratic-Republican		122
	Charles C. Pinckney	Federalist		47
	George Clinton	Democratic-Republican		6
1812	**James Madison**	Democratic-Republican		128
	DeWitt Clinton	Federalist		89
1816	**James Monroe**	Democratic-Republican		183
	Rufus King	Federalist		34
1820	**James Monroe**	Democratic-Republican		231
	John Quincy Adams	Independent Republican		1
1824	**John Quincy Adams**	Democratic-Republican	30.5	84
	Andrew Jackson	Democratic-Republican	43.1	99
	Henry Clay	Democratic-Republican	13.2	37
	William H. Crawford	Democratic-Republican	13.1	41
1828	**Andrew Jackson**	Democratic	56.0	178
	John Quincy Adams	National Republican	44.0	83
1832	**Andrew Jackson**	Democratic	54.5	219
	Henry Clay	National Republican	37.5	49
	William Wirt	Anti-Masonic	8.0	7
	John Floyd	Democratic	‡	11
1836	**Martin Van Buren**	Democratic	50.9	170
	William H. Harrison	Whig	49.1	73
	Hugh L. White	Whig		26
	Daniel Webster	Whig		14
	W. P. Mangum	Whig		11
1840	**William H. Harrison**	Whig	53.1	234
	Martin Van Buren	Democratic	46.9	60
1844	**James K. Polk**	Democratic	49.6	170
	Henry Clay	Whig	48.1	105
	James G. Birney	Liberty	2.3	
1848	**Zachary Taylor**	Whig	47.4	163
	Lewis Cass	Democratic	42.5	127
	Martin Van Buren	Free Soil	10.1	

‡Independent Democrat John Floyd received the 11 electoral votes of South Carolina; that state's presidential electors were still chosen by its legislature, not by popular vote.

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1852	**Franklin Pierce**	Democratic	50.9	254
	Winfield Scott	Whig	44.1	42
	John P. Hale	Free Soil	5.0	
1856	**James Buchanan**	Democratic	45.3	174
	John C. Frémont	Republican	33.1	114
	Millard Fillmore	American	21.6	8
1860	**Abraham Lincoln**	Republican	39.8	180
	Stephen A. Douglas	Democratic	29.5	12
	John C. Breckinridge	Democratic	18.1	72
	John Bell	Constitutional Union	12.6	39
1864	**Abraham Lincoln**	Republican	55.0	212
	George B. McClellan	Democratic	45.0	21
1868	**Ulysses S. Grant**	Republican	52.7	214
	Horatio Seymour	Democratic	47.3	80
1872	**Ulysses S. Grant**	Republican	55.6	286
	Horace Greeley	Democratic	43.9	
1876	**Rutherford B. Hayes**	Republican	48.0	185
	Samuel J. Tilden	Democratic	51.0	184
1880	**James A. Garfield**	Republican	48.5	214
	Winfield S. Hancock	Democratic	48.1	155
	James B. Weaver	Greenback-Labor	3.4	
1884	**Grover Cleveland**	Democratic	48.5	219
	James G. Blaine	Republican	48.2	182
	Benjamin F. Butler	Greenback-Labor	1.8	
	John P. St. John	Prohibition	1.5	
1888	**Benjamin Harrison**	Republican	47.9	233
	Grover Cleveland	Democratic	48.6	168
	Clinton P. Fisk	Prohibition	2.2	
	Anson J. Streeter	Union Labor	1.3	
1892	**Grover Cleveland**	Democratic	46.1	277
	Benjamin Harrison	Republican	43.0	145
	James B. Weaver	People's	8.5	22
	John Bidwell	Prohibition	2.2	
1896	**William McKinley**	Republican	51.1	271
	William J. Bryan	Democratic	47.7	176
1900	**William McKinley**	Republican	51.7	292
	William J. Bryan	Democratic; Populist	45.5	155
	John C. Wooley	Prohibition	1.5	
1904	**Theodore Roosevelt**	Republican	57.4	336
	Alton B. Parker	Democratic	37.6	140
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	3.0	
	Silas C. Swallow	Prohibition	1.9	
1908	**William H. Taft**	Republican	51.6	321
	William J. Bryan	Democratic	43.1	162
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	2.8	
	Eugene W. Chafin	Prohibition	1.7	

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1912	**Woodrow Wilson**	Democratic	41.9	435
	Theodore Roosevelt	Progressive	27.4	88
	William H. Taft	Republican	23.2	8
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	6.0	
	Eugene W. Chafin	Prohibition	1.4	
1916	**Woodrow Wilson**	Democratic	49.4	277
	Charles E. Hughes	Republican	46.2	254
	A. L. Benson	Socialist	3.2	
	J. Frank Hanly	Prohibition	1.2	
1920	**Warren G. Harding**	Republican	60.4	404
	James M. Cox	Democratic	34.2	127
	Eugene V. Debs	Socialist	3.4	
	P. P. Christensen	Farmer-Labor	1.0	
1924	**Calvin Coolidge**	Republican	54.0	382
	John W. Davis	Democratic	28.8	136
	Robert M. La Follette	Progressive	16.6	13
1928	**Herbert C. Hoover**	Republican	58.2	444
	Alfred E. Smith	Democratic	40.9	87
1932	**Franklin D. Roosevelt**	Democratic	57.4	472
	Herbert C. Hoover	Republican	39.7	59
	Norman Thomas	Socialist	2.2	
1936	**Franklin D. Roosevelt**	Democratic	60.8	523
	Alfred M. Landon	Republican	36.5	8
	William Lemke	Union	1.9	
1940	**Franklin D. Roosevelt**	Democratic	54.8	449
	Wendell L. Willkie	Republican	44.8	82
1944	**Franklin D. Roosevelt**	Democratic	53.5	432
	Thomas E. Dewey	Republican	46.0	99
1948	**Harry S. Truman**	Democratic	49.6	303
	Thomas E. Dewey	Republican	45.1	189
	J. Strom Thurmond	States' Rights	2.4	
	Henry Wallace	Progressive	2.4	
1952	**Dwight D. Eisenhower**	Republican	55.1	442
	Adlai E. Stevenson	Democratic	44.4	89
1956	**Dwight D. Eisenhower**	Republican	57.6	457
	Adlai E. Stevenson	Democratic	42.1	73
1960	**John F. Kennedy**	Democratic	49.7	303
	Richard M. Nixon	Republican	49.5	219
1964	**Lyndon B. Johnson**	Democratic	61.1	486
	Barry M. Goldwater	Republican	38.5	52
1968	**Richard M. Nixon**	Republican	43.4	301
	Hubert H. Humphrey	Democratic	42.7	191
	George C. Wallace	American Independent	13.5	46
1972	**Richard M. Nixon**	Republican	60.7	520
	George S. McGovern	Democratic	37.5	17
	John G. Schmitz	American	1.4	

Year	Candidates	Parties	Percentage of Popular Vote	Electoral Vote
1976	**Jimmy Carter**	Democratic	50.1	297
	Gerald R. Ford	Republican	48.0	240
1980	**Ronald W. Reagan**	Republican	50.7	489
	Jimmy Carter	Democratic	41.0	49
	John B. Anderson	Independent	6.6	0
	Ed Clark	Libertarian	1.1	
1984	**Ronald W. Reagan**	Republican	58.4	525
	Walter F. Mondale	Democratic	41.6	13
1988	**George H. W. Bush**	Republican	53.4	426
	Michael Dukakis	Democratic	45.6	111*
1992	**Bill Clinton**	Democratic	43.7	370
	George H. W. Bush	Republican	38.0	168
	H. Ross Perot	Independent	19.0	0
1996	**Bill Clinton**	Democratic	49	379
	Robert J. Dole	Republican	41	159
	H. Ross Perot	Reform	8	0
2000	**George W. Bush**	Republican	47.8	271
	Albert Gore	Democratic	48.4	267
	Ralph Nader	Green	2.7	0
2004	**George W. Bush**	Republican	50.7	286
	John Kerry	Democratic	48.3	252
2008	**Barack Obama**	Democratic	52.9	365
	John McCain	Republican	45.7	173
2012	**Barack Obama**	Democratic	51	332
	Mitt Romney	Republican	47.2	206
2016	**Donald Trump**	Republican	46.4	306
	Hillary Clinton	Democratic	48.5	232

*One Dukakis elector cast a vote for Lloyd Bentsen.

Population Growth*

Year	Population	Percentage Increase	Year	Population	Percentage Increase
1610	350	—	1820	9,638,453	33.1
1620	2,300	557.1	1830	12,866,020	33.5
1630	4,600	100.0	1840	17,069,453	32.7
1640	26,600	478.3	1850	23,191,876	35.9
1650	50,400	90.8	1860	31,443,321	35.6
1660	75,100	49.0	1870	39,818,449	26.6
1670	111,900	49.0	1880	50,155,783	26.0
1680	151,500	35.4	1890	62,947,714	25.5
1690	210,400	38.9	1900	75,994,575	20.7
1700	250,900	19.2	1910	91,972,266	21.0
1710	331,700	32.2	1920	105,710,620	14.9
1720	466,200	40.5	1930	122,775,046	16.1
1730	629,400	35.0	1940	131,669,275	7.2
1740	905,600	43.9	1950	150,697,361	14.5
1750	1,170,800	29.3	1960	179,323,175	19.0
1760	1,593,600	36.1	1970	203,235,298	13.3
1770	2,148,100	34.8	1980	226,545,805	11.5
1780	2,780,400	29.4	1990	248,709,873	9.8
1790	3,929,214	41.3	2000	281,421,906	13.2
1800	5,308,483	35.1	2010	308,745,538	9.7
1810	7,239,881	36.4			

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (1975); *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2010.*

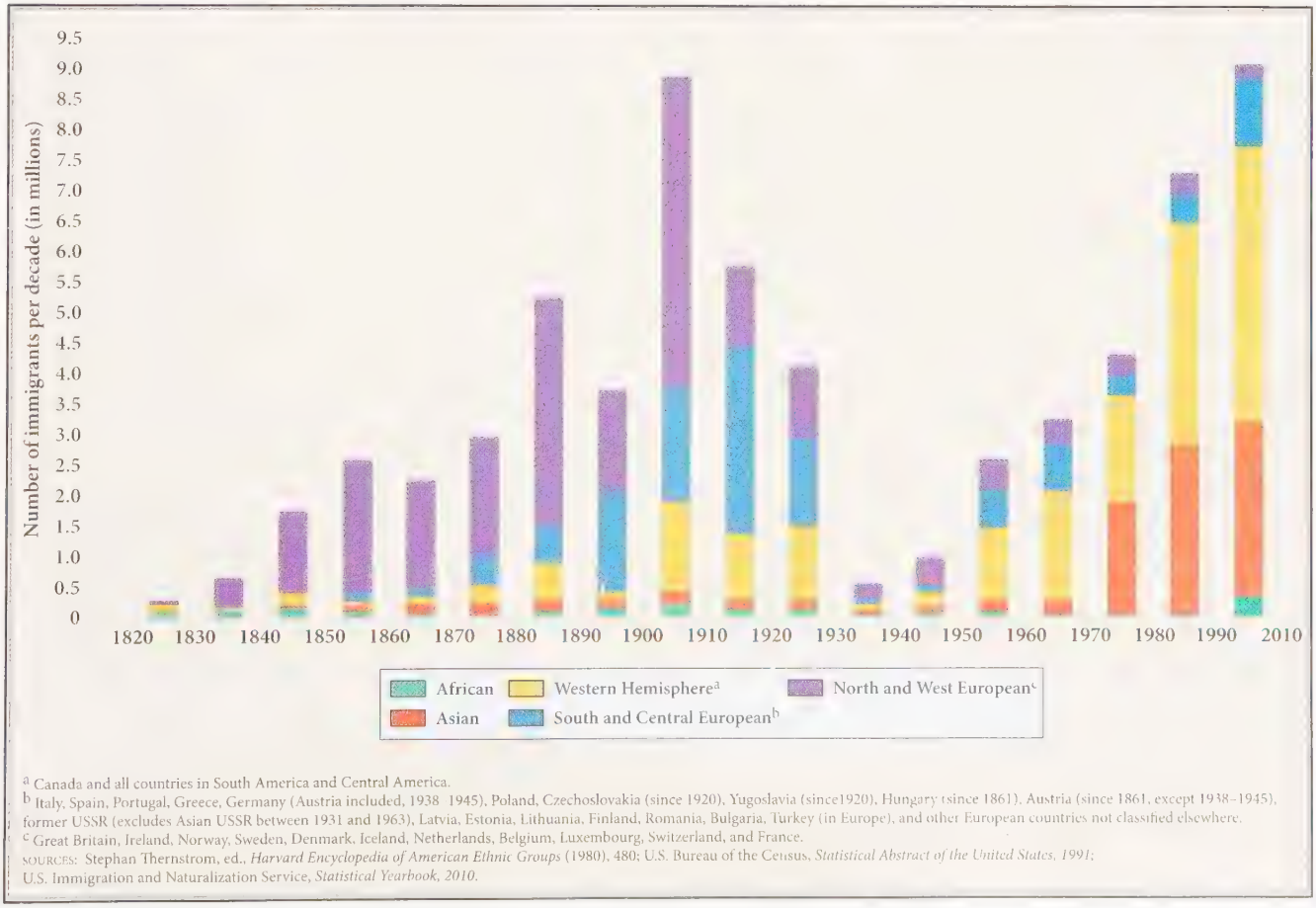
*Note: Until 1890, census takers never made any effort to count the Native American people who lived outside their reserved political areas and compiled only casual and incomplete enumerations of those living within their jurisdictions. In 1890, the federal government attempted a full count of the Indian population: the Census found 125,719 Indians in 1890, compared with only 12,543 in 1870 and 33,985 in 1880.

Immigration by Decade

Year	Number	Immigrants During This Decade as a Percentage of Total Population	Year	Number	Immigrants During This Decade as a Percentage of Total Population
1821–1830	151,824	1.6	1921–1930	4,107,209	3.9
1831–1840	599,125	4.6	1931–1940	528,431	0.4
1841–1850	1,713,251	10.0	1941–1950	1,035,039	0.7
1851–1860	2,598,214	11.2	1951–1960	2,515,479	1.6
1861–1870	2,314,824	7.4	1961–1970	3,321,677	1.8
1871–1880	2,812,191	7.1	1971–1980	4,493,000	2.2
1881–1890	5,246,613	10.5	1981–1990	7,338,000	3.0
1891–1900	3,687,546	5.8	1991–2000	9,095,083	3.7
1901–1910	8,795,386	11.6	2001–2010	10,501,053	3.7
1911–1920	5,735,811	6.2	2011–2015	5,151,773	NA
Total	**33,654,785**		**Total**	**48,086,744**	
			1821–2000		
			GRAND TOTAL	**81,741,529**	

SOURCES: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970* (1975), part 1, 105–106; *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 2001*. U.S. Department of Homeland Security, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, 2015*.

Regional Origins



[a] Canada and all countries in South America and Central America.
[b] Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Germany (Austria included, 1938–1945), Poland, Czechoslovakia (since 1920), Yugoslavia (since1920), Hungary (since 1861), Austria (since 1861, except 1938–1945), former USSR (excludes Asian USSR between 1931 and 1963), Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey (in Europe), and other European countries not classified elsewhere.
[c] Great Britain, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and France.
SOURCES: Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (1980), 480; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1991*; U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Statistical Yearbook, 2010*.

Glossary of Academic and Historical Terms

1968 Democratic National Convention: A convention held in Chicago during which numerous antiwar demonstrators outside the convention hall were tear-gassed and clubbed by police. Inside the convention hall, the delegates were bitterly divided over Vietnam. (p. 864)

abhor: to feel hatred for. (p. 600)

abject: wretched. (p. 280)

abolitionism: The social reform movement to end slavery immediately and without compensation that began in the United States in the 1830s. (p. 322)

abrogate: to cease authoritative power. (p. 374)

Abu Ghraib prison: A prison just outside Baghdad, Iraq, where American guards were photographed during the Iraq War abusing and torturing suspected insurgents. (p. 966)

accord: to give something to a person. (p. 337)

accumulate: to collect or gather something over time. (p. 36)

acerbic: sharp; harsh. (p. 666)

acumen: the capability to make good, quick judgements. (p. 929)

Adams-Onís Treaty: An 1819 treaty in which John Quincy Adams persuaded Spain to cede the Florida territory to the United States. In return, the American government accepted Spain's claim to Texas and agreed to a compromise on the western boundary for the state of Louisiana. (p. 231)

adaptation: a change made in order to adjust and improve function in a situation. (p. 3)

adherent: a strong supporter of something such as a leader. (p. 861)

adjudicate: to formally settle a dispute. (p. 187)

adroit: skillful; clever. (p. 959)

Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET): A decentralized computer network developed in the late 1960s by the U.S. Department of Defense in conjunction with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The Internet grew out of the ARPANET. (p. 951)

adversary: opponent. (p. 656)

affidavit: a statement sworn under oath, used for evidence in court. (p. 377)

affirmative action: Policies established in the 1960s and 1970s by governments, businesses, universities, and other institutions to overcome the effects of past discrimination against specific groups such as racial and ethnic minorities and women. Measures to ensure equal opportunity include setting goals for the admission, hiring, and promotion of minorities; considering

Convención Nacional Demócrata de 1968: Convención llevada a cabo en Chicago durante la cual varios manifestantes antiguerra fueron reprimidos con gas lacrimógeno y golpeados por la policía al exterior del centro de convenciones. Al interior del centro de convenciones, los delegados se encontraban amargamente divididos por la Guerra de Vietnam. (pág. 864)

detestar: sentir odio hacia algo. (pág. 600)

abyecto: desgraciado. (pág. 280)

abolicionismo: Movimiento de reforma social que comenzó en los Estados Unidos en la década de 1830, cuyo objetivo fue ponerle fin a la esclavitud de forma inmediata y sin compensación. (pág. 322)

derogar: suspender poderes autorizados. (pág. 374)

Prisión de Abu Ghraib: Prisión en las afueras de Bagdad, Irak, donde los guardias estadounidenses fueron grabados abusando y torturando a presuntos insurgentes. (pág. 966)

conceder: dar algo a una persona. (pág. 337)

acumular: coleccionar o juntar algo por un tiempo. (pág. 36)

mordaz: duro; severo. (pág. 666)

perspicacia: capacidad para tomar decisiones buenas, rápidas. (pág. 929)

Tratado de Adams-Onís: Tratado que tuvo lugar en 1819 en el que John Quincy Adams persuadió a España a que cediera el territorio de la Florida a los Estados Unidos. A cambio, el gobierno estadounidense aceptó el reclamo de España sobre Texas y aceptó negociar el límite occidental del estado de Luisiana. (pág. 231)

adaptación: cambio que se hace para ajustar y mejorar una función en una situación. (pág. 3)

adepto: persona que se muestra a favor de algo, por ejemplo de un líder. (pág. 861)

arbitrar: resolver una disputa de manera formal. (pág. 187)

hábil: diestro; listo. (pág. 959)

Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (Red de la Agencia de Proyectos de Investigación Avanzada, ARPANET): Red de computadoras descentralizadas desarrollada a finales de la década de 1960 por el Departamento de Defensa de Estados Unidos en colaboración con el Massachusetts Institute of Technology. La Internet surgió a partir de ARPANET. (pág. 951)

adversario: rival. (pág. 656)

declaración jurada: declaración tomada bajo juramento que se usa como evidencia en un tribunal. (pág. 377)

acción afirmativa (o discriminación positiva): Políticas establecidas en las décadas de 1960 y 1970 por gobiernos, negocios, universidades y otras instituciones para superar los efectos de discriminaciones del pasado contra grupos específicos como minorías raciales y étnicas, y mujeres. Las medidas para asegurar la igualdad de oportunidades incluyeron el establecimiento

minority status when allocating resources; and actively encouraging victims of past discrimination to apply for jobs and other resources. (p. 894)

African Methodist Episcopal Church: Church founded in 1816 by African Americans who were discriminated against by white Protestants. The church spread across the Northeast and Midwest and even founded a few congregations in the slave states of Missouri, Kentucky, Louisiana, and South Carolina. (p. 321)

agrarian: relating to agriculture or land. (p. 267)

Agricultural Adjustment Act: New Deal legislation passed in May 1933 that aimed at cutting agricultural production to raise crop prices and thus farmers' income. (p. 687)

Al Qaeda: A network of radical Islamic terrorists organized by Osama bin Laden, who issued a call for holy war against Americans and their allies. Members of Al Qaeda were responsible for the 9/11 terrorist attacks. (p. 942)

Alamo: The 1836 defeat by the Mexican army of the Texan garrison defending the Alamo in San Antonio. Newspapers urged Americans to "Remember the Alamo," and American adventurers, lured by offers of land grants, flocked to Texas to join the rebel forces. (p. 339)

Algonquian cultures/languages: A Native American language family whose speakers were widespread in the eastern woodlands, Great Lakes, and subarctic regions of eastern North America. The Algonquian language family should not be confused with the Algonquins, who were a single nation inhabiting the St. Lawrence Valley at the time of first contact. (p. 11)

alliance: an agreement between parties, or sometimes nations, to work together under certain circumstances. (p. 15)

ameliorate: improve. (p. 493)

America First Committee: A committee organized by isolationists in 1940 to oppose the entrance of the United States into World War II. The membership of the committee included senators, journalists, and publishers and such well-respected figures as the aviator Charles Lindbergh. (p. 715)

American Anti-Slavery Society: The first interracial social justice movement in the United States, which advocated the immediate, unconditional end of slavery on the basis of human rights, without compensation to slave masters. (p. 322)

American Civil Liberties Union: An organization formed during the Red Scare to protect free speech rights. (p. 666)

American Colonization Society: Founded by Henry Clay and other prominent citizens in 1817, the society argued that slaves had to be freed and then resettled, in Africa or elsewhere. (p. 280)

American exceptionalism: The idea that the United States has a unique destiny to foster democracy and civilization on the world stage. (p. 622)

de metas para la admisión, contratación y promoción de minorías; la consideración del estatus de minoría en la asignación de recursos; e invitar activamente a las víctimas de discriminaciones pasadas a solicitar empleos y otros recursos. (pág. 894)

Iglesia Episcopal Metodista Africana: Iglesia fundada en 1816 por afroamericanos discriminados por protestantes blancos. La iglesia se extendió por el noreste y el medio oeste del país e incluso fundó un número de congregaciones en los estados esclavistas de Misuri, Kentucky, Luisiana y Carolina del Sur. (pág. 321)

agrario: relacionado con la agricultura o tierra. (pág. 267)

Ley de Ajuste Agrícola: Legislación del "Nuevo Trato" aprobada en mayo de 1933 que buscaba recortar la producción agrícola para aumentar el precio de los cultivos y por lo tanto, el ingreso de los agricultores. (pág. 687)

Al Qaeda: Red de terroristas islámicos radicales organizada por Osama Bin Laden, quien convocó a una guerra santa contra los estadounidenses y sus aliados. Miembros de Al Qaeda fueron responsables de los ataques terroristas del 11 de septiembre. (pág. 942)

Álamo: Derrota, a manos del ejército mexicano en 1836, de la guarnición texana que defendía el Álamo en San Antonio. Los periódicos instaron a los estadounidenses a que "Recuerden el Álamo", y los aventureros estadounidenses, atraídos por las ofertas de concesiones de tierras, acudieron a Texas para unirse a las fuerzas rebeldes. (pág. 339)

algonquinas, culturas y lenguas: Familia de lenguas nativas americanas cuyos hablantes se extendieron por los bosques orientales, los Grandes Lagos y las regiones subárticas del este de América del Norte. La familia de las lenguas algonquinas no debe confundirse con los algonquinos, la nación-pueblo que habitaba el valle de San Lorenzo cuando ocurrió el primer contacto. (pág. 11)

alianza: acuerdo entre dos o más partes, a veces naciones, de trabajar juntos bajo ciertas circunstancias. (pág. 15)

mejorar: aumentar la calidad de algo. (pág. 493)

Comité América Primero: Comité organizado por aislacionistas en 1940 en oposición a la entrada de Estados Unidos a la Segunda Guerra Mundial. Entre los miembros del comité había senadores, periodistas, editores y figuras respetadas como el piloto Charles Lindbergh. (pág. 715)

Sociedad Antiesclavista Americana: Fue el primer movimiento interracial de justicia social en los Estados Unidos que abogó por el final inmediato e incondicional de la esclavitud sobre la base de los derechos humanos, sin compensación para los dueños de esclavos. (pág. 322)

Unión Americana de Libertades Civiles: Organización formada durante el Temor rojo para proteger los derechos de libertad de expresión. (pág. 666)

Sociedad Americana de Colonización: Fundada en 1817 por Henry Clay y otros ciudadanos prominentes, esta sociedad argumentaba que los esclavos debían ser liberados y reubicados en África o en otro lugar. (pág. 280)

Excepcionalismo americano: La idea de que Estados Unidos tiene como destino único fomentar la democracia y civilización en el escenario internacional. (pág. 622)

American Federation of Labor: Organization created by Samuel Gompers in 1886 that coordinated the activities of craft unions and called for direct negotiation with employers in order to achieve benefits for skilled workers. Like other trade unions, the AFL called for the closed shop — all employees had to be union members — to keep out low-wage competition and strengthen unions' bargaining power with employers. (p. 522)

American GI Forum: A group founded by World War II veterans in Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1948 to protest the poor treatment of Mexican American soldiers and veterans. (p. 819)

American Indian Movement (AIM): Organization established in 1968 to address the problems Indians faced in American cities, including poverty and police harassment. AIM organized Indians to end relocation and termination policies and to win greater control over their cultures and communities. (p. 841)

American Liberty League: A group of Republican business leaders and conservative Democrats who banded together to fight what they called the "reckless spending" and "socialist" reforms of the New Deal. (p. 690)

American, or Know-Nothing, Party: An anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic political party formed in 1851 that arose in response to mass immigration in the 1840s, especially from Ireland and Germany. In 1854, the party gained control of the state governments of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. (p. 384)

American Plan: Strategy by American business in the 1920s to keep workplaces free of unions, which included refusing to negotiate with trade unions and requiring workers to sign contracts (known as "yellow dog" contracts) pledging not to join a union. (p. 654)

American Protective Association: A powerful political organization of militant Protestants, which for a brief period in the 1890s counted more than two million members. In its virulent anti-Catholicism and calls for restrictions on immigrants, the APA prefigured the revived Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s. (p. 533)

American Recovery and Reinvestment Act: An economic stimulus bill passed in 2009, in response to the Great Recession, that provided $787 billion to state and local governments for schools, hospitals, and transportation projects. It was one of the largest single packages of government spending in American history. (p. 968)

American Renaissance: A literary explosion during the 1840s inspired in part by Emerson's ideas on the liberation of the individual. (p. 309)

American System: The mercantilist system of national economic development advocated by Henry Clay and adopted by John Quincy Adams, with a national bank to manage the nation's financial system; protective tariffs to provide revenue and encourage industry; and a nationally funded network of roads, canals, and railroads. (p. 281)

Federación Americana del Trabajo (AFL): Organización creada por Samuel Gompers en 1886 que coordinó las actividades de los gremios y pidió negociaciones directas con los patrones para obtener beneficios para la mano de obra calificada. Al igual que otros sindicatos, la AFL llamó a cerrar filas— todos los empleados debían ser miembros del sindicato— para excluir a la competencia que aceptaría salarios más bajos y para aumentar el poder de negociación de los sindicatos con los patrones. (pág. 522)

Foro Americano G.I.: Grupo fundado en 1948 por veteranos de la Segunda Guerra Mundial en Corpus Christi, Texas, para protestar el maltrato a soldados y veteranos mexicano-americanos. (pág. 819)

Movimiento Indígena Estadounidense (AIM): Organización establecida en 1968 para responder a los problemas que enfrentaban los indígenas en las ciudades estadounidenses, entre ellos, la pobreza y el acoso de la policía. El AIM organizó a los indígenas para terminar con las políticas de terminación y desplazamiento y lograr mayor control sobre sus comunidades y culturas. (pág. 841)

Liga Americana para la Libertad: Grupo de líderes empresariales republicanos y demócratas conservadores que se unieron para combatir lo que llamaron el "gasto desmedido" y las reformas "socialistas" del Nuevo Trato. (pág. 690)

Partido Americano o Know-Nothing (lit. "Saber nada"): Partido político antiinmigrante y anticatólico formado en 1851 que surgió en respuesta a la inmigración masiva de la década de 1840, especialmente desde Irlanda y Alemania. En 1854, el partido obtuvo el control de los gobiernos estatales de Massachusetts y Pensilvania. (pág. 384)

Plan Americano: Estrategia diseñada por negocios estadounidenses en la década de 1920 para excluir a los sindicatos de los lugares de trabajo con medidas como negarse a negociar con sindicatos y requerir que los trabajadores firmen contratos (conocidos como contratos de "perro amarillo") donde se comprometían a no unirse a un sindicato. (pág. 654)

Asociación Protectora Americana: Poderosa organización política de militancia protestante, que durante un periodo breve en la década de 1890, tuvo más de dos millones de miembros. En su anticatolicismo virulento y su llamado a imponer restricciones sobre inmigrantes, la APA prefiguró a la reactivada Ku Klux Klan de la década de 1920. (pág. 533)

Ley de Reinversión y Recuperación de Estados Unidos: Ley de estímulo económico promulgada en 2009 como respuesta a la Gran Recesión que brindó $787 mil millones de dólares a gobiernos estatales y locales para escuelas, hospitales y proyectos de transporte. Ha sido uno de los paquetes de egreso gubernamental más grandes en la historia del país. (pág. 968)

Renacimiento Americano: Explosión literaria que ocurrió durante la década de 1840 inspirada en parte por las ideas de Emerson sobre la liberación del individuo. (pág. 309)

sistema americano: Sistema mercantilista de desarrollo económico nacional, defendido por Henry Clay y adoptado por John Quincy Adams, que contaba con un banco nacional para administrar el sistema financiero de la nación, tarifas protectoras para proporcionar ingresos y estimular a la industria, y una red de carreteras, canales y ferrocarriles financiados a nivel nacional. (pág. 281)

American Woman Suffrage Association: A women's suffrage organization led by Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell, and others who remained loyal to the Republican Party, despite its failure to include women's voting rights in the Reconstruction amendments. Stressing the urgency of voting rights for African American men, AWSA leaders held out hope that once Reconstruction had been settled, it would be women's turn. (p. 440)

amnesty: an official pardon to people who committed political offenses. (p. 432)

amphibious: relating to both land and water. (p. 761)

anarchism: The advocacy of a stateless society achieved by revolutionary means. Feared for their views, anarchists became scapegoats for the 1886 Haymarket Square bombing. (p. 520)

anathema: an outrage. (p. 43)

annuity: a fixed sum of money payed at regular intervals. (p. 479)

anomaly: abnormal; irregularity. (p. 793)

Antifederalists: Opponents of ratification of the Constitution. Antifederalists feared that a powerful and distant central government would be out of touch with the needs of citizens. They also complained that it failed to guarantee individual liberties in a bill of rights. (p. 195)

Antiquities Act: A 1906 act that allowed the U.S. president to use executive powers to set aside, as federal monuments, sites of great environmental or cultural significance. Theodore Roosevelt, the first president to invoke the act's powers, used them to preserve the Grand Canyon. (p. 545)

aphorism: a brief and comprehensive statement of an idea. (p. 922)

apologist: a person that supports a controversial argument. (p. 257)

arable: able to grow crops. (p. 132)

archaeology: the study of ancient peoples and cultures by examining discovered artifacts such as tools, buildings, and inscriptions. (p. 8)

archipelago: a cluster of islands. (p. 625)

architecture: the design and construction of buildings and other large structures. (p. 8)

armistice: a temporary truce to stop fighting a war. (p. 424)

Articles of Confederation: The written document defining the structure of the government from 1781 to 1788, under which the Union was a confederation of equal states, with no executive and limited powers, existing mainly to foster a common defense. (p. 187)

artisan: a skilled worker that makes a product by hand. (p. 21)

artisan republicanism: An ideology that celebrated small-scale producers, men and women who owned their own shops (or farms). It defined the ideal republican society as one constituted by, and dedicated to the welfare of, independent workers and citizens. (p. 261)

Asociación Americana pro Sufragio de la Mujer (AWSA): Organización de mujeres sufragistas dirigida por Lucy Stone, Henry Blackwell y otros que permanecieron fieles al Partido Republicano pese a que no incluyó a los derechos de voto de la mujer en las Enmiendas de Reconstrucción. Haciendo hincapié en la urgencia de otorgar derechos de voto a los hombres afroamericanos, los líderes de la AWSA esperaban que una vez que asentara la Reconstrucción el turno de las mujeres llegaría. (pág. 440)

amnistía: perdón oficial para personas que cometieron delitos políticos. (pág. 432)

anfibio: relacionado con la tierra y el agua. (pág. 761)

anarquismo: La defensa de una sociedad sin estado alcanzada por medio de una revolución. Los anarquistas, temidos por sus puntos de vista, fueron usados como chivos expiatorios en el atentado de 1886 en Haymarket Square. (pág. 520)

anatema: un ultraje. (pág. 43)

anualidad: cantidad fija de dinero que se paga en intervalos regulares. (pág. 479)

anomalía: anormal; irregularidad. (pág. 793)

antifederalistas: Oponentes de la ratificación de la Constitución. Los antifederalistas temían que un gobierno central poderoso y distante estaría alejado de la realidad de las necesidades de los ciudadanos. También se quejaban de que el gobierno no garantizaba las libertades individuales en una declaración de derechos. (pág. 195)

Ley de Antigüedades: Ley promulgada en 1906 que permitía al presidente de los Estados Unidos el uso de poderes ejecutivos para apartar y designar sitios de gran importancia cultural o natural, como monumentos federales. Theodore Roosevelt, primer presidente en invocar los poderes de la ley, los usó para preservar el Gran Cañón. (pág. 545)

aforismo: expresión breve y completa de una idea. (pág. 922)

apologista: persona que apoya un argumento controvertido. (pág. 257)

arable: que se puede cultivar. (pág. 132)

arqueología estudio de pueblos y culturas antiguas a través del estudio de artefactos descubiertos como herramientas, edificios e inscripciones. (pág. 8)

archipiélago: conjunto de islas. (pág. 625)

arquitectura: el diseño y construccioón de edificios y otras estructuras grandes. (pág. 8)

armisticio: tregua pactada para detener las hostilidades de una guerra. (pág. 424)

Artículos de la Confederación: Documento escrito que definió la estructura del gobierno de 1781 a 1788, según el cual la Unión era una confederación de estados igualitarios, sin poderes ejecutivos y cuyos otros poderes estaban limitados, que existió principalmente para fomentar una defensa común. (pág. 187)

artesano: trabajador que hace productos a mano. (pág. 21)

republicanismo artesanal: Ideología que conmemoraba a los pequeños productores, hombres y mujeres que tenían sus propias tiendas (o granjas). Definió a la sociedad republicana ideal como una sociedad constituida y dedicada al bienestar de los ciudadanos y trabajadores-independientes. (pág. 261)

ascendancy: having or growing in political dominance, such as on a global stage. (p. 70)

ascetic: practicing of strict self-discipline. (p. 840

assimilation: the adoption of other qualities or habits in order to become similar to something else. (p. 133)

associated state: A system of voluntary business cooperation with government. The Commerce Department helped create two thousand trade associations representing companies in almost every major industry. (p. 656)

Atlanta Compromise: An 1895 address by Booker T. Washington that urged whites and African Americans to work together for the progress of all. Delivered at the Cotton States Exposition in Atlanta, the speech was widely interpreted as approving racial segregation. (p. 548)

Atlantic Charter: A press release by President Roosevelt and British prime minister Winston Churchill in August 1941 calling for economic cooperation, national self-determination, and guarantees of political stability after the war. (p. 716)

attrition: the gradual reduction of strength and numbers due to long periods of pressure. (p. 180)

auspices: support or encouragement; approval. (p. 844)

austere: severe and strict discipline such as through psychological teachings. (p. 945)

autocracy: form of government with an absolute monarch or small group which has unlimited power. (p. 616)

autonomy: self-governing. (p. 3)

auxiliary: providing additional help. (p. 414)

baby boom: The surge in the American birthrate between 1945 and 1965, which peaked in 1957 with 4.3 million births. (p. 793)

Bakke v. University of California: The 1978 Supreme Court ruling that limited affirmative action by rejecting a quota system. (p. 895)

Bank of the United States: A bank chartered in 1790 and jointly owned by private stockholders and the national government. Alexander Hamilton argued that the bank would provide stability to the specie-starved American economy by making loans to merchants, handling government funds, and issuing bills of credit. (p. 207)

bastion: an institution or person that defends certain standards or activities. (p. 867)

Battle of Little Big Horn: The 1876 battle begun when American cavalry under George Armstrong Custer attacked an encampment of Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyenne Indians who were resisting removal to a reservation. Custer's force was annihilated, but with whites calling for U.S. soldiers to retaliate, the Native American military victory was short-lived. (p. 486)

Battle of Long Island (1776): First major engagement of the new Continental army, defending against 32,000 British troops outside of New York City. (p. 172)

ascendiente: poseer o acumular dominio político, por ejemplo, en el escenario global. (pág. 70)

ascético: practicante de estricta disciplina personal. (pág.840)

asimilación: la adopción de cualidades o hábitos ajenos para parecerse a alguien o algo. (pág. 133)

estado asociado: Sistema de cooperación voluntaria de las empresas con el gobierno. El Departamento de Comercio ayudó a crear dos mil asociaciones de comercio en representación de compañías en casi todas las industrias mayores. (pág. 656)

Compromiso de Atlanta: Discurso de Booker T. Washington en 1895 que llamaba a los blancos y a los afroamericanos a trabajar juntos para el progreso de todos. Pronunciado durante la Exposición de Estados Algodoneros en Atlanta, el discurso fue interpretado por muchos como una aprobación de la segregación racial. (pág. 548)

Carta del Atlántico: Boletín de prensa emitido por el presidente Roosevelt y el primer ministro británico, Winston Churchill, en agosto de 1941 llamando a la cooperación económica, a la auto determinación nacional y a las garantías de estabilidad política cuando concluyera la guerra. (pág. 716)

desgaste: reducción gradual de fuerza y número de personas debido a largos periodos bajo presión. (pág. 180)

auspiciar: apoyar o respaldar, aprobar. (pág. 844)

austero: disciplina estricta y severa, por ejemplo, a través de enseñanzas psicológicas. (pág. 945)

autocracia: forma de gobierno con un monarca absoluto o un pequeño grupo que tiene poder ilimitado. (pág. 616)

autonomía: gobernarse a sí mismo. (pág. 3)

auxiliar: que ofrece ayuda adicional. (pág. 414)

baby boom: El aumento en la tasa de nacimientos en los Estados Unidos entre 1945 y 1965, que tuvo su cúspide en 1957 con 4.3 millones de nacimientos. (pág. 793)

Bakke v. University of California: Dictamen de la Corte Suprema de 1978 que, al rechazar un sistema de cuotas, limitó la acción afirmativa. (pág. 895)

Banco de los Estados Unidos: Banco constituido en 1790 que fue propiedad conjunta de accionistas privados y del gobierno nacional. Alexander Hamilton argumentó que el banco proporcionaría estabilidad a la economía estadounidense, que estaba hambrienta de dinero, haciendo préstamos a comerciantes, manejando fondos del gobierno y emitiendo cuentas de crédito. (pág. 207)

bastión: Iistitución o persona que defiende ciertos estándares o actividades. (pág. 867)

Batalla de Little Big Horn: La batalla ocurrida en 1876 inició cuando una caballería estadounidense comandada por George Armstrong Custer atacó un campamento de indígenas Sioux, Arapaho y Cheyenne que se resistían a ser desplazados a una reserva. Las fuerzas de Custer fueron aniquiladas, pero el llamado de los blancos a los soldados estadounidenses a tomar represalias significó que la victoria del ejercito indígena duró poco. (pág. 486)

Batalla de Long Island (1776): Primer gran encuentro bélico del nuevo ejército continental, que luchó contra 32,000 tropas británicas en las afueras de la ciudad de Nueva York. (pág. 172)

Battle of Saratoga (1777): A multistage battle in New York ending with the surrender of British general John Burgoyne. The victory ensured the diplomatic success of American representatives in Paris, who won a military alliance with France. (p. 175)

Battle of Tippecanoe: An attack on Shawnee Indians at Prophetstown on the Tippecanoe River in 1811 by American forces headed by William Henry Harrison, Indiana's territorial governor. The governor's troops traded heavy casualties with the confederacy's warriors and then destroyed the holy village. (p. 223)

Battle of Yorktown (1781): A battle in which French and American troops and a French fleet trapped the British army under the command of General Charles Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia. The Franco-American victory broke the resolve of the British government. (p. 182)

Bay of Pigs: A failed U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba in 1961 by anti-Castro forces who planned to overthrow Fidel Castro's government. (p. 775)

Bear Flag Republic: A short-lived republic created in California by American emigrants to sponsor a rebellion against Mexican authority in 1846. The army of the Bear Flag Republic was quickly absorbed into the California Battalion of the U.S. Army under the command of John C. Frémont. (p. 360)

Beats: A small group of literary figures based in New York City and San Francisco in the 1950s who rejected mainstream culture and instead celebrated personal freedom, which often included drug consumption and casual sex. (p. 790)

Beecher-Tilton scandal: A trial, triggered by revelations made by free love advocate and journalist Victoria Woodhull, that exposed unconventional sexual relationships among a leading New York abolitionist pastor and his congregants, discrediting radical Reconstruction by associating some of its advocates with alleged sexual immorality. (p. 440)

belligerent: a person or nation participating in war. (p. 208)

Benevolent Empire: A web of reform organizations, heavily Whig in their political orientation, built by evangelical Protestant men and women influenced by the Second Great Awakening. (p. 306)

Bill of Rights: The first ten amendments to the Constitution, officially ratified by 1791. The amendments safeguarded fundamental personal rights, including freedom of speech and religion, and mandated legal procedures, such as trial by jury. (p. 205)

biology: the study of living things. (p. 41)

Black Codes: Laws passed by southern states after the Civil War that denied ex-slaves the civil rights enjoyed by whites, punished vague crimes such as "vagrancy" or failing to have a labor contract, and tried to force African Americans back to plantation labor systems that closely mirrored those in slavery times. (p. 435)

Batalla de Saratoga (1777): Batalla que se desplegó en varias etapas en Nueva York y que concluyó con la rendición del general británico John Burgoyne. La victoria aseguró el éxito diplomático de los representantes estadounidenses en París, que lograron una alianza militar con Francia. (pág. 175)

Batalla de Tippecanoe: Ataque a los indios shawnee en Prophetstown sobre el río Tippecanoe en 1811 por fuerzas estadounidenses encabezadas por William Henry Harrison, gobernador territorial de Indiana. Las tropas del gobernador entablaron una batalla con los soldados de la confederación, que causó grandes bajas de ambos lados, y luego destruyeron la aldea sagrada. (pág. 223)

Batalla de Yorktown (1781): Batalla en la cual las tropas francesas y americanas, con el apoyo de una flota francesa, atraparon al ejército británico bajo el mando del general Charles Cornwallis en Yorktown, Virginia. La victoria franco-americana causó que el gobierno británico finalmente desistiera. (pág. 182)

Bahía de Cochinos: Invasión fallida de Cuba llevada a cabo por anticastristas apoyados por los Estados Unidos en 1961, con la intención de derrocar al gobierno de Fidel Castro. (pág. 775)

República de la Bandera del Oso: República efímera creada en California por emigrantes estadounidenses con el fin de patrocinar una rebelión contra la autoridad mexicana en 1846. El ejército de la República de la Bandera del Oso fue rápidamente absorbido por el Batallón de California del Ejército de los Estados Unidos bajo el mando de John C. Frémont. (pág. 360)

Generación de los Beats: Pequeño grupo de figuras literarias basado en las ciudades de Nueva York y San Francisco en la década de 1950. Rechazaban a la cultura establecida y celebraban, más bien, la libertad personal, que con frecuencia incluía consumo de drogas y sexo casual. (pág. 790)

Escándalo Beecher Tilton: Juicio provocado por las revelaciones de Victoria Woodhull, periodista y defensora del amor libre, que expuso relaciones sexuales poco convencionales entre un pastor abolicionista en Nueva York y sus congregados, desacreditando así la Reconstrucción radical al asociar a sus principales defensores con presunta inmoralidad sexual. (pág. 440)

beligerante: persona o nación que participa en una guerra. (pág. 208)

imperio benévolo: Red de organizaciones reformistas, con fuertes tendencias Whig en su orientación política, construida por hombres y mujeres protestantes evangélicos influenciados por el Segundo Gran Despertar. (pág. 306)

Declaración de Derechos: Las primeras diez enmiendas a la Constitución, ratificadas oficialmente en 1791. Las enmiendas salvaguardan los derechos personales fundamentales, incluidos la libertad de expresión y de religión, y los procedimientos legales obligatorios, como derecho a jucio ante un jurado. (pág. 205)

biología: estudio de los seres vivos. (pág. 41)

Códigos Negros: Leyes aprobadas por los estados sureños después de la Guerra Civil que negaban los derechos civiles de los blancos a los esclavos liberados, castigaban delitos ambiguos como el "vagabundeo" o no tener un contrato laboral y trataron de obligar a los afroamericanos a volver a los sistemas de trabajo de las plantaciones, que eran muy similares a aquellos en tiempos de la esclavitud. (pág. 435)

black nationalism: A major strain of African American thought that emphasized black racial pride and autonomy. Present in black communities for centuries, it periodically came to the fore, as in Marcus Garvey's pan-Africanist movement in the early twentieth century and in various organizations in the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Nation of Islam and the Black Panther Party. (p. 835)

Black Panther Party: A militant organization dedicated to protecting African Americans from police violence, founded in Oakland, California, in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. In the late 1960s the organization spread to other cities, where members undertook a wide range of community-organizing projects, but the Panthers' radicalism and belief in armed self-defense resulted in violent clashes with police. (p. 836)

black Protestantism: A form of Protestantism that was devised by Christian slaves in the Chesapeake and spread to the Cotton South as a result of the domestic slave trade. It emphasized the evangelical message of emotional conversion, ritual baptism, communal spirituality, and the idea that blacks were "children of God" and should be treated accordingly. (p. 342)

blues: A form of American music that originated in the Deep South, especially from the black workers in the cotton fields of the Mississippi Delta. (p. 568)

Bonus Army: A group of 15,000 to 20,000 unemployed World War I veterans who set up camps near the Capitol building in 1932 to demand immediate payment of pension awards due to be paid in 1945. (p. 682)

bourgeois: relating to the middle class of society. (p. 296)

Bracero Program: Officially the Mexican Farm Labor Agreement (signed with Mexico), a federal program that brought hundreds of thousands of Mexican agricultural workers to the United States during and after World War II. The program continued until 1964 and was a major spur of Mexican immigration to the United States. (p. 725)

Bretton Woods: An international conference in New Hampshire in July 1944 that established the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). (p. 782)

brook: not allow or accept something. (p. 623)

brothel: a house or other location that plays host to prostitution. (p. 316)

Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters: A prominent black trade union of railroad car porters working for the Pullman Company. (p. 814)

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka: Supreme Court ruling of 1954 that overturned the "separate but equal" precedent established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. The Court declared that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal and thus violated the Fourteenth Amendment. (p. 821)

bulwark: a strong support or reinforcement. (p. 920)

nacionalismo negro: Corriente principal del pensamiento afroamericano que enfatiza el orgullo racial negro y la autonomía. Existe desde hace siglos entre las comunidades negras y periódicamente ha retomado protagonismo, como ocurrió con el movimiento pan-africanista de Marcus Garvey a principios del siglo XX y con varias organizaciones de las décadas de 1960 y 1970, como la Nación del Islam y el Partido de las Panteras Negras. (pág. 835)

Partido de las Panteras Negras: Organización militante fundada en Oakland, California, en 1966 por Huey Newton y Bobby Seale para proteger a los afroamericanos de la violencia policial. A finales de la década de 1960, la organización se expandió a otras ciudades, donde los miembros asumieron una gran variedad de proyectos de organización comunitaria, pero el radicalismo de las Panteras y su creencia en la auto-defensa armada resultó en choques con la policía. (pág. 836)

protestantismo negro: Forma de protestantismo que fue ideada por esclavos cristianos en Chesapeake y se extendió al sur algodonero como resultado de la trata doméstica de esclavos. Hizo hincapié en el mensaje evangélico de la conversión emocional, el ritual del bautismo, la espiritualidad comunitaria y la idea de que los negros eran "hijos de Dios" y debían ser tratados como tales. (pág. 342)

blues: Tipo de música americana originada en el Sur Profundo, especialmente entre los trabajadores negros de las plantaciones de algodón en la boca del río Misisipi. (pág. 568)

Bonus Army: Grupo de 15 mil a 20 mil veteranos de la Primera Guerra Mundial que establecieron campamentos cerca del edificio del Capitolio para exigir el pago inmediato de las pensiones que estaban programadas para pagarse en 1945. (pág. 682)

burgués: relacionado con la clase media de la sociedad. (pág. 296)

Programa Bracero: Con el nombre oficial, Programa de Trabajadores Agrícolas Mexicanos el Programa Bracero (acordado con México) llevó a cientos de miles de trabajadores agrícolas a Estados Unidos durante y después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. El programa continuó hasta 1964 y fue uno de los principales incentivos de immigración mexicana a los Estados Unidos. (pág. 725)

Bretton Woods: Conferencia internacional sostenida en New Hampshire en julio de 1944 que estableció al Banco Mundial y al Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI). (pág. 782)

tolerar: aceptar o permitir algo. (pág. 623)

burdel: casa u otro lugar que alberga prostitución. (pág. 316)

Hermandad de Maleteros de Coches-cama: Destacado sindicato negro de maleteros de coches-cama que trabajó para la Compañía Pullman. (pág. 814)

Caso Brown contra el Consejo de Educación de Topeka: Sentencia de la Corte Suprema en 1954 que anuló el precedente "separados pero iguales" establecido en *Plessy v. Ferguson* en 1896. La Corte declaró que las instalaciones educativas separadas eran intrínsecamente desiguales y atentaban contra la Decimocuarta Enmienda de la Constitución. (pág. 821)

baluarte: fuerte apoyo o refuerzo. (pág. 920)

bureaucracy: government run through various departments and administrators. (p. 10)

burgeoning: developing or expanding quickly, such as regarding cities. (p. 118)

Burlingame Treaty: An 1868 treaty that guaranteed the rights of U.S. missionaries in China and set official terms for the emigration of Chinese laborers to work in the United States. (p. 465)

buttress: to reinforce. (p. 21)

cabal: a secret political group united to overthrow a government. (p. 468)

cadre: a group specifically trained for specific aspects of the armed forces or other large organization. (p. 322)

Californios: The elite Mexican ranchers in the province of California. (p. 352)

caravan: a group that travels together in hopes of passing safely through dangerous territory. (p. 25)

cardinal: fundamental; crucial. (p. 889)

casta system: A hierarchical system of racial classification developed by colonial elites in Latin America to make sense of the complex patterns of racial mixing that developed there. (p. 41)

cataclysm: a violent, destructive event that causes change in order to recover. (p. 676)

Catholic diocese: a certain area where a Catholic church is established and dedicated to serve its citizens. (p. 531)

caucus: A meeting held by a political party to choose candidates, make policies, and enforce party discipline. (p. 277)

chain migration: A pattern by which immigrants find housing and work and learn to navigate a new environment, and then assist other immigrants from their family or home area to settle in the same location. (p. 380)

chasten: correction by means of punishment. (p. 776)

chattel principle: A system of bondage in which a slave has the legal status of property and so can be bought and sold. (p. 256)

chattel slavery: A system of bondage in which a slave has the legal status of property and so can be bought and sold like property. (p. 38)

Chicago school: A school of architecture dedicated to the design of buildings whose form expressed, rather than masked, their structure and function. (p. 561)

Chicano Moratorium Committee: Group founded by activist Latinos to protest the Vietnam War. (p. 866)

Chinese Exclusion Act: The 1882 law that barred Chinese laborers from entering the United States. It continued in effect until the 1940s. (p. 515)

Christianity: A religion that holds the belief that Jesus Christ was himself divine. For centuries, the Roman Catholic Church was the great unifying institution in Western Europe, and it was from Europe that Christianity spread to the Americas. (p. 21)

burocracia: gobierno administrado por medio de varios departamentos y gerentes. (pág. 10)

florecer: en rápido desarrollo o expansión, por ejemplo, una ciudad. (pág. 118)

Tratado de Burlingame: Tratado de 1868 que garantizaba los derechos de misioneros estadounidenses en China y estableció los términos oficiales para la emigración de trabajadores chinos para trabajar en Estados Unidos. (pág. 465)

apoyo: reforzar. (pág. 21)

camarilla: grupo político secreto creado para derrocar a un gobierno. (pág. 468)

cuadro: grupo específicamente entrenado para aspectos específicos de las fuerzas armadas u otra organización grande. (pág. 322)

californios: Nombre que se le dio a los rancheros mexicanos de élite en la provincia de California. (pág. 352)

caravana: Grupo que viaja en conjunto con la esperanza de cruzar a salvo territorio peligrosos. (pág. 25)

fundamental: importante; crucial. (pág. 889)

sistema de castas: Sistema jerárquico de clasificación racial desarrollado por las elites coloniales en América Latina para dar sentido a los complejos patrones de mezcla racial que se desarrollaron allí. (pág. 41)

cataclismo: evento violento y destructivo que provoca cambios para fomentar su recuperación. (pág. 676)

diócesis católica: cierta zona donde se establece una iglesia católica y se dedica a servir a sus ciudadanos. (pág. 531)

asamblea de partidos: Reunión celebrada por un partido político para elegir candidatos, formular políticas y hacer cumplir la disciplina del partido. (pág. 277)

migración en cadena: Patrón según el cual los inmigrantes encuentran vivienda y trabajo y aprenden a desenvolverse en un nuevo entorno, y luego ayudan a otros inmigrantes de su familia o región a establecerse en el mismo sitio. (pág. 380)

escarmentar: corregir por medio de castigo. (pág. 776)

principio de bienes muebles: Sistema de esclavitud en el que se le confiere al esclavo el estatus legal de propiedad y por lo tanto puede ser comprado y vendido. (pág. 256)

esclavitud de bienes muebles: Sistema de esclavitud en el que se le confiere al esclavo el estatus legal de propiedad y por lo tanto puede ser comprado y vendido como si fuera propiedad. (pág. 38)

Escuela de Chicago: Escuela de arquitectura dedicada al diseño de edificios cuya forma expresaba su estructura y función en lugar de ocultarla. (pág. 561)

Comité Nacional de Moratoria Chicana: Grupo fundado por activistas latinos para protestar contra la Guerra de Vietnam. (pág. 866)

Ley de Exclusión de Chinos: Ley promulgada en 1882 que impidió que trabajadores chinos entraran a los Estados Unidos. Se mantuvo vigente hasta la década de 1940. (pág. 515)

cristianismo: Religión que sostiene la creencia de que Jesucristo es Dios. Durante siglos, la Iglesia Católica Romana fue la gran institución unificadora en Europa Occidental; y fue desde Europa que el cristianismo se extendió a las Américas. (pág. 21)

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormons: Founded by Joseph Smith in 1830. After Smith's death at the hands of an angry mob, in 1846 Brigham Young led many followers of Mormonism to lands in present-day Utah. (p. 314)

"City Beautiful" movement: A turn-of-the-twentieth-century movement that advocated landscape beautification, playgrounds, and more and better urban parks. (p. 576)

Civil Rights Act of 1866: Legislation passed by Congress that nullified the Black Codes and affirmed that African Americans should have equal benefit of the law. (p. 435)

Civil Rights Act of 1875: A law that required "full and equal" access to jury service and to transportation and public accommodations, irrespective of race. (p. 450)

Civil Rights Act of 1964: Law that responded to demands of the civil rights movement by making discrimination in employment, education, and public accommodations illegal. It was the strongest such measure since Reconstruction and included a ban on sex discrimination in employment. (p. 830)

Civil Rights Cases: A series of 1883 Supreme Court decisions that struck down the Civil Rights Act of 1875, rolling back key Reconstruction laws and paving the way for later decisions that sanctioned segregation. (p. 456)

Civilian Conservation Corps: Federal relief program that provided jobs to millions of unemployed young men who built thousands of bridges, roads, trails, and other structures in state and national parks, bolstering the national infrastructure. (p. 687)

clandestine: kept secret. (p. 891)

classical liberalism or laissez-faire: The political ideology of individual liberty, private property, a competitive market economy, free trade, and limited government. The ideal is a *laissez faire* or "let alone" policy, in which government does the least possible, particularly in reference to economic policies such as tariffs and incentives for industrial development. Attacking corruption and defending private property, late-nineteenth-century liberals generally called for elite governance and questioned the advisability of full democratic participation. (p. 293)

Clayton Antitrust Act: A 1914 law that strengthened federal definitions of "monopoly" and gave more power to the Justice Department to pursue antitrust cases; it also specified that labor unions could not generally be prosecuted for "restraint of trade," ensuring that antitrust laws would apply to corporations rather than unions. (p. 610)

climate: weather patterns around the world that include temperature, air pressure, and precipitation. These statistics can be gathered and averaged over time to determine the overall climate of the region under examination. (p. 23)

coalition: an alliance, usually calling for political action. (p. 20)

Iglesia de Jesucristo de los Santos de los Últimos Días, o mormones: Fundada por Joseph Smith en 1830. Después de la muerte de Smith a manos de una turba enfurecida en 1846, Brigham Young condujo a muchos seguidores del mormonismo a tierras ubicadas en la actual Utah. (pág. 314)

movimiento "Ciudad Bella": Movimiento del cambio de siglo que promovió el embellecimiento de paisajes, parques infantiles y buscó mejores parques urbanos. (pág. 576)

Ley de Derechos Civiles de 1866: Legislación promulgada por el Congreso que anuló los Códigos Negros y afirmó que los afroamericanos debían tener el mismo beneficio de la ley. (pág. 435)

Ley de Derechos Civiles de 1875: Ley que requería acceso "pleno e igualitario" al servicio de jurado, al transporte y al alojamiento público, sin importar la raza de la persona. (pág. 450)

Ley de Derechos Civiles de 1964: Ley que respondió a las exigencias del movimiento de derechos civiles al ilegalizar la discriminación en el empleo, la educación y la vivienda pública. Fue la medida más fuerte de este tipo desde la Reconstrucción e incluyó la ilegalización de la discriminación por sexo en el trabajo. (pág. 830)

Casos de derechos civiles: Serie de decisiones de la Corte Suprema en 1883 que abolieron la Ley de Derechos Civiles de 1875 y revocaron importantes leyes de Reconstrucción, que más adelante marcaron la pauta de las decisiones que sancionaron la segregación. (pág. 456)

Cuerpo Civil de Conservación: Programa federal de auxilio que ofreció empleo a millones de hombres desempleados en la construcción de miles de puentes, caminos, senderos y otras estructuras dentro de parques nacionales y estatales que reforzaron la infraestructura nacional. (pág. 687)

clandestino: mantenido en secreto. (pág. 891)

liberalismo clásico o laissez-faire: Ideología política de libertad individual, propiedad privada, economía competitiva de mercado, libre comercio y gobierno limitado. Lo ideal es una política de *laissez faire* o "dejar ser", en la cual el gobierno hace lo mínimo posible, particularmente en referencia a las políticas económicas como aranceles y desarrollo industrial. En un ataque a la corrupción y en defensa de la propiedad privada, los liberales de finales del siglo XIX querían gobiernos de élites y cuestionaron si era conveniente contar con participación democrática plena. (pág. 293)

Ley Clayton Antimonopolio: Ley de 1914 que fortaleció las definiciones federales de "monopolio" y aumentó los poderes del Departamento de Justicia para perseguir casos antimonopolio; también especificó que, en general, no se podía perseguir a los sindicatos por "restricciones al comercio", asegurando que las leyes antimonopolio se aplicarían a corporaciones y no a sindicatos. (pág. 610)

clima: Patrones de tiempo alrededor del mundo que incluyen temperatura, presión atmosférica y precipitación. La recolección de estos datos, que se promedian a lo largo del tiempo, determinan el cima general de la región examinada. (pág. 23)

coalición: una alianza, que generalmente convoca a la acción política. (pág. 20)

coastal trade: The domestic slave trade with routes along the Atlantic coast that sent thousands of slaves to sugar plantations in Louisiana and cotton plantations in the Mississippi Valley. (p. 255)

code talkers: Native American soldiers trained to use native languages to send messages in battle during World War II. Neither the Japanese nor the Germans could decipher the codes used by these Navajo, Comanche, Choctaw, and Cherokee speakers, and the messages they sent gave the Allies great advantage in the battle of Iwo Jima, among many others. (p. 720)

coerce: to forcefully persuade someone to do something. (p. 30)

Coercive Acts: Four British acts of 1774 meant to punish Massachusetts for the destruction of three shiploads of tea. Known in America as the Intolerable Acts, they led to open rebellion in the northern colonies. (p. 158)

cogent: logical; convincing. (p. 477)

cohesion: being tightly held together or united. (p. 116)

Cold War liberalism: A combination of moderate liberal policies that preserved the programs of the New Deal welfare state and forthright anticommunism that vilified the Soviet Union abroad and radicalism at home. Adopted by President Truman and the Democratic Party during the late 1940s and early 1950s. (p. 763)

collective bargaining: A process of negotiation between labor unions and employers, which after World War II translated into rising wages, expanding benefits, and an increasing rate of home ownership. (p. 786)

collegial: marked by equal division of authority. (p. 963)

collusion: a secret agreement for illegal purposes. (p. 604)

colonization: the act of settling among people of an area and establishing control over them. (p. 2)

Columbian Exchange: The massive global exchange of living things, including people, animals, plants, and diseases, between the Eastern and Western Hemispheres that began after the voyages of Columbus. (p. 41)

commensurate: to correspond in a suitable amount. (p.813)

Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies: A group of interventionists who believed in engaging with, rather than withdrawing from, international developments. Interventionists became increasingly vocal in 1940 as war escalated in Europe. (p. 715)

committees of correspondence: A communications network established among towns in the colonies, and among colonial assemblies, between 1772 and 1773 to provide for rapid dissemination of news about important political developments. (p. 158)

commodity: an object that can be placed in the market to be bought, sold, or traded. (p. 30)

comercio costero: Trata doméstica de esclavos con rutas a lo largo de la costa atlántica que enviaba miles de esclavos a plantaciones de azúcar en Luisiana y plantaciones de algodón en el valle del Misisipi. (pág. 255)

locutores de claves: Soldados nativos americanos en la Segunda Guerra Mundial entrenados para usar idiomas nativos para enviar mensajes durante el combate. Ni los japoneses ni los alemanes lograron descifrar las claves usadas por estos hablantes de Navajo, Comanche, Choctaw y Cheroqui cuyos mensajes dieron grandes ventajas a los Aliados durante la batalla de Iwo Jima, entre muchas otras. (pág. 720)

coaccionar: persuadir a alguien para que haga algo por la fuerza. (pág. 30)

Leyes Coactivas: Cuatro leyes británicas de 1774 cuyo objetivo fue castigar a Massachusetts por la destrucción de tres cargamentos de té. Conocidas en los Estados Unidos como las Leyes Intolerables, condujeron a la rebelión abierta en las colonias del norte. (pág. 158)

convicente: lógico; contundente. (pág. 477)

cohesión: estar firmemente unidos o conectados. (pág. 116)

Liberalismo de la Guerra Fría: Combinación de políticas liberales moderadas que preservaron programas del estado benefactor del Nuevo Trato y del anticomunismo directo, que vilificó a la Unión Soviética en el extranjero y al radicalismo en casa. Fueron adoptadas por el presidente Truman y el Partido Demócrata a finales de la década de 1940 y principios de la década de 1950. (pág. 763)

negociación colectiva: Proceso de negociación entre sindicatos laborales y patrones, que después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial trajo aumento de salarios, mayores beneficios y una creciente tasa de propiedad sobre la vivienda. (pág. 786)

colegial: cuando hay una división igualitaria de la autoridad. (pág. 963)

colusión: pacto secreto con fines ilegales. (pág. 604)

colonización: acto de asentarse entre las personas de una región y establecer control sobre ellos. (pág. 2)

intercambio colombino: Intercambio mundial masivo de seres vivos —como personas, animales, plantas y enfermedades— entre los hemisferios oriental y occidental que comenzó después de los viajes de Colón. (pág. 41)

acorde: corresponder con una cantidad adecuada. (pág. 813)

Comité para Defender América Ayudando a los Aliados: Grupo de intervencionistas que creían en participar antes que retirarse de desarrollos internacionales. Los intervencionistas se hicieron escuchar cada vez más en 1940 conforme la guerra en Europa se intensificaba. (pág. 715)

comités de correspondencia: Red de comunicaciones establecida entre las ciudades en las colonias y entre las asambleas coloniales entre 1772 y 1773 para proporcionar la rápida difusión de noticias sobre acontecimientos políticos importantes. (pág. 158)

mercancía: objeto que se puede colocar en el mercado para ser vendido, comprado o intercambiado. (pág. 30)

Commonwealth System: The republican system of political economy created by state governments by 1820, whereby states funneled aid to private businesses whose projects would improve the general welfare. (p. 243)

communicate: to exchange thoughts or information through various means such as spoken or written words. (p. 97)

Community Services Organization (CSO): A Latino civil rights group founded in Los Angeles in 1947 that trained many Latino politicians and community activists, including Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta. (p. 819)

competency: The ability of a family to keep a household solvent and independent and to pass that ability on to the next generation. (p. 109)

Compromise of 1850: Laws passed in 1850 that were meant to resolve the dispute over the status of slavery in the territories. Key elements included the admission of California as a free state and a new Fugitive Slave Act. (p. 375)

Comstock Act: An 1873 law that prohibited circulation of "obscene literature," defined as including most information on sex, reproduction, and birth control. (p. 547)

Comstock Lode: A vein of silver ore discovered in Nevada in 1859, leading to one of the West's most important mining booms. The lode was so rich that a Confederate expedition tried unsuccessfully to capture it during the Civil War; its output significantly altered the ratio of silver in circulation, leading to changes in monetary policy. (p. 470)

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE): Civil rights organization founded in 1942 in Chicago by James Farmer and other members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) that espoused nonviolent direct action. In 1961 CORE organized a series of what were called Freedom Rides on interstate bus lines throughout the South to call attention to blatant violations of recent Supreme Court rulings against segregation in interstate commerce. (p. 815)

conquistador: a Spanish soldier of the 16th and 17th centuries that explored the Americas as well as conquered the Natives that lived there. (p. 11)

conscience Whigs: Whig politicians who opposed the U.S.-Mexico War on moral grounds, maintaining that the purpose of the war was to expand and perpetuate control of the national government. (p. 368)

conscription: forced by law into government or military service. (p. 116)

conservationist: a person who advocates for the protection of natural resources. (p. 546)

consign: to give into the hands of another. (p. 787)

consolidate: to bring together or unite separate parts. (p. 50)

consortium: an association made up of several business companies. (p. 470)

consternation: feeling of anger or confusion due to something sudden or unexpected. (p. 924)

constitutional monarchy: A monarchy limited in its rule by a constitution. (p. 81)

sistema de mancomunidad: Sistema republicano de economía política creado por los gobiernos estatales para 1820, mediante el cual los estados canalizaban subsidios hacia empresas privadas cuyos proyectos mejorarían el bienestar general. (pág. 243)

comunicar: intercambiar ideas o información a través de varios medios como palabras escritas o de manera oral. (pág. 97)

Organización de Servicios Comunitarios (CSO): Grupo latino de derechos civiles fundado en 1947 que entrenó a muchos políticos y activistas comunitarios latinos, entre ellos, César Chávez y Dolores Huerta. (pág. 819)

competencia: Capacidad de una familia de mantener un hogar en estado de solvencia e independencia y transmitir esa capacidad a la próxima generación. (pág. 109)

Compromiso de 1850: Leyes aprobadas en 1850 que resolverían la disputa sobre el estado de la esclavitud en los territorios. Algunos elementos claves fueron: la admisión de California como estado libre y una nueva Ley de Esclavos Fugitivos. (pág. 375)

Ley Comstock: Ley de 1873 que prohibió la circulación de "literatura obscena", definida como aquella que incluía información sobre sexo, reproducción y anticoncepción. (pág. 547)

Comstock Lode: Veta de mineral de plata, descubierta en Nevada en 1859, que condujo a uno de los auges mineros más importantes del Oeste. La veta tenía tal riqueza que una expedición confederada intentó tomarla sin éxito durante la Guerra Civil; su producción alteró significativamente la proporción de la plata en circulación, lo que generó cambios en la política monetaria. (pág. 470)

Congreso para la Igualdad Racial (CORE): Organización de derechos civiles fundada en 1942 por James Farmer y otros miembros de la Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) que defendió la acción directa no violenta. En 1961, CORE organizó una serie de llamados Viajes de la Libertad (Freedom Rides) en camiones interestatales que recorrieron el Sur para denunciar la descarada violación de sentencias recientes de la Corte Suprema contra la segregación en el comercio interestatal. (pág. 815)

conquistador: soldados españoles de los siglos XVI y XVII que exploraron las Américas y conquistaron a los pueblos nativos que vivían allí. (pág. 11)

conciencia Whigs: Políticos Whig que se opusieron a la guerra entre Estados Unidos y México por motivos morales, sosteniendo que el propósito de la guerra era expandir y perpetuar el control del gobierno nacional. (pág. 368)

conscripción: obligado por ley al servicio militar o gubernamental. (pág. 116)

conservacionista: persona que aboga por la protección de los recursos naturales. (pág. 546)

consignar: poner en manos de otro. (pág. 787)

consolidar: juntar o unir partes separadas. (pág. 50)

consorcio: asociación de varias compañías de negocios. (pág. 470)

consternación: sentimiento de enojo o confusión debido a algo repentino o inesperado. (pág. 924)

monarquía constitucional: Monarquía limitada en su gobierno por una constitución. (pág. 81)

consumer credit: New forms of borrowing, such as auto loans and installment plans, that flourished in the 1920s but helped trigger the Great Depression. (p. 658)

consumer revolution: An increase in consumption in English manufactures in Britain and the British colonies fueled by the Industrial Revolution. Although the consumer revolution raised living standards, it landed many consumers — and the colonies as a whole — in debt. (p. 132)

containment: The basic U.S. policy of the Cold War, which sought to contain communism within its existing geographic boundaries. Initially, containment focused on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but in the 1950s it came to include China, North Korea, and other parts of the developing world. (p. 754)

contiguous: sharing a boundary; adjacent. (p. 244)

Continental Association: An association established in 1774 by the First Continental Congress to enforce a boycott of British goods. (p. 162)

Continental Congress: September 1774 gathering of colonial delegates in Philadelphia to discuss the crisis precipitated by the Coercive Acts. The Congress produced a declaration of rights and an agreement to impose a limited boycott of trade with Britain. (p. 159)

contingency: a possible, but not certain, event or circumstance. (p. 457)

"contrabands": Slaves who fled plantations and sought protection behind Union lines during the Civil War. (p. 406)

Contract with America: Initiatives by Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia for significant tax cuts, reductions in welfare programs, anticrime measures, and cutbacks in federal regulations. (p. 960)

Contras: An opposition group in Nicaragua that President Reagan ordered the CIA to assist. While Congress banned the CIA and all other government agencies from providing any military support to the Contras, a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. Marines, Oliver North, used the profits from the Iranian arms deal to assist the Contras, resulting in the Iran-Contra affair. (p. 931)

convict leasing: Notorious system, begun during Reconstruction, whereby southern state officials allowed private companies to hire out prisoners to labor under brutal conditions in mines and other industries. (p. 448)

corrupt bargain: A term used by Andrew Jackson's supporters for the appointment by President John Quincy Adams of Henry Clay as his secretary of state, the traditional stepping-stone to the presidency. Clay had used his influence as Speaker of the House to elect Adams rather than Jackson in the election in 1824. (p. 282)

cosmopolitan: being multicultural and showing aspects or experience from across the world. (p. 807)

crédito al consumo: Nuevas formas de préstamo, como el préstamo automotriz y planes de financiación, que florecieron en la década de 1920, y fueron una de las causas de la Gran Depresión. (pág. 658)

revolución del consumidor: Aumento en el consumo de manufacturas inglesas en Gran Bretaña y las colonias británicas impulsado por la Revolución Industrial. Aunque la revolución del consumidor elevó los niveles de vida, causó que muchos consumidores, y a las colonias en conjunto, cayeran en deuda. (pág. 132)

contención: Política básica de Estados Unidos durante la Guerra Fría que buscó contener al comunismo dentro de sus fronteras geográficas existentes. En un principio, la contención se enfocó en la Unión Soviética y Europa del Este, pero en la década de 1950 llegó a incluir a China, Corea del Norte y otras partes del mundo en vías del desarrollo. (pág. 754)

contiguo: compartir un límite o frontera; adyacente. (pág. 244)

Asociación Continental: Asociación establecida en 1774 por el Primer Congreso Continental con el fin hacer cumplir un boicot a los productos británicos. (pág. 162)

Congreso Continental: Reunión de delegados coloniales en Filadelfia que tuvo lugar en septiembre de 1774 para discutir la crisis precipitada por las Leyes Coactivas. El Congreso generó una declaración de derechos y un acuerdo para imponer un boicot limitado al comercio con Gran Bretaña. (pág. 159)

contingencia: evento o circunstancia posible pero incierta. (pág. 457)

"contrabando": Esclavos que huyeron de las plantaciones y buscaron protección detrás de las líneas de la Unión durante la Guerra Civil. (pág. 406)

Contrato con América; Iniciativas del congresista, Newt Gingrich, de Georgia, a favor de significativas reducciones de impuestos, reducciones en programas de asistencia social, medidas anti-crimen y recortes en regulaciones federales. (pág. 960)

Contras: Grupo de oposición en Nicaragua que recibió asistencia de la CIA por orden del presidente Reagan. Aunque el Congreso prohibió que la CIA y demás agencias gubernamentales apoyaran a los Contras, Oliver North, teniente coronel de los Estados Unidos, usó las ganancias del tratado de comercio de armas con Irán para asistir a los Contras y esto resultó en el escándalo Irán-Contra. (pág. 931)

arrendamiento de convictos: Sistema notorio que tuvo sus orígenes durante la Reconstrucción, mediante el cual los funcionarios estatales del sur permitieron a las empresas privadas contratar a prisioneros para que hicieran trabajos en condiciones brutales en minas y otras industrias. (pág. 448)

negociación corrupta: Término usado por los partidarios de Andrew Jackson para el nombramiento de Henry Clay por el presidente John Quincy Adams como su secretario de estado, paso intermedio tradicional hacia la presidencia. Clay había utilizado su influencia como presidente de la Cámara para elegir a Adams en lugar de Jackson en las elecciones de 1824. (pág. 282)

cosmopolita: ser multicultural y mostrar aspectos o experiencias de todo el mundo. (pág. 807)

cotton complex: The economic system that developed in the first half of the nineteenth century binding together southern cotton production with northern clothmaking, shipping, and capital. (p. 248)

counterculture: A culture embracing values or lifestyles opposing those of the mainstream culture. Became synonymous with hippies, people who opposed and rejected conventional standards of society and advocated extreme liberalism in their sociopolitical attitudes and lifestyles. (p. 860)

Counter-Reformation: A reaction in the Catholic Church triggered by the Reformation that sought change from within and created new monastic and missionary orders, including the Jesuits (founded in 1540), who saw themselves as soldiers of Christ. (p. 23)

Covenant Chain: The alliance of the Iroquois, first with the colony of New York, then with the British Empire and its other colonies. The Covenant Chain became a model for relations between the British Empire and other Native American peoples. (p. 83)

covenant of grace: The Christian idea that God's elect are granted salvation as a pure gift of grace. This doctrine holds that nothing people do can erase their sins or earn them a place in heaven. (p. 60)

covenant of works: The Christian idea that God's elect must do good works in their earthly lives to earn their salvation. (p. 60)

coverture: A principle in English law that placed wives under the protection and authority of their husbands, so that they did not have independent legal standing. (p. 112)

credit: method of purchasing something without directly paying at the time and instead paying later. (p. 99)

Crédit Mobilier: A sham corporation set up by shareholders in the Union Pacific Railroad to secure government grants at an enormous profit. Organizers of the scheme protected it from investigation by providing gifts of its stock to powerful members of Congress. (p. 452)

"Crime of 1873": A term used by those critical of an 1873 law directing the U.S. Treasury to cease minting silver dollars, retire Civil War–era greenbacks, and replace them with notes backed by the gold standard from an expanded system of national banks. (p. 469)

Crusades: A series of wars undertaken by Christian armies between A.D. 1096 and 1291 to reverse the Muslim advance in Europe and win back the holy lands where Christ had lived. (p. 22)

Cuban missile crisis: The 1962 nuclear standoff between the Soviet Union and the United States when the Soviets attempted to deploy nuclear missiles in Cuba. (p. 776)

culture: the way of life of a certain people that is shown through various traditions such as religion, art, and behavior. (p. 2)

complejo algodonero: Sistema económico que se desarrolló en la primera mitad del siglo XIX y que unía la producción de algodón del sur con la fabricación de telas, el transporte marítimo y el capital del norte. (pág. 248)

contracultura: Cultura de adoptar los valores o estilos de vida que se oponen a la cultura establecida. Fue característica de los hippies, que se opusieron y rechazaron los estándares convencionales de la sociedad y abogaron por el liberalismo extremo en sus actitudes sociopolíticas y estilos de vida. (pág. 860)

Contrarreforma: Reacción en la Iglesia Católica, desencadenada por la Reforma, que buscaba el cambio desde dentro y creó nuevas órdenes monásticas y misioneras, incluida la orden de los jesuitas (fundada en 1540), que se veían a sí mismos como soldados de Cristo. (pág. 23)

Cadena del Pacto: Alianza de los iroqueses, primero con la colonia de Nueva York y luego con el Imperio Británico y sus demás colonias. La Cadena del Pacto se convirtió en un modelo para las relaciones entre el Imperio Británico y otros pueblos nativos americanos. (pág. 83)

pacto de gracia: Idea cristiana de que los elegidos de Dios reciben la salvación como un regalo puro de la gracia. Esta doctrina sostiene que las personas no pueden hacer nada para borrar sus pecados o ganarse un lugar en el cielo. (pág. 60)

pacto de obras: Idea cristiana de que los elegidos de Dios deben hacer buenas obras en sus vidas terrenales para ganar su salvación. (pág. 60)

coverture: Principio en la ley inglesa que coloca a las esposas bajo la protección y la autoridad de sus maridos, de modo que carecen de una posición legal independiente. (pág. 112)

crédito: forma de adquirir algo sin pagarlo directamente en el momento de la compra y pagarlo después. (pág. 99)

Crédit Mobilier: Corporación fraudulenta creada por los accionistas de Union Pacific Railroad para obtener subvenciones del gobierno con enormes ganancias. Los organizadores del plan lo protegieron de la investigación al proporcionar obsequios de sus acciones a poderosos miembros del Congreso. (pág. 452)

"Crimen de 1873": Término utilizado por quienes criticaron una ley de 1873 que ordenaba al Departamento del Tesoro de los Estados Unidos que dejara de acuñar dólares de plata, retirara los dólares de la era de la Guerra Civil (*greenbacks*) y los reemplazara con billetes respaldados por el patrón oro de un sistema ampliado de bancos nacionales. (pág. 469)

Cruzadas: Serie de guerras emprendidas por los ejércitos cristianos entre los años 1096 y 1291 D.C. para revertir el avance de los musulmanes en Europa y recuperar las tierras santas donde Cristo había vivido. (pág. 22)

Crisis de los misiles en Cuba: Conflicto nuclear entre la Unión Soviética y Estados Unidos causado por el intento de los soviéticos de enviar misiles nucleares a Cuba en 1962. (pág. 776)

cultura: forma de vivir de ciertas personas que se expresa a través de varias tradiciones como la religión, el arte y el comportamiento. (p. 2)

culture war: A term used by Patrick Buchanan in 1992 to describe a long-standing political struggle, dating to the 1920s, between religious traditionalists and secular liberals. Social issues such as abortion rights and the rights of lesbians and gay men divided these groups. (p. 952)

cuneiform: an ancient form of writing composed by wedge-shaped characters that was used throughout Mesopotamia and Persia. (p. 526)

currency: money in circulation used for exchange. (p. 112)

currency tax: A hidden tax on the farmers and artisans who accepted Continental bills in payment for supplies and on the thousands of soldiers who took them as pay. Because of rampant inflation, Continental currency lost much of its value during the war — thus, the implicit tax on those who accepted it as payment. (p. 183)

curry: using flattery in order to advance one's self. (p. 355)

Dawes Severalty Act: The 1887 law that gave Native Americans severalty (individual ownership of land) by dividing reservations into homesteads. The law was a disaster for Native peoples, resulting over several decades in the loss of 66 percent of lands held by Indians at the time of the law's passage. (p. 483)

D-Day: June 6, 1944, the date of the Allied invasion of northern France. D-Day was the largest amphibious assault in world history. The invasion opened a second front against the Germans and moved the Allies closer to victory in Europe. (p. 734)

decimate: to kill or damage a large number of something. (p. 57)

Declaration of Independence: A document containing philosophical principles and a list of grievances that declared separation from Britain. Adopted by the Second Continental Congress on July 4, 1776, it ended a period of intense debate with moderates still hoping to reconcile with Britain. (p. 167)

Declaratory Act of 1766: Law issued by Parliament to assert Parliament's unassailable right to legislate for its British colonies "in all cases whatsoever," putting Americans on notice that the simultaneous repeal of the Stamp Act changed nothing in the imperial powers of Britain. (p. 150)

Defense of Marriage Act: A law enacted by Congress in 1998 that allowed states to refuse to recognize gay marriages or civil unions formed in other jurisdictions. The Supreme Court ruled that DOMA was unconstitutional in 2013. (p. 958)

deferment: postponement; suspension. (p. 860)

deindustrialization: The dismantling of manufacturing — especially in the automobile, steel, and consumer-goods industries — in the decades after World War II, representing a reversal of the process of industrialization that had dominated the American economy from the 1870s through the 1940s. (p. 886)

guerra cultural: Término usado por Patrick Buchanan en 1992 para describir la larga lucha política, que comenzó en la década de 1920, entre tradicionalistas religiosos y liberales seculares. Los grupos han estado divididos por temas como derechos de aborto, y los derechos de gays y lesbianas. (pág. 952)

cuneiforme: forma de escritura antigua compuesta por caracteres en forma de cuña que se usó en Mesopotamia y Persia. (pág. 526)

moneda: dinero circulante que se usa para intercambios. (pág. 112)

impuesto a las divisas: impuesto oculto sobre los granjeros y artesanos que aceptaron billetes continentales como pago por suministros y sobre los miles de soldados que los aceptaron como pago. Debido a la inflación desenfrenada, la moneda continental perdió gran parte de su valor durante la guerra —de ahí el impuesto implícito sobre quienes lo aceptaron como pago. (pág. 183)

almohazar: usar la adulación para mejorar la situación propia. (pág. 355)

Ley de Dawes Severalty: Ley de 1887 que otorgó separabilidad (propiedad individual de tierras) a los nativos americanos al dividir las reservas en fincas. La ley fue un desastre para los pueblos nativos, y resultó tras varias décadas en la pérdida del 66 por ciento de las tierras que ocupaban los indios en el momento de la aprobación de la ley. (pág. 483)

Día D: 6 de junio de 1944, fecha de la invasión de los Aliados en el norte de Francia. El Día D fue el ataque anfibio más grande en la historia del mundo. La invasión abrió un segundo frente contra los alemanes y acercó a los Aliados a la victoria en Europa. (pág. 734)

diezmar: matar o dañar a una gran cantidad de algo. (pág. 57)

Declaración de la independencia: Documento que contiene principios filosóficos y una lista de agravios con los cuales se declaró la separación de Gran Bretaña. Adoptada por el Segundo Congreso Continental el 4 de julio de 1776, puso fin a un intenso debate con los moderados que todavía esperaban reconciliarse con Gran Bretaña. (pág. 167)

Ley Declaratoria de 1766: Ley emitida por el Parlamento para hacer valer el derecho inexpugnable del Parlamento de legislar para sus colonias británicas "en todos los casos", dando aviso a los americanos que la derogación simultánea de la Ley del Timbre no había cambiado nada en los poderes imperiales de Gran Bretaña. (pág. 150)

Ley de Defensa del Matrimonio (DOMA): Ley promulgada por el Congreso en 1998 que permitió a los estados el derecho a negarse a reconocer los matrimonios o uniones civiles gays formadas en otras jurisdicciones. En 2013, la Corte Suprema sentenció a DOMA como anticonstitucional. (pág. 958)

aplazamiento: posponer; suspender. (pág. 860)

desindustrialización: El desmantelamiento de la manufactura—en especial de la industria automotriz, acerera y de bienes del consumidor—en las décadas posteriores a la Segunda Guerra Mundial, que representó un revés en el proceso de industrialización que dominó a la economía americana desde la década de 1870 hasta después de 1940. (pág. 886)

deism: The Enlightenment-influenced belief that the Christian God created the universe and then left it to run according to natural laws. (p. 121)

demarcation: a fixed boundary. (p. 760)

demographic: relating to a certain statistic of the human population. (p. 34)

demographic transition: The sharp decline in birthrate in the United States beginning in the 1790s that was caused by changes in cultural behavior, including the use of birth control. The migration of thousands of young men to the trans-Appalachian West was also a factor in this decline. (p. 278)

denigrate: to condemn unfairly. (p. 867)

denude: to deprive something of its crucial assets. (p. 245)

depose: to remove from a high position. (p. 465)

depravity: ethical corruption. (p. 305)

deregulation: The limiting of regulation by federal agencies. Deregulation of prices in the trucking, airline, and railroad industries had begun under President Carter in the late 1970s, and Reagan expanded it to include cutting back on government protections of consumers, workers, and the environment. (p. 893)

deride: to ridicule. (p. 535)

deskilling: The elimination of skilled labor under a new system of mechanized manufacturing, in which workers completed discrete, small-scale tasks rather than crafting an entire product. With deskilling, employers found they could pay workers less and replace them more easily. (p. 504)

despondent: feeling extremely discouraged; downhearted. (p. 839)

despotic: having absolute power as a ruler that is often taken advantage of. (p. 87)

détente: The easing of conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Nixon administration, which was achieved by focusing on issues of common concern, such as arms control and trade. (p. 871)

diaspora: a separation of a group of people from their native land. (p. 31)

diatribe: a bitter piece of writing or speech. (p. 452)

diffusion: the scattering or spreading of something. (p. 266)

discretionary income: income remaining after the deduction of taxes and expenses on necessities. (p. 885)

disdain: to dislike due to unworthiness. (p. 312)

disease: condition of the body or its parts that have a negative impact and often the potential to spread either internally or externally. (p. 3)

dissemination: the spread of something such as information or ideas. (p. 97)

dissident: someone who challenges official policy. (p. 59)

dollar diplomacy: Policy emphasizing the connection between America's economic and political interests overseas. Business

deísmo: Creencia influida por la Iluminación en la cual el Dios cristiano creó el universo y luego lo dejó funcionar de acuerdo con las leyes naturales. (pág. 121)

demarcación: un límite fijo. (pág. 760)

demográfico: relacionado a cierta estadística sobre la población humana. (pág. 34)

transición demográfica: Fuerte declive de la tasa de natalidad en los Estados Unidos a partir de la década de 1790 que fue causada por cambios en el comportamiento cultural, incluido el uso de métodos anticonceptivos. La migración de miles de hombres jóvenes al oeste de los Apalaches también fue un factor en este declive. (pág. 278)

denigrar: condenar de manera injusta. (pág. 867)

despojar: privar a algo de sus bienes cruciales. (pág. 245)

derrocar: remover a alguien de una posición de poder. (pág. 465)

depravación: corrupción ética. (pág. 305)

desregulación: La limitación de la regulación de agencias federales. La desregulación de los precios en las industrias camioneras, de aerolíneas y ferroviarias comenzó bajo el presidente Carter a finales de la década de 1970, y Reagan la expandió para incluir recortes en protecciones gubernamentales de consumidores, trabajadores y el medio ambiente. (pág. 893)

ridiculizar: burlarse. (pág. 535)

reducción de la especialización: La eliminación del trabajo calificado bajo un nuevo sistema de manufactura mecanizada, donde los trabajadores se dedican a tareas discretas de menor escala en lugar de fabricar un producto entero. Con este proceso, los empleadores encontraron que podían reducir los salarios de los trabajadores y reemplazarlos con mayor facilidad. (pág. 504)

abatido: sentirse extremadamente desanimado; alicaído. (pág. 839)

despótico: tener poder absoluto como gobernante, suele abusarse de ese poder. (pág. 87)

détente: La relajación del conflicto entre Estados Unidos y la Unión Soviética durante la administración de Nixon, que fue lograda mediante un enfoque sobre temas que preocupaban a ambos países, como el control de armas y el comercio. (pág. 871)

diáspora separación de un grupo de personas de su tierra natal. (pág. 31)

diatriba: texto o discurso amargo. (pág. 452)

difusión: dispersar o propagar algo. (pág. 266)

ingresos discrecionales: ingreso restante tras la retención de impuestos y gastos en necesidades. (pág. 885)

desdén: rechazar algo al estimar que no tiene valor. (pág. 312)

enfermedad: condición del cuerpo o de sus partes con impacto negativo que potencialmente puede extenderse interior o exteriormente. (pág. 3)

diseminación: la difusión de algo como información o ideas. (pág. 97)

disidente: persona que cuestiona la política oficial. (pág. 59)

diplomacia del dólar: Política que enfatiza la conexión entre los intereses políticos y económicos de Estados Unidos en el extran-

would gain from diplomatic efforts on its behalf, while the strengthened American economic presence overseas would give added leverage to American diplomacy. (p. 655)

domesticate: (of an animal) to tame and keep as a pet or farm animal. (p. 3)

domesticity: A middle-class ideal of "separate spheres" that celebrated women's special mission as homemakers, wives, and mothers who exercised a Christian influence on their families and communities; it excluded women from professional careers, politics, and civic life. (p. 325)

Dominion of New England: A royal province created by King James II in 1686 that would have absorbed Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New York, and New Jersey into a single, vast colony and eliminated their assemblies and other chartered rights. James's plan was canceled by the Glorious Revolution in 1688, which removed him from the throne. (p. 80)

domino theory: President Eisenhower's theory of containment, which warned that the fall of a non-Communist government to communism in Southeast Asia would trigger the spread of communism to neighboring countries. (p. 773)

dowry: money, property, or goods given to a man by his wife's parents. (p. 19)

draft (conscription): The system for selecting individuals for conscription, or compulsory military service, first implemented during the Civil War. (p. 411)

draft riots: Violent protests against military conscription that occurred in the North, most dramatically in New York City; led by working-class men who could not buy exemption from the draft. (p. 412)

***Dred Scott* decision:** The 1857 Supreme Court decision that ruled the Missouri Compromise unconstitutional. The Court ruled against slave Dred Scott, who claimed that travels with his master into free states and territories made him and his family free. The decision also denied the federal government the right to exclude slavery from the territories and declared that African Americans were not citizens. (p. 386)

Dunmore's War: A 1774 war led by Virginia's royal governor, the Earl of Dunmore, against the Ohio Shawnees, who had a long-standing claim to Kentucky as a hunting ground. The Shawnees were defeated and Dunmore and his militia forces claimed Kentucky as their own. (p. 165)

dust bowl: An area including the semiarid states of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arkansas, and Kansas that experienced a severe drought and large dust storms from 1930 to 1941. (p. 704)

Earth Day: An annual event honoring the environment that was first celebrated on April 22, 1970, when 20 million citizens gathered in communities across the country to express their support for a cleaner, healthier planet. (p. 881)

jero. Los negocios se beneficiarían de ser representados en esfuerzos diplomáticos y al mismo tiempo, la fortalecida presencia económica en el extranjero aumentaría el poder de la diplomacia americana. (pág. 655)

domesticar: (a un animal) para domarlo y conservarlo como mascota o animal de granja. (pág. 3)

domesticidad: Ideal de clase media de "esferas separadas" que celebraba la misión especial de las mujeres como amas de casa, esposas y madres que ejercían una influencia cristiana en sus familias y comunidades; excluía a las mujeres de las carreras profesionales, la política y la vida cívica. (pág. 325)

Dominio de Nueva Inglaterra: Provincia real creada por Jacobo II de Inglaterra en 1686 que habría absorbido Connecticut, Rhode Island, la bahía de Massachusetts, Plymouth, Nueva York y Nueva Jersey en una colonia grande y única, y habría eliminado sus asambleas y otros derechos constituidos. El plan de Jacobo II fue cancelado por la Revolución Gloriosa en 1688, que lo derrocó. (pág. 80)

teoría dominó: Teoría de contención del presidente Eisenhower, que advertía que la caída de un gobierno no comunista del sureste de Asia ante el comunismo provocaría el esparcimiento del comunismo a sus países aledaños. (pág. 773)

dote: dinero, propiedad o bienes que recibe un hombre de parte de los padres de su esposa. (pág. 19)

draft: (reclutamiento): Sistema que selecciona individuos para el servicio militar obligatorio o conscripto, implementado por primera vez durante la Guerra Civil. (pág. 411)

draft riots: (disturbios): Protestas violentas contra el reclutamiento militar que ocurrieron en el norte, con mayor notoriedad en la ciudad de Nueva York; dirigidas por hombres de la clase trabajadora que no podían comprar la exención al reclutamiento. (pág. 412)

decisión del caso *Dred Scott*: Decisión de la Corte Suprema de 1857 que dictaminó la inconstitucionalidad del Compromiso de Misuri. La Corte falló en contra del esclavo Dred Scott, que afirmó que viajar con su amo hacia estados y territorios libres lo liberaba a él y a su familia. La decisión también denegó al gobierno federal el derecho a excluir la esclavitud de los territorios y declaró que los afroamericanos no eran ciudadanos. (pág. 386)

Guerra de Dunmore: Guerra dirigida por el Conde de Dunmore, gobernador real de Virginia, que tuvo lugar en 1774 contra los shawnees de Ohio, que reclamaban su derecho histórico sobre Kentucky como campo de caza. Los shawnees fueron derrotados y Dunmore y sus fuerzas de las milicias reclamaron Kentucky como propio. (pág. 165)

dust bowl (cuenco de polvo): Zona semiárida de los estados de Oklahoma, Texas, Nuevo México, Colorado, Arkansas y Kansas que vivió una sequía severa y sufrió grandes tormentas de polvo entre 1930 y 1941. (pág. 704)

Día de la Tierra: Evento anual en honor del medio ambiente, celebrado por primera vez el 22 de abril de 1970, cuando 20 millones de ciudadanos se reunieron en comunidades de todo el país para expresar su apoyo hacia un planeta más limpio y sano. (pág. 881)

eastern woodlands: A culture area of Native Americans that extended from the Atlantic Ocean westward to the Great Plains, and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The eastern woodlands could be subdivided into the southeastern and northeastern woodlands. Eastern woodlands peoples were generally semisedentary, with agriculture based on maize, beans, and squash. Most, but not all, were chiefdoms. (p. 11)

ecology: the study of the relationships between organisms and their environment, as well as other organisms. (p. 3)

Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act: Legislation introduced by President George W. Bush and passed by Congress in 2001 that slashed income tax rates, extended the earned income credit for the poor, and marked the estate tax to be phased out by 2010. (p. 963)

Economic Opportunity Act: A 1964 act that created a series of programs, including Head Start to prepare disadvantaged preschoolers for kindergarten and the Job Corps and Upward Bound to provide young people with training and employment, aimed at alleviating poverty and spurring economic growth in impoverished areas. (p. 848)

Economic Recovery Tax Act (ERTA): Legislation introduced by President Reagan and passed by Congress in 1981 that authorized the largest reduction in taxes in the nation's history. (p. 923)

ecosystem: all living things, from people to plants, living in the same area and interacting with each other and the environment. (p. 3)

ecumenical: representing worldwide Christian Unity. (p. 792)

effigy: a statue of a person. (p. 148)

egalitarian: a social view in which all citizens are equal in all aspects of life. (p. 284)

egregious: exceptionally bad. (p. 478)

Eighteenth Amendment: The ban on the manufacture and sale of alcohol that went into effect in January 1920. Also called "prohibition," the amendment was repealed in 1933. (p. 663)

Eisenhower Doctrine: President Eisenhower's 1957 declaration that the United States would actively combat communism in the Middle East. (p. 774)

emaciated: abnormally thin, especially because of lack of food or illness. (p. 735)

Emancipation Proclamation: President Abraham Lincoln's proclamation issued on January 1, 1863, that legally abolished slavery in all states that remained out of the Union. While the Emancipation Proclamation did not immediately free a single slave, it signaled an end to the institution of slavery. (p. 407)

embargo: an official ban on commerce. (p. 212)

Embargo Act of 1807: An act of Congress that prohibited U.S. ships from traveling to foreign ports and effectively banned overseas

bosques orientales: Área cultural de nativos americanos que se extendía desde el océano Atlántico hacia el oeste hasta las Grandes Llanuras, y desde los Grandes Lagos hasta el golfo de México. Los bosques orientales podrían subdividirse en los bosques del sureste y el noreste. Los pueblos de los bosques orientales generalmente eran semisedentarios, con una agricultura basada en maíz, frijoles y calabaza. La mayoría, aunque no todos, eran jefaturas. (pág. 11)

ecología: el estudio de las relaciones entre organismos y su entorno, así como con otros organismos. (pág. 3)

Ley Reconciliatoria de Crecimiento Económico y Reducción Fiscal: Legislación introducida por el presidente George W. Bush y aprobada por el Congreso en 2001 que redujo el impuesto sobre la renta, extendió el crédito por ingreso para los pobres y estableció que para 2010 el impuesto sobre sucesiones debía ser gradualmente eliminado. (pág. 963)

Ley de Oportunidades Económicas: Ley de 1964 que creó una serie de programas, entre ellos el programa Head Start, con el fin de preparar a los alumnos desfavorecidos de preescolar para el kinder y los programas Job Corps y Upward Bound para ofrecer entrenamiento y empleo a jóvenes, con la intención de aliviar la pobreza y estimular el crecimiento económico en zonas empobrecidas. (pág. 848)

Ley del Impuesto para la Recuperación Económica (ERTA): Legislación introducida por el presidente Reagan y aprobada por el Congreso en 1981 que autorizó la mayor reducción de impuestos en la historia del país. (pág. 923)

ecosistema: todos los seres vivos, desde las personas hasta las plantas, que habitan la misma zona e interactúan entre sí y con el medio ambiente. (pág. 3)

ecuménico: representa a la Unidad Cristiana mundial. (pág. 792)

efigie: estatua de una persona. (pág. 148)

igualitario: perspectiva social donde todos los ciudadanos son iguales en todos los aspectos de la vida. (pág. 284)

mayúsculo: excepcionalmente malo. (pág. 478)

Decimoctava Enmienda: La prohibición de la manufactura y venta de alcohol que entró en vigencia en enero de 1920. La enmienda, también conocida como la "prohibición", fue revocada en 1933. (pág. 663)

Doctrina Eisenhower: Declaración de 1957 del presidente Eisenhower, que estableció que Estados Unidos combatiría el comunismo en el Medio Oriente. (pág. 774)

escuálido: delgadez anormal, especialmente por falta de alimento o por enfermedad. (pág. 735)

Proclamación de Emancipación: Proclamación del presidente Abraham Lincoln emitida el 1 de enero de 1863 que abolió legalmente la esclavitud en todos los estados que permanecieron fuera de la Unión. Si bien en un principio la Proclamación de Emancipación no liberó a un solo esclavo, señaló el fin de la esclavitud como institución. (pág. 407)

embargo: prohibición oficial del comercio. (pág. 212)

Ley de Embargo de 1807: Ley del Congreso que, en un intento de disuadir a Gran Bretaña de detener los barcos estadounidenses

trade in an attempt to deter Britain from halting U.S. ships at sea. The embargo caused grave hardships for Americans engaged in overseas commerce. (p. 223)

encomienda: A grant of Indian labor in Spanish America given in the sixteenth century by the Spanish kings to prominent men. *Encomenderos* extracted tribute from these Indians in exchange for granting them protection and Christian instruction. (p. 40)

endemic: affecting a particular area or people group. (p. 25)

energy crisis: A period of fuel shortages in the United States after the Arab states in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) declared an oil embargo in October 1973. (p. 881)

Enforcement Laws: Acts passed in Congress in 1870 and signed by President U. S. Grant that were designed to protect freedmen's rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Authorizing federal prosecutions, military intervention, and martial law to suppress terrorist activity, the Enforcement Laws largely succeeded in shutting down Klan activities. (p. 453)

English common law: The centuries-old body of legal rules and procedures that protected the lives and property of the British monarch's subjects. (p. 149)

Enlightenment: An eighteenth-century philosophical movement that emphasized the use of reason to reevaluate previously accepted doctrines and traditions and the power of reason to understand and shape the world. (p. 118)

enterprise: the project of undertaking, part. something difficult. (p. 3)

entrench: to firmly establish or defend something. (p. 104)

entrepreneur: someone who takes a risk by opening and managing a business themselves. (p. 43)

Environmental Protection Agency (EPA): Federal agency created by Congress and President Nixon in 1970 to enforce environmental laws, conduct environmental research, and reduce human health and environmental risks from pollutants. (p. 881)

environmentalism: Activist movement begun in the 1960s that was concerned with protecting the environment through activities such as conservation, pollution control measures, and public awareness campaigns. In response to the new environmental consciousness, the federal government staked out a broad role in environmental regulation in the 1960s and 1970s. (p. 881)

epidemic: a wide-spread, contagious sickness that threatens a community for a specific amount of time. (p. 6)

Equal Pay Act: Law passed in 1963 that established the principle of equal pay for equal work. Trade-union women were especially critical in pushing for, and winning, congressional passage of the law. (p. 851)

Equal Rights Amendment (ERA): Constitutional amendment passed by Congress in 1972 that would require equal treatment

en altamar, prohibió a los barcos estadounidenses viajar a puertos extranjeros y prohibió efectivamente el comercio exterior. El embargo causó graves dificultades para los estadounidenses que participaban en el comercio exterior. (pág. 223)

encomienda: Concesión de mano de obra indígena en Hispanoamérica otorgada en el siglo XVI por los reyes españoles a hombres prominentes. Los *encomenderos* extrajeron tributos de estos indios a cambio de otorgarles protección e instrucción cristiana. (pág. 40)

endémico: afecta a una zona o grupo de personas en particular. (pág. 25)

crisis energética: Periodo de escasez en Estados Unidos como consecuencia del embargo petrolero declarado en octubre de 1973 por los países árabes de la Organización de Países Exportadores de Petróleo (OPEC). (pág. 881)

Leyes de aplicación: Leyes aprobadas por el Congreso en 1870 y ratificadas por el presidente U. S. Grant, que fueron diseñadas para proteger los derechos de los liberados bajo la Decimocuarta y Decimoquinta Enmienda. Las Leyes de aplicación lograron en gran medida poner fin a las actividades del Klan al autorizar los enjuiciamientos federales, la intervención militar y la ley marcial con el propósito de reprimir la actividad terrorista. (pág. 453)

Derecho consuetudinario inglés Estructura jurídica centenaria de reglas y procedimientos legales que protegía la vida y la propiedad de los súbditos del monarca británico. (pág. 149)

Ilustración: Movimiento filosófico del siglo XVIII que enfatizó el uso de la razón para reevaluar doctrinas y tradiciones previamente aceptadas y el poder de la razón para comprender y dar forma al mundo. (pág. 118)

empresa: proyecto de emprender, particularmente algo difícil. (pág. 3)

afianzar: establecer o defender algo con firmeza. (pág. 104)

emprendedor: alguien que arriesga al abrir y administrar un negocio por sí mismos. (pág. 43)

Agencia de Protección Ambiental (EPA): Agencia Federal creada por el Congreso y el presidente Nixon en 1970 para vigilar el cumplimiento de leyes ambientales, conducir estudios del medio ambiente y reducir los riesgos de los contaminantes para la salud humana y el medio ambiente. (pág. 881)

ecologismo: Movimiento activista que comenzó en la década de 1960 con el propósito de proteger al medio ambiente a través de actividades de conservación, medidas de control de contaminación y campañas públicas. Como respuesta a la nueva conciencia ambiental, el gobierno federal mantuvo un amplio papel en la regulación ambiental de las décadas de 1960 y 1970. (pág. 881)

epidemia: enfermedad contagiosa que se extiende y amenaza a una comunidad durante un tiempo específico. (pág. 6)

Ley de Igualdad de Salario: Ley aprobada en 1963 que estableció el principio de igualdad de pago por trabajos iguales. Las mujeres sindicalizadas tuvieron un papel particularmente importante en impulsar y conseguir la aprobación de la ley en el Congreso. (pág. 851)

Enmienda de Igualdad de Derechos (ERA): Enmienda constitucional aprobada por el Congreso en 1972, que exige por ley es-

of men and women under federal and state law. Facing fierce opposition from the New Right and the Republican Party, the ERA was defeated as time ran out for state ratification in 1982. (p. 895)

Erie Canal: A 364-mile waterway connecting the Hudson River and Lake Erie. The Erie Canal brought prosperity to the entire Great Lakes region, and its benefits prompted civic and business leaders in Philadelphia and Baltimore to propose canals to link their cities to the Midwest. (p. 244)

espionage: the use of spies in order to obtain information, especially from a competitor. (p. 763)

Ethics in Government Act: Passed in the wake of the Watergate scandal, the 1978 act that forced political candidates to disclose financial contributions and limited the lobbying activities of former elected officials. (p. 891)

etymology: the study of the origin of words. (p. 672)

eugenics: An emerging "science" of human breeding in the late nineteenth century that argued that mentally deficient people should be prevented from reproducing. (p. 529)

eulogy: a speech or writing in honor of the deceased. (p. 741)

evangelicalism: The trend in Protestant Christianity that stresses salvation through conversion, repentance of sin, and adherence to scripture; it also stresses the importance of preaching over ritual. (p. 904)

exacerbate: to worsen in quality or escalate in violence or severity. (p. 780)

exchequer: a national treasury. (p. 150)

excoriate: to harshly criticize. (p. 133)

Executive Order 8802: An order signed by President Roosevelt in 1941 that prohibited "discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or government because of race, creed, color, or national origin" and established the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). (p. 724)

Executive Order 9066: An order signed by President Roosevelt in 1942 that authorized the War Department to force Japanese Americans from their West Coast homes and hold them in relocation camps for the rest of the war. (p. 730)

Exodusters: African Americans who walked or rode out of the Deep South following the Civil War, many settling on farms in Kansas in hopes of finding peace and prosperity. (p. 473)

explicit: being clearly defined or presented. (p. 150)

exploit: to use something in order to gain profit. (p. 6)

expulsion: being forced out or expelled. (p. 22)

extortion: illegally obtaining money or other desires by taking advantage of one's position or power. (p. 176)

factionalism: a large group being divided into subgroups that have slight variations. (p. 198)

tatal y federal trato igual para los hombres y las mujeres. Ante la feroz oposición de la Nueva Derecha y el Partido Republicano, ERA fue derrotada sobre el tiempo límite para su ratificación en 1982. (pág. 895)

Canal de Erie: Canal de 364 millas que conecta el río Hudson y el lago Erie. El Canal de Erie trajo prosperidad a toda la región de los Grandes Lagos, y sus beneficios impulsaron a los líderes cívicos y empresariales de Filadelfia y Baltimore a proponer canales para unir sus ciudades con el medio oeste del país. (pág. 244)

espionaje: el uso de espías para obtener información, especialmente de un competidor. (pág. 763)

Ley de Ética Gubernamental: Aprobada tras el escándalo de Watergate, esta ley de 1978 obligaría a los candidatos políticos a revelar sus contribuciones financieras y limitó las actividades de cabildeo de funcionarios que previamente habían ocupado cargos de elección pública. (pág. 891)

etimología: estudio del origen de las palabras. (pág. 672)

eugenesia: "Ciencia" de la reproducción humana que surgió a finales del siglo XIX y que argumentaba que se debía impedir la reproducción de personas con deficiencias mentales. (pág. 529)

elegía: discurso o texto en honor de un difunto. (pág. 741)

evangelicalismo: Tendencia dentro del cristianismo protestante que llama a la salvación a través de la conversión, el arrepentimiento del pecado y la adhesión a las escrituras; también resalta la importancia de predicar por encima de seguir los rituales. (pág. 904)

exacerbar: empeorar la calidad o aumentar en violencia o severidad. (pág. 780)

hacienda: tesoro público. (pág. 150)

vilipendiar: criticar severamente. (pág. 133)

Orden Ejecutiva 8802: Orden firmada por el presidente Roosevelt en 1941 para prohibir la "discriminación en el empleo de trabajadores en las industrias de defensa o gobierno por raza, creencia religiosa, color u origen nacional" y establecer la Fair Employment Practices Comission (Comisión para las Prácticas Laborales Justas, FEPC). (pág. 724)

Orden Ejecutiva 9066: Orden firmada por el presidente Roosevelt en 1942 que autorizó al Departamento de Guerra a obligar a los japoneses americanos de la Costa Oeste a abandonar sus hogares para ser enviados a campos de internamiento durante el resto de la guerra. (pág. 730)

Exodusters: Afroamericanos que partieron o salieron del Sur Profundo después de la Guerra Civil; muchos se establecieron en granjas en Kansas con la esperanza de encontrar paz y prosperidad. (pág. 473)

explícito: algo claramente definido o presentado. (pág. 150)

explotar: usar algo para obtener ganancias. (pág. 6)

expulsión: ser obligado a irse o ser desterrado. (pag. 22)

extorsión: obtener dinero u otros deseos por medio del abuso de una posición de poder. (pág. 176)

faccionalismo: grupo grande dividido en subgrupos con pequeñas variaciones. (pág. 198)

Fair Deal: The domestic policy agenda announced by President Harry S. Truman in 1949. Including civil rights, health care, and education reform, Truman's initiative was only partially successful in Congress. (p. 764)

Fair Labor Standards Act: One of the final major laws of the New Deal, it outlawed child labor, made the 40-hour workweek standard (and mandated overtime pay), and established a national minimum wage. (p. 696)

family values: Values promoted by the Religious Right, including support for the traditional nuclear family and opposition to same-sex marriage and abortion. (p. 937)

Farmers' Alliance: A rural movement founded in Texas during the depression of the 1870s that spread across the plains states and the South. The Farmers' Alliance advocated cooperative stores and exchanges that would circumvent middlemen, and it called for greater government aid to farmers and stricter regulation of railroads. (p. 520)

fascism: An authoritarian system of government characterized by dictatorial rule, extreme nationalism, disdain for civil society, and a conviction that imperialism and warfare are the principal means by which nations attain greatness. The United States went to war against fascism when it faced Nazi Germany under Adolf Hitler and Italy under Benito Mussolini during World War II. (p. 712)

Federal Housing Administration: An agency established by the Federal Housing Act of 1934 that refinanced home mortgages for mortgage holders facing possible foreclosure. (p. 688)

Federal Reserve Act: The central bank system of the United States, created in 1913. The Federal Reserve helps set the money supply level, thus influencing the rate of growth of the U.S. economy, and seeks to ensure the stability of the U.S. monetary system. (p. 610)

Federal Writers' Project: A program under the Works Progress Administration (WPA) from 1935 to 1939 in which historians, teachers, editors, novelists, poets, and playwrights were employed by the federal government to produce a variety of materials — this included, for example, interviews with hundreds of former slaves; a major survey of American foodways; and state-by-state guidebooks to history, geography, and culture. (p. 706)

Federalist No. 10: An essay by James Madison in *The Federalist* (1787–1788) that challenged the view that republican governments only worked in small polities; it argued that a geographically expansive national government would better protect republican liberty. (p. 198)

Federalists: Supporters of the Constitution of 1787, which created a strong central government; their opponents, the Antifederalists, feared that a strong central government would corrupt the nation's newly won liberty. (p. 195)

Female Moral Reform Society: An organization led by middle-class Christian women who viewed prostitutes as victims of male lust and sought to expose their male customers while "res-

Trato Justo: Agenda de política doméstica anunciada por el presidente Harry S. Truman en 1949. La iniciativa de Truman incluyó derechos civiles, salud pública y reformas educativas, pero sólo fue parcialmente exitosa en el Congreso. (pág. 764)

Ley de Normas Laborales Justas: Fue una de las leyes principales del Nuevo Trato y prohibió el trabajo de menores, estableció el estándar de semana laboral de 40 horas (con pago obligatorio de horas extra) y estableció un salario mínimo nacional. (pág. 696)

valores de familia: Valores promovidos por la Derecha Religiosa que incluyen el apoyo a la familia nuclear tradicional y la oposición al matrimonio entre personas del mismo sexo y al aborto. (pág. 937)

Alianza de Granjeros: Movimiento rural fundado en Texas durante la depresión de la década de 1870 que se esparció por los estados de la planicie y el Sur. La Alianza de Granjeros abogaba por tiendas cooperativas e intercambios que eliminarían la necesidad de intermediarios y pedía más apoyos gubernamentales para las granjas y mayor regulación de los ferrocarriles. (pág. 520)

fascismo: Sistema autoritario de gobierno caracterizado por el régimen dictatorial, el nacionalismo extremo, el desprecio por la sociedad civil y la convicción de que el imperialismo y la guerra son los medios para conseguir la grandeza nacional. Estados Unidos luchó contra el fascismo cuando enfrentó a la Alemania Nazi de Adolf Hitler y a la Italia de Benito Mussolini durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. (pág. 712)

Administración Federal de la Vivienda: Agencia creada por la Ley de Vivienda Federal de 1934 que refinanció hipotecas de deudores hipotecarios que enfrentaban una posible ejecución hipotecaria. (pág. 688)

Ley de la Reserva Federal: Sistema bancario central de los Estados Unidos creado en 1913. La reserva federal ayuda a establecer el nivel de dinero en circulación y, por lo tanto, influye sobre la tasa de crecimiento de la economía de Estados Unidos y busca asegurar la estabilidad del sistema monetario de Estados Unidos. (pág. 610)

Proyecto Federal de Escritores: Programa de la Works Progress Administration (Administración de Progreso de Obras, WPA) que duró entre 1935 y 1939, en el cual historiadores, editores, novelistas, poetas y dramaturgos fueron empleados por el gobierno federal para producir una variedad de materiales— estos incluyeron, por ejemplo, entrevistas con cientos de ex esclavos; una gran encuesta de las costumbres alimenticias americanas; y guías de historia, geografía y cultura para cada estado. (pág. 706)

Federalista No. 10: Ensayo de James Madison en *The Federalist* (1787–1788) que puso en tela de juico la opinión de que los gobiernos republicanos sólo trabajaban en pequeñas entidades políticas; argumentó que un gobierno nacional geográficamente expansivo protegería mejor la libertad republicana. (pág. 198)

Federalistas: Partidarios de la Constitución de 1787, que creó un gobierno central fuerte; sus oponentes, los antifederalistas, temían que un gobierno central fuerte corrompiera la recién obtenida libertad de la nación. (pág. 195)

Sociedad Reformista Femenina: Organización dirigida por mujeres cristianas de clase media que veían a las prostitutas como víctimas de la lujuria masculina y buscaban exponer a sus clien-

cuing" sex workers and encouraging them to pursue respectable trades. (p. 326)

feminism: The ideology that women should enter the public sphere not only to work on behalf of others, but also for their own equal rights and advancement. Feminists moved beyond advocacy of women's voting rights to seek greater autonomy in professional careers, property rights, and personal relationships. (p. 555)

Fetterman massacre: A massacre in December 1866 in which 1,500 Sioux warriors lured Captain William Fetterman and 80 soldiers from a Wyoming fort and attacked them. With the Fetterman massacre the Sioux succeeded in closing the Bozeman Trail, the main route into Montana. (p. 480)

Fifteenth Amendment: Constitutional amendment ratified in 1869 that forbade states to deny citizens the right to vote on grounds of race, color, or "previous condition of servitude." (p. 439)

"Fifty-four forty or fight!": Democratic candidate Governor James K. Polk's slogan in the election of 1844 calling for American sovereignty over the entire Oregon Country, which stretched from California to Russian-occupied Alaska and at the time was shared with Great Britain. (p. 355)

filibustering: Private paramilitary campaigns, mounted particularly by southern proslavery advocates in the 1850s, to seize additional territory in the Caribbean or Latin America in order to establish control by U.S.-born leaders, with an expectation of eventual annexation by the United States. (p. 378)

finance: management of a person's or organization's money and investments. (p. 29)

fireside chats: A series of informal radio addresses Franklin Roosevelt made to the nation in which he explained New Deal initiatives. (p. 685)

flagrant: obviously offensive. (p. 432)

flapper: A young woman of the 1920s who defied conventional standards of conduct by wearing short skirts and makeup, freely spending the money she earned on the latest fashions, dancing to jazz, and flaunting her liberated lifestyle. (p. 658)

Foreign Miner's Tax: A discriminatory tax, adopted in 1850 in California Territory, that forced Chinese and Latin American immigrant miners to pay high taxes for the right to prospect for gold. The tax effectively drove these miners from the goldfields. (p. 372)

Four Freedoms: Identified by President Franklin D. Roosevelt as the most basic human rights: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. The president used these ideas of freedom to justify support for England during World War II, which in turn pulled the United States into the war. (p. 716)

tes masculinos mientras "rescataban" a las trabajadoras sexuales y las alentaban a realizar labores respetables. (pág. 326)

feminismo: Ideología bajo la cual las mujeres deben entrar a la esfera pública no sólo para trabajar a nombre de otros, sino también por la igualdad de sus derechos y su desarrollo personal. Las feministas fueron más allá de buscar el derecho femenino al voto para buscar mayor autonomía en sus carreras profesionales, derechos de propiedad y relaciones personales. (pág. 555)

Masacre de Fetterman: Masacre que tuvo lugar en diciembre de 1866 en la cual 1500 guerreros siux hicieron salir al Capitán William Fetterman y 80 soldados de un fuerte de Wyoming y los atacaron. Con la masacre de Fetterman, los siux lograron cerrar el sendero Bozeman, que era la ruta principal hacia Montana. (pág. 480)

Decimoquinta Enmienda: Enmienda constitucional ratificada en 1869 que prohibió a los estados negar a los ciudadanos el derecho de voto por raza, color o "condición previa de servidumbre". (pág. 439)

"Fifty-four forty or fight!": ("¡Cincuenticuatro cuarenta o lucha!"): Lema del gobernador James K. Polk, candidato demócrata en las elecciones de 1844, que pedía la soberanía americana sobre todo el Territorio de Oregón, es decir, desde California hasta la Alaska ocupada por Rusia, que en ese momento se compartía con Gran Bretaña. (pág. 355)

filibusterismo: Campañas paramilitares privadas, impulsadas especialmente por los defensores de la esclavitud sureña en la década de 1850, para apoderarse de territorios adicionales en el Caribe o América Latina con el propósito de controlar a los líderes nacidos en EE. UU., con la expectativa de una futura anexión por parte de los Estados Unidos. (pág. 378)

finanzas: administración del dinero e inversiones de una persona u organización. (pág. 29)

cantos de fuego (fireside chants): Serie de discursos informales pronunciados vía radio por Franklin Roosevelt explicando al país las iniciativas del Nuevo Trato. (pág. 685)

flagrante: obviamente ofensivo. (pág. 432)

chica a la moda (flapper): Mujeres jóvenes de la década de 1920 que desafiaron los estándares convencionales de conducta usando faldas cortas y maquillaje, gastando libremente el dinero ganado de su trabajo en la última moda, bailando jazz y haciendo alarde de su estilo de vida liberado. (pág. 658)

Impuesto al Minero Extranjero: Impuesto discriminatorio adoptado en 1850 en el Territorio de California, que obligó a los mineros inmigrantes chinos y latinoamericanos a pagar impuestos elevados por el derecho a buscar oro. El impuesto efectivamente expulsó a estos mineros de los yacimientos de oro. (pág. 372)

Cuatro Libertades: De acuerdo con el presidente Franklin D. Roosevelt, los derechos humanos fundamentales son: libertad de expresión, libertad de culto, libertad de vivir sin penuria y libertad de vivir sin miedo. El presidente usó estas ideas de libertad para justificar el apoyo a Inglaterra durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial, que a su vez involucró a Estados Unidos en la guerra. (pág. 716)

Fourierist socialism: A system of social and economic organization proposed by French thinker Charles Fourier, which was based on common ownership of goods and shared labor by members of a community. A number of nineteenth-century American utopian communities tried to put Fourierist principles into practice. (p. 312)

socialismo fourierista: Sistema de organización social y económica propuesto por el pensador francés Charles Fourier, que se basaba en la propiedad común de los bienes y el trabajo compartido por los miembros de una comunidad. Varias comunidades utópicas americanas del siglo XIX intentaron poner en práctica los principios de Fourier. (pág. 312)

Four-Minute Men: Name given to thousands of volunteers enlisted by the Committee on Public Information to deliver short prowar speeches at movie theaters to galvanize public support for the war. Their work, as part of the broader objectives of the CPI, helped create a political climate intolerant of dissent. (p. 639)

Hombres de los Cuatro Minutos: Nombre que recibieron los miles de voluntarios inscritos por el Comité de Información Pública (CPI) para pronunciar breves discursos pro-guerra en salas de cine y promover el apoyo del público hacia la guerra. Su trabajo, que fue parte de los objetivos más amplios del CPI, ayudó a crear un entorno político que no toleraba la disidencia. (pág. 639)

Fourteen Points: Principles for a new world order proposed in 1919 by President Woodrow Wilson as a basis for peace negotiations at Versailles. Among them were open diplomacy, freedom of the seas, free trade, territorial integrity, arms reduction, national self-determination, and creation of the League of Nations. (p. 643)

Catorce Puntos: Principios para un nuevo orden mundial propuestos en 1919 por el presidente Woodrow Wilson como la base de las negociaciones para la paz en Versalles. Entre los Catorce Puntos estaba la diplomacia abierta, la libertad de los mares, el comercio libre, la integridad territorial, la reducción de armas, la auto-determinación de los pueblos y la creación de la Liga de las Naciones. (pág. 643)

Fourteenth Amendment: Constitutional amendment ratified in 1868 that made all native-born or naturalized persons U.S. citizens and prohibited states from abridging the rights of national citizens, thus giving primacy to national rather than state citizenship. (p. 436)

Decimocuarta Enmienda: Enmienda constitucional ratificada en 1868 que convertía a todas las personas naturalizadas o nacidas en Estados Unidos en ciudadanos americanos y prohibía a los estados restringir los derechos de los ciudadanos nacionales, otorgando así primacía a la ciudadanía nacional en lugar de la estatal. (pág. 436)

franchise: The right to vote. Between 1820 and 1860, most states revised their constitutions to extend the vote to all adult white males. Black adult men gained the right to vote with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment (1868). The Nineteenth Amendment (1920) granted adult women the right to vote. (p. 274)

sufragio: Derecho a votar. Entre 1820 y 1860, la mayoría de los estados revisaron sus constituciones para extender el voto a todos los hombres blancos adultos. Los hombres adultos negros obtuvieron el derecho al voto con la ratificación de la Decimocuarta Enmienda (1868). La Decimonovena Enmienda (1920) otorgó a las mujeres adultas el derecho al voto. (pág. 274)

Free African Societies: Organizations in northern free black communities that sought to help community members and work against racial discrimination, inequality, and political slavery. (p. 321)

Sociedades Africanas Libres: Organizaciones en las comunidades negras libres del norte que buscaban ayudar a los miembros de la comunidad y militaban contra la discriminación racial, la desigualdad y la esclavitud política. (pág. 321)

free silver: A policy of loosening the money supply by expanding federal coinage to include silver as well as gold. Advocates of the policy thought it would encourage borrowing and stimulate industry, but the defeat of Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan ended the "free silver" movement and gave Republicans power to retain the gold standard. (p. 599)

Política "free silver": Política para relajar la oferta de dinero mediante la inclusión de la plata, junto con el oro, en el sistema monetario federal. Los defensores de esta política pensaron que estimularía los préstamos y la industria, pero la derrota de William Jennings Bryan, candidato demócrata a la presidencia , terminó con el movimiento "free silver" y otorgó a los republicanos el derecho a mantener el patrón oro. (pág. 599)

free soil movement: A political movement that opposed the expansion of slavery. In 1848 the free soilers organized the Free Soil Party, which depicted slavery as a threat to republicanism and to the Jeffersonian ideal of a freeholder society, arguments that won broad support among aspiring white farmers. (p. 370)

movimiento de suelo libre: Movimiento político que se opuso a la expansión de la esclavitud. En 1848, los partidarios de este movimiento organizaron el Partido de Suelo Libre, que describía la esclavitud como una amenaza para el republicanismo y para el ideal jeffersoniano de una sociedad libre —argumentos que lograron amplio apoyo entre los blancos que aspiraban a convertirse en agricultores. (pág. 370)

Freedmen's Bureau: Government organization created in March 1865 to aid displaced blacks and other war refugees. Active until the early 1870s, it was the first federal agency in history that provided direct payments to assist those in poverty and to foster social welfare. (p. 435)

Oficina de Libertos: Organización gubernamental creada en marzo de 1865 para proporcionar asistencia a los negros desplazados y otros refugiados de guerra. Activa hasta principios de la década de 1870, fue la primera agencia federal en la historia que proporcionó pagos directos para ayudar a las personas indigentes y fomentar el bienestar social. (pág. 435)

Freedom of Information Act: Passed in the wake of the Watergate scandal, the 1974 act that gave citizens access to federal records. (p. 891)

freeholds: Land owned in its entirety, without feudal dues or landlord obligations. Freeholders had the legal right to improve, transfer, or sell their landed property. (p. 50)

French Revolution: A 1789 revolution in France that was initially welcomed by most Americans because it abolished feudalism and established a constitutional monarchy, but eventually came to seem too radical to many. (p. 208)

frontier: an area that lies along or beyond a known border. (p. 67)

functionary: one who holds office in a political party or government. (p. 572)

fundamentalism: A term adopted by Protestants, between the 1890s and the 1910s, who rejected modernism and historical interpretations of scripture and asserted the literal truth of the Bible. Fundamentalists have historically seen secularism and religious relativism as markers of sin that will be punished by God. (p. 533)

furlough: leave of absence. (p. 731)

furor: frantic outbreak; uproar. (p. 412)

gag rule: A procedure in the House of Representatives from 1836 to 1844 by which antislavery petitions were automatically tabled when they were received so that they could not become the subject of debate. (p. 324)

galvanize: evoking excitement, as if by electric shock. (p. 385)

gang-labor system: A system of work discipline used on southern cotton plantations in the mid-nineteenth century in which white overseers or black drivers supervised gangs of enslaved laborers to achieve greater productivity. (p. 266)

gender: characteristics that distinguish between masculinity and femininity, determining the sex of male or female. (p. 60)

gentility: A refined style of living and elaborate manners that came to be highly prized among well-to-do English families after 1600 and strongly influenced leading colonists after 1700. (p. 98)

gentry: high social class that in England represents those just below nobility. (p. 50)

Gettysburg Address: Abraham Lincoln's November 1863 speech dedicating a national cemetery at the Gettysburg battlefield. Lincoln declared the nation's founding ideal to be that "all men are created equal," and he urged listeners to dedicate themselves out of the carnage of war to a "new birth of freedom" for the United States. (p. 419)

Ghost Dance movement: Religion of the late 1880s and early 1890s that combined elements of Christianity and traditional Native American religion. It fostered Plains Indians' hope that they

Ley de Libertad de Información: Fue aprobada tras el escándalo de Watergate en 1974 y dio acceso público a los registros federales. (pág. 891)

propiedades absolutas: Tierra poseída en su totalidad, sin obligaciones feudales ni obligaciones de terrateniente. Los propietarios absolutos tenían el derecho legal de mejorar, transferir o vender sus propiedades. (pág. 50)

Revolución francesa: Revolución que tuvo lugar en Francia en 1789. Fue bien recibida inicialmente por la mayoría de los americanos porque abolió el feudalismo y estableció una monarquía constitucional, pero finalmente terminó siendo considerada por muchos como demasiado radical. (pág. 208)

frontera: zona aledaña o que va más allá de un límite conocido. (pág. 67)

funcionario: persona que ocupa un cargo en un partido político o gobierno. (pág. 572)

fundamentalismo: Término adoptado entre 1890 y 1910 por protestantes que rechazaban el modernismo y las interpretaciones históricas de las escrituras y hacían valer la verdad literal de la Biblia. Históricamente, los fundamentalistas han percibido al secularismo y al relativismo religioso como indicadores del pecado que será castigado por Dios. (pág. 533)

permiso: licencia o autorización para ausentarse. (pág. 731)

furor: causar sensación; escándalo. (pág. 412)

ley mordaza: Procedimiento en la Cámara de Representantes entre 1836 y 1844 mediante el cual las peticiones antiesclavistas quedaban automáticamente pospuestas cuando se recibían para que no pudieran ser objeto de debate. (pág. 324)

electrizar: crear emoción, como por descarga eléctrica. (pág. 385)

sistema de trabajo grupal: Sistema de disciplina laboral utilizado en las plantaciones de algodón del Sur a mediados del siglo XIX, en el que los capataces blancos o los conductores negros supervisaban a los grupos de trabajadores esclavos para lograr una mayor productividad. (pág. 266)

género: características que distinguen entre masculino y femenino, que determinan el sexo de hombre o mujer. (pág. 60)

refinamiento: Estilo de vida elegante y de modales distinguidos que llegó a ser muy apreciado entre familias acomodadas inglesas después de 1600 y que influyeron fuertemente en los primeros colonos después de 1700. (pág. 98)

pequeña nobleza: clase social alta que en Inglaterra representa a aquellos que están apenas debajo de la nobleza. (pág. 50)

Discurso de Gettysburg: Discurso de Abraham Lincoln en noviembre de 1863 con motivo de la dedicación de un cementerio nacional en el campo de batalla de Gettysburg. Lincoln declaró que el ideal fundacional de la nación era que "todos los hombres son creados iguales" e instó a los oyentes a abandonar la hecatombe de la guerra y dedicarse a un "nuevo nacimiento de la libertad" para los Estados Unidos. (pág. 419)

Movimiento de la Danza de los espíritus: Religión de finales de la década de 1880 y principios de la de 1890 que combinaba elementos del cristianismo y de las religiones nativas americanas

could, through sacred dances, resurrect the great bison herds and call up a storm to drive whites back across the Atlantic. (p. 488)

glasnost: The policy introduced by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev during the 1980s that involved greater openness and freedom of expression and that contributed, unintentionally, to the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union. (p. 935)

Glass-Steagall Act: A 1933 law that created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), which insured deposits up to $2,500 (and now up to $250,000). The act also prohibited banks from making risky, unsecured investments with customers' deposits. (p. 686)

globalization: The spread of political, cultural, and economic influences and connections among countries, businesses, and individuals around the world through trade, immigration, communication, and other means. (p. 942)

Glorious Revolution: A quick and nearly bloodless coup in 1688 in which James II of England was overthrown by William of Orange. Whig politicians forced the new King William and Queen Mary to accept the Declaration of Rights, creating a constitutional monarchy that enhanced the powers of the House of Commons at the expense of the crown. (p. 80)

gold standard: The practice of backing a country's currency with its reserves of gold. In 1873 the United States, following Great Britain and other European nations, began converting to the gold standard. (p. 469)

Gospel of Wealth: Andrew Carnegie's argument that corporate leaders' success showed their "fitness" to lead society and that poverty demonstrated, on the contrary, lack of "fitness" to compete in the new economy. Carnegie advocated, however, that wealthy men should use their fortunes for the public good. (p. 498)

gradual emancipation: The practice of ending slavery in the distant future while recognizing white property rights to the slaves they owned. Generally, living slaves were not freed by gradual emancipation statutes; they applied only to slaves born after the passage of the statute, and only after they had first labored for their owners for a term of years. (p. 250)

grandee: an influential person in a high social position. (p. 336)

Granger laws: Economic regulatory laws passed in some midwestern states in the late 1870s, triggered by pressure from farmers and the Greenback-Labor Party. (p. 519)

grassroots: fundamental; basic. (p. 446)

Great American Desert: A term coined by Major Stephen H. Long in 1820 to describe the grasslands of the southern plains from the ninety-fifth meridian west to the Rocky Mountains, which he believed was "almost wholly unfit for cultivation." (p. 338)

tradicionales. Despertó la esperanza de los indios de las Llanuras de que podían, mediante danzas sagradas, resucitar las grandes manadas de bisontes y convocar a una tormenta para conducir a los blancos de vuelta al otro lado del Atlántico. (pág. 488)

glasnost: Política introducida por el presidente soviético Mihkail Gorbachev durante la década de 1980, que creo mayor apertura y libertad de expresión y que, sin querer, contribuyó al fin de la Unión Soviética en 1991. (pág. 935)

Ley Glass-Steagall: Ley de 1933 que creó la Corporación Federal de Seguro de Depósitos (FDIC), que aseguraba depósitos de hasta $2,500 (actualmente hasta $250,000). Esta ley además prohibió que los bancos hicieran inversiones arriesgadas no garantizadas con depósitos de sus clientes. (pág. 686)

globalización: El aumento de influencias y conexiones políticas, culturales y económicas entre países, negocios e individuos de todo el mundo a través del comercio, la inmigración, la comunicación y otros medios. (pág. 942)

Revolución Gloriosa: Golpe de estado rápido y casi incruento que ocurrió en 1688 en el que Jacobo II de Inglaterra fue derrocado por Guillermo de Orange. Los políticos *whig* forzaron al nuevo rey Guillermo y a la reina María a aceptar la Declaración de Derechos, creando una monarquía constitucional que aumentó los poderes de la Cámara de los Comunes a expensas de la corona. (pág. 80)

patrón oro: Práctica de respaldar la moneda de un país con sus reservas de oro. En 1873, Estados Unidos, siguiendo el ejemplo de Gran Bretaña y otras naciones europeas, comenzó su conversión al patrón oro. (pág. 469)

Evangelio de la riqueza: Argumento de Andrew Carnegie que dice que el éxito de los lideres corporativos demostraba su "condición" para dirigir a la sociedad y que la pobreza demostraba, en cambio, no tener la "condición" para competir en la nueva economía. Sin embargo, Carnegie sostenía que los hombres ricos debían usar sus fortunas para el bien público. (pág. 498)

emancipación gradual: Práctica de acabar con la esclavitud en un futuro lejano sin dejar de reconocer los derechos de propiedad de los blancos sobre los esclavos que poseen. En general, los esclavos vivos no fueron liberados por estatutos de emancipación gradual; estos se aplicaron sólo a los esclavos nacidos después de la aprobación del estatuto, y sólo después de que hubieran trabajado en un principio para sus dueños por un período de ciertos años. (pág. 250)

grande: persona influyente de alta posición social. (pág. 336)

Leyes Granger: Leyes de regulación económica aprobadas en algunos estados del medio oeste a finales de la década de 1870, que fueron la consecuencia de presiones de los granjeros y el Partido Greenback-Labor. (pág. 519)

de las raíces: fundamental; básico. (pág. 446)

Gran Desierto Americano: Término acuñado por el mayor Stephen H. Long en 1820 para describir las praderas de las llanuras sureñas desde el meridiano noventa y cinco hasta las Rocallosas, que él creía que eran "casi totalmente inservibles para el cultivo". (pág. 338)

Great Basin: An arid basin-and-range region bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Sierra Mountains on the west. All of its water drains or evaporates within the basin. A resource-scarce environment, the Great Basin was thinly populated by Native American hunter-gatherers who ranged long distances to support themselves. (p. 15)

Great Lakes: Five enormous, interconnected freshwater lakes — Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior — that dominate eastern North America. In the era before long-distance overland travel, they comprised the center of the continent's transportation system. (p. 15)

Great Migration: The migration of over 400,000 African Americans from the rural South to the industrial cities of the North during and after World War I. (p. 639)

Great Plains: A broad plateau region that stretches from central Texas in the south to the Canadian plains in the north, bordered on the east by the eastern woodlands and on the west by the Rocky Mountains. Averaging around 20 inches of rainfall a year, the Great Plains are primarily grasslands that support grazing but not crop agriculture. (p. 15)

Great Railroad Strike of 1877: A nationwide strike of thousands of railroad workers and labor allies, who protested the growing power of railroad corporations and the steep wage cuts imposed by railroad managers amid a severe economic depression that had begun in 1873. (p. 517)

Great Society: President Lyndon B. Johnson's domestic program, which included civil rights legislation, antipoverty programs, government subsidy of medical care, federal aid to education, consumer protection, and aid to the arts and humanities. (p. 846)

Greenback-Labor Party: A national political movement calling on the government to increase the money supply in order to assist borrowers and foster economic growth; "Greenbackers" also called for greater regulation of corporations and laws enforcing an eight-hour workday. (p. 518)

greenbacks: Paper money issued by the U.S. Treasury during the Civil War to finance the war effort. (p. 409)

Group of Eight (G8): An international organization of the leading capitalist industrial nations: the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Canada, and Russia. The G8 largely control the world's major international financial organizations: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO). In 2014 Russia was suspended because of its invasion of Crimea. (p. 948)

guerilla: a person participating in improper fighting with a small independent force. (p. 179)

Gulf of Tonkin Resolution: Resolution passed by Congress in 1964 in the wake of a naval confrontation in the Gulf of Tonkin between the United States and North Vietnam. It gave the president virtually unlimited authority in conducting the Vietnam War. The Senate terminated the resolution in 1970 following outrage over the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. (p. 854)

Gran Cuenca: Región árida de cuenca y cordillera delimitada por las Rocallosas en el este y las montañas de la Sierra en el oeste. Toda su agua se drena o se evapora dentro de la cuenca. Por ser un entorno de pocos recursos, la Gran Cuenca estaba escasamente poblada por cazadores-recolectores nativos americanos que recorrían largas distancias para sustentarse. (pág. 15)

Grandes Lagos: Cinco enormes lagos de agua dulce que están interconectados: Ontario, Erie, Hurón, Míchigan y Superior, que dominan el este de América del Norte. Antes de que se popularizaran los viajes terrestres a larga distancia, estos constituían el centro del sistema de transporte del continente. (pág. 15)

Gran Migración: La migración de más de 400 mil afroamericanos del Sur rural a las ciudades industriales del Norte durante y después de la Primera Guerra Mundial. (p. 639)

Grandes Llanuras: Amplia región de meseta que se extiende desde el centro de Texas en el sur hasta las llanuras canadienses en el norte; limita al este con los bosques orientales y al oeste con las Rocallosas. Con un promedio de 20 pulgadas de lluvia al año, las Grandes Llanuras son principalmente pastizales que sustentan el pastoreo, pero no la agricultura de cultivos. (pág. 15)

Gran Huelga Ferroviaria de 1877: Huelga nacional de miles de trabajadores del ferrocarril y aliados laborales en protesta del creciente poder de las corporaciones ferroviarias y los fuertes recortes salariales impuestos en plena depresión económica, que comenzó en 1873. (pág. 517)

Gran Sociedad: Programa doméstico del presidente Lyndon B. Johnson, que incluyó legislación sobre derechos civiles, programas anti-pobreza, subsidio gubernamental de la salud, apoyo federal para la educación, protección al consumidor y apoyos para las artes y humanidades. (pág. 846)

Partido Greenback-Labor Movimiento nacional que llamó al gobierno a incrementar la oferta monetaria para asistir a los prestatarios y fomentar el crecimiento económico; los "Greenbackers" también buscaban mayor regulación de las corporaciones y leyes que impusieran jornadas laborales de ocho horas. (pág. 518)

greenbacks: Papel moneda emitido por el Departamento del Tesoro de los Estados Unidos durante la Guerra Civil para financiar el esfuerzo bélico. (pág. 409)

Grupo de los Ocho (G8): Organización internacional de los países capitalistas industriales líderes: Estados Unidos, Bretaña, Alemania, Francia, Italia, Japón, Canadá y Rusia. El G8 controla en gran medida a las grandes organizaciones financieras internacionales en el mundo: el Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI) y a la Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC). Rusia fue suspendida en 2014 por invadir Crimea. (pág. 948)

guerrillero: persona que participa en combate indecoroso con fuerzas pequeñas e independientes. (pág. 179)

Resolución del Golfo de Tonkin: Resolución aprobada por el Congreso en 1964 tras la confrontación naval en el Golfo de Tonkin entre Estados Unidos y Vietnam del Norte. Le confirió autoridad prácticamente ilimitada al presidente para conducir la Guerra de Vietnam. El Senado terminó la resolución en 1970 después de la indignación por la invasión de Estados Unidos en Camboya. (pág. 854)

Gullah dialect: A Creole language that combined words from English and a variety of African languages in an African grammatical structure. Though it remained widespread in the South Carolina and Georgia lowcountry throughout the nineteenth century and is still spoken in a modified form today, Gullah did not take root in the Cotton South, where lowcountry slaves were far outnumbered. (p. 343)

habeas corpus: A legal writ forcing government authorities to justify their arrest and detention of an individual. During the Civil War, Lincoln suspended habeas corpus to stop protests against the draft and other anti-Union activities. (p. 402)

Haitian Revolution: The 1791 conflict involving diverse Haitian participants and armies from three European countries. At its end, Haiti became a free, independent nation in which former slaves were citizens. (p. 212)

hard war: The philosophy and tactics used by Union general William Tecumseh Sherman, by which he treated civilians as combatants. (p. 422)

Harlem Renaissance: A flourishing of African American artists, writers, intellectuals, and social leaders in the 1920s, centered in the neighborhoods of Harlem, New York City. (p. 669)

havoc: chaos after destruction. (p. 425)

Haymarket Square: The May 4, 1886, conflict in Chicago in which both workers and policemen were killed or wounded during a labor demonstration called by local anarchists. The incident created a backlash against all labor organizations, including the Knights of Labor. (p. 520)

headright system: A system of land distribution, pioneered in Virginia and used in several other colonies, that granted land — usually 50 acres — to anyone who paid the passage of a new arrival. By this means, large planters amassed huge landholdings as they imported large numbers of servants and slaves. (p. 50)

heinous: forceful; insistent. (p. 823)

Hepburn Act: A 1906 antitrust law that empowered the federal Interstate Commerce Commission to set railroad shipment rates wherever it believed that railroads were unfairly colluding to set prices. (p. 604)

heresy: belief that is contrary to the established beliefs and accepted doctrine of a religious system. (p. 22)

HIV/AIDS: A deadly disease that killed nearly one hundred thousand people in the United States in the 1980s. (p. 926)

Hollywood: The city in southern California that became synonymous with the American movie industry in the 1920s. (p. 658)

Holocaust: Germany's campaign during World War II to exterminate all Jews living in German-controlled lands, along with other groups the Nazis deemed "undesirable." In all, some 11 million people were killed in the Holocaust, most of them Jews. (p. 735)

dialecto gullah: Idioma criollo que combina palabras del inglés y de una variedad de lenguas africanas en una estructura gramatical africana. Aunque permaneció diseminado en las tierras bajas de Carolina del Sur y Georgia a lo largo del siglo XIX y aún hoy se habla en forma modificada, el gullah no se arraigó en el sur algodonero, donde los esclavos de las tierras bajas eran superados en número. (pág. 343)

habeas corpus: Orden judicial que obliga a las autoridades gubernamentales a justificar el arresto y la detención de un individuo. Durante la Guerra Civil, Lincoln suspendió el habeas corpus para detener las protestas contra el reclutamiento y otras actividades anti-Unión. (pág. 402)

Revolución haitiana: Conflicto que tuvo lugar en 1791 y que involucró a diversos participantes haitianos y ejércitos de tres países europeos. Al final, Haití se convirtió en una nación libre e independiente en la que los antiguos esclavos eran ciudadanos. (pág. 212)

guerra total: Filosofía y tácticas utilizadas por el general de la Unión William Tecumseh Sherman, por las cuales trataba a los civiles como combatientes. (pág. 422)

Renacimiento de Harlem: Florecimiento, en la década de 1920, de artistas, escritores, intelectuales y líderes afroamericanos centrados en los vecindarios de Harlem, en la ciudad de Nueva York. (pág. 669)

estragos: caos después de la destrucción. (pág. 425)

Haymarket Square: Conflicto ocurrido el 4 de mayo de 1886 donde trabajadores y policías fueron heridos o perdieron la vida durante una protesta convocada por anarquistas locales. El incidente tuvo consecuencias para todas las organizaciones laborales, incluyendo a los Knights of Labor. (pág. 520)

sistema de reparto de tierras *headright:* Sistema de distribución de tierras, iniciado en Virginia y utilizado en varias otras colonias, que otorgaba tierras, generalmente de 50 acres, a cualquier persona que pagara el pasaje a otra persona para que se mudara allí. De esta manera, los grandes plantadores acumularon muchas propiedades ya que importaron grandes cantidades de sirvientes y esclavos. (pág. 50)

atroz: fuerte; insistente. (pág. 823)

Ley Hepburn: Ley anti-monopolio de 1906 que confirió poderes a la Comisión Interestatal del Comercio para imponer tarifas de envíos por ferrocarril cuando los ferrocarriles coludían injustamente para establecer precios. (pág. 604)

herejía: creencia que contradice a las creencias establecidas y a la doctrina aceptada de un sistema religioso. (pág. 22)

VIH/SIDA: Enfermedad mortal que mató a cerca de 100 mil personas en Estados unidos durante la década de 1980. (pág. 926)

Hollywood: Ciudad del sur de California que se convirtió en sinónimo de la industria cinematográfica de Estados Unidos en la década de 1920. (pág. 658)

Holocausto: Campaña de Alemania durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial para exterminar a todos los judíos que vivían en territorios bajo control alemán, y a otros grupos que los nazis veían como "indeseables". En total, cerca de 11 millones de personas murieron en el Holocausto, la mayoría de ellas judías. (pág. 735)

Homestead Act: The 1862 act that gave 160 acres of free western land to any applicant who occupied and improved the property. This policy led to the rapid development of the American West after the Civil War; facing arid conditions in the West, however, many homesteaders found themselves unable to live on their land. (p. 470)

Homestead lockout: The 1892 lockout of workers at the Homestead, Pennsylvania, steel mill after Andrew Carnegie refused to renew the union contract. Union supporters attacked the guards hired to close them out and protect strikebreakers who had been employed by the mill, but the National Guard soon suppressed this resistance and Homestead, like other steel plants, became a non-union mill. (p. 496)

horizontal integration: A business concept invented in the late nineteenth century to pressure competitors and force rivals to merge their companies into a conglomerate. John D. Rockefeller of Standard Oil pioneered this business model. (p. 500)

horticulture: science pertaining to the cultivation of plants. (p. 221)

hostage crisis: Crisis that began in 1979 after the deposed shah of Iran was allowed into the United States following the Iranian Revolution. Iranians broke into the U.S. embassy in Tehran and took sixty-six Americans hostage. The hostage crisis lasted 444 days and contributed to President Carter's reelection defeat. (p. 920)

House of Burgesses: Organ of government in colonial Virginia made up of an assembly of representatives elected by the colony's inhabitants. (p. 46)

House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC): Congressional committee especially prominent during the early years of the Cold War that investigated Americans who might be disloyal to the government or might have associated with communists or other radicals. (p. 766)

household mode of production: The system of exchanging goods and labor that helped eighteenth-century New England freeholders survive on ever-shrinking farms as available land became more scarce. (p. 112)

huckster: one who sells something in a dishonest and aggressive way. (p. 558)

Hull House: One of the first and most famous social settlements, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and her companion Ellen Gates Starr in an impoverished, largely Italian immigrant neighborhood on Chicago's West Side. (p. 578)

Hundred Days: A legendary session during the first few months of Franklin Roosevelt's administration in which Congress enacted fifteen major bills that focused primarily on four problems: banking failures, agricultural overproduction, the business slump, and soaring unemployment. (p. 686)

hunters and gatherers: Societies whose members gather food by hunting, fishing, and collecting wild plants rather than relying

Ley de Asentamientos Rurales: Ley de 1862 que otorgó 160 acres de tierra libre occidental a cualquier solicitante que ocupara y mejorara la propiedad. Esta política condujo al rápido desarrollo del Oeste Americano después de la Guerra Civil; sin embargo, por las condiciones áridas del Oeste, muchos colonos se encontraron incapaces de vivir en su tierra. (pág. 470)

Huelga de Homestead: Cierre patronal de la planta de acero de Homestead, Pennsylvania en 1892, después de que Andrew Carnegie se negara a renovar el contrato sindical. Los partidarios del sindicato atacaron a los guardias contratados para impedirles el acceso y proteger a los rompehuelgas que fueron contratados por la planta, pero al poco tiempo la Guardia Nacional reprimió esta resistencia y Homestead, como tantas otras plantas de acero se convirtió en una planta no sindicalizada. (pág. 496)

integración horizontal: Concepto de negocios inventado a finales del siglo XIX para presionar a los competidores y forzar a los rivales a fusionar sus compañías para formar un conglomerado. John D. Rockefeller de Standard Oil fue el pionero de este modelo de negocios. (pág. 500)

horticultura: ciencia del cultivo de plantas. (pág. 221)

crisis de los rehenes: Crisis que comenzó en 1979 cuando se permitió al shah derrocado de Irán acceder a Estados Unidos tras la Revolución Iraní. Un grupo de iranís entró en la embajada de Estados Unidos en Teherán y tomó como rehenes a 66 americanos. La crisis de los rehenes duró 444 días y contribuyó a la derrota del presidente Carter en su intento por reelegirse. (pág. 920)

Casa de Burguesses: Órgano de gobierno en la Virginia colonial compuesto por una asamblea de representantes elegidos por los habitantes de la colonia. (pág. 46)

Comité de Actividades Antiestadounidenses (HUAC): Comité del congreso particularmente importante durante los primeros años de la Guerra Fría que se dedicó a investigar a estadounidenses posiblemente desleales al gobierno o que podían estar asociados con comunistas u otros radicales. (pág. 766)

modo de producción doméstica: Sistema de intercambio de bienes y mano de obra que ayudó a los terratenientes libres de Nueva Inglaterra del siglo XVIII a sobrevivir en granjas cada vez más pequeñas a medida que las tierras disponibles se tornaban más escasas. (pág. 112)

charlatán: persona que vende algo de manera deshonesta y agresiva. (pág. 558)

Casa Hull: Uno de los primeros y más reconocidos asentamientos sociales, fundado en 1889 por Jane Addams y su acompañante Ellen Gates Starr en un vecindario empobrecido y poblado principalmente de inmigrantes italianos en el oeste de Chicago. (pág. 578)

Cien Días: Sesión legendaria durante los primeros meses de la administración de Franklin Roosevelt, en la cual el congreso promulgó quince leyes enfocadas principalmente sobre cuatro problemas: fallos bancarios, sobreproducción en la agricultura, depresión de los negocios y el aumento desmedido del desempleo. (pág. 686)

cazadores y recolectores: Sociedades cuyos miembros recolectan alimentos mediante la caza, la pesca y la colecta de plantas sil-

on agriculture or animal husbandry. Because hunter-gatherers are mobile, moving seasonally through their territory to exploit resources, they have neither fixed townsites nor weighty material goods. (p. 8)

iconoclast: a person who criticizes established beliefs. (p. 935)

ideology: set of thoughts, conscious and unconscious, that compose a person's beliefs. (p. 20)

immigrant: a person who permanently moves to another country. (p. 46)

Immigration and Nationality Act: A 1965 law that eliminated the discriminatory 1924 nationality quotas, established a slightly higher total limit on immigration, included provisions to ease the entry of immigrants with skills in high demand, and allowed immediate family members of legal residents in the United States to be admitted outside of the total numerical limit. (p. 952)

imperial: of, or relating to, an empire. (p. 3)

impinge: to impress or have an impact. (p. 620)

impound: to take legal custody of something; seize. (p. 419)

impoverished: being poverty stricken; very poor and weak. (p. 16)

impunity: exemption from punishment. (p. 656)

inalienable: absolute; unable to be transferred. (p. 80)

incumbent: (of an executive) currently holding office. (p. 683)

incursion: the sudden and aggressive entrance to another's territory; an invasion. (p.145)

indelible: permanent; unforgettable. (p. 838)

indentured servitude: System in which workers contracted for service for a specified period. In exchange for agreeing to work for four or five years (or more) without wages in the colonies, indentured workers received passage across the Atlantic, room and board, and status as a free person at the end of the contract period. (p. 50)

Indian Removal Act of 1830: Act that directed the mandatory relocation of eastern tribes to territory west of the Mississippi. Jackson insisted that his goal was to save the Indians and their culture. Indians resisted the controversial act, but in the end most were forced to comply. (p. 291)

Indian Reorganization Act: A 1934 law that reversed the Dawes Act of 1887. Through the law, Indians won a greater degree of religious freedom, and tribal governments regained their status as semisovereign dependent nations. (p. 701)

indigenous: the natural and native inhabitants or organisms to a certain area. (p. 35)

indigent: needy; destitute. (p. 327)

individualism: Word coined by Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 to describe Americans as people no longer bound by social attachments to classes, castes, associations, and families. (p. 302)

vestres en lugar de depender de la agricultura o la cría de animales. Debido a que los cazadores-recolectores eran móviles, es decir, se desplazaban según las estaciones a través de su territorio para explotar los recursos, no tenían ciudades ni bienes materiales fijos. (pág. 8)

iconoclasta: persona que critica las creencias establecidas. (pág. 935)

ideología: conjunto de pensamientos, conscientes e inconscientes, que conforman las creencias de una persona. (pág. 20)

inmigrante: persona que se muda a otro país de manera permanente. (pág. 46)

Ley de Inmigración y Nacionalidad: Ley de 1965 que eliminó las cuotas discriminatorias de nacionalidades, incrementó ligeramente los límites totales de inmigrantes, incluyó disposiciones para facilitar la entrada de inmigrantes con habilidades en alta demanda y permitió que los familiares inmediatos de residentes legales en los Estados Unidos fueran admitidos sin ser contados en el límite numérico total. (pág. 952)

imperial: de, o relacionado con, un imperio. (pág. 3)

incidir: crear un impacto o impresión. (pág. 620)

incautar: tomar custodia legal de algo; confiscar. (pág. 419)

empobrecido: ser afectado por la pobreza; ser muy pobre y estar debilitado. (pág. 16)

impunidad: exención de castigo. (pág. 656)

inalienable: absoluto; no se puede transferir. (pág. 80)

en ejercicio: (referente a un ejecutivo) actual ocupante de un cargo. (pág. 683)

incursión: la entrada repentina y agresiva a territorio ajeno; una invasión. (pág.145)

imborrable: permanente, inolvidable. (pág. 838)

trabajador no abonado: Sistema en el cual los trabajadores son contratados para un servicio por un período específico. A cambio de trabajar durante cuatro o cinco años (o más) sin salario en las colonias, los trabajadores no abonados recibían un pasaje para cruzar el Atlántico, alojamiento y comida, y el estado de persona libre al final del período del contrato. (pág. 50)

Ley de Traslado Forzoso de los Indios de 1830: Ley que dirigió la reubicación obligatoria de tribus orientales al territorio al oeste del Misisipi. Jackson insistió en que su objetivo era salvar a los indios y su cultura. Los indios resistieron la ley controvertida, pero al final la mayoría se vio obligada a acatarla. (pág. 291)

Ley de Reorganización Indígena: Ley de 1934 que revirtió la Ley Dawes de 1887. Por medio de esta ley, los indígenas obtuvieron mayores libertades religiosas y los gobiernos tribales recuperaron su estatus de naciones dependientes semi-soberanas. (pág. 701)

indígena: habitantes u organismos nativos de cierto lugar. (pág. 35)

indigente: necesitado; desposeído. (pág. 327)

individualismo: Palabra acuñada por Alexis de Tocqueville en 1835 para describir a los estadounidenses como personas que ya no están atadas por los vínculos sociales con las clases, las castas, las asociaciones y las familias. (pág. 302)

Industrial Revolution: A burst of major inventions and economic expansion based on water and steam power and the use of machine technology that transformed certain industries, such as cotton textiles and iron, between 1790 and 1860. (p. 248)

Industrial Workers of the World: An umbrella union and radical political group founded in 1905, dedicated to organizing unskilled workers to oppose capitalism. Nicknamed the Wobblies, it advocated direct action by workers, including sabotage and general strikes. (p. 607)

infidel: someone with opposing beliefs that does not accept a particular faith. (p. 966)

inland system: The slave trade system in the interior of the country that fed slaves to the Cotton South. (p. 255)

innovation: introduction of something new or different. (p. 20)

inoculate: to treat with a vaccine in order to create immunity against a sickness. (p. 120)

Insular Cases: A set of Supreme Court rulings in 1901 that declared that the U.S. Constitution did not automatically extend citizenship to people in acquired territories; only Congress could decide whether to grant citizenship. (p. 626)

insurance: protective coverage of potential expenses due to physical losses or death that is proportionally paid for by a client. (p. 55)

insurgency: violent rebellion against an instated government. (p. 89)

internal improvements: Public works such as roads and canals. (p. 282)

International Monetary Fund (IMF): A fund established to stabilize currencies and provide a predictable monetary environment for trade, with the U.S. dollar serving as the benchmark. (p. 783)

Interstate Commerce Act: An 1887 act that created the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), a federal regulatory agency designed to oversee the railroad industry and prevent collusion and unfair rates. (p. 522)

intransigence: the refusal to compromise. (p. 413)

invade: to enter with armed forces into a place; intrude. (p. 33)

Iran-Contra affair: Reagan administration scandal that involved the sale of arms to Iran in exchange for its efforts to secure the release of hostages held in Lebanon and the redirection — illegal because banned by American law — of the proceeds of those sales to the Nicaraguan Contras. (p. 934)

Iroquoian cultures/languages: A Native American language family whose speakers were concentrated in the eastern woodlands. The Iroquoian language family should not be confused with the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, which inhabited the territory of modern-day upstate New York at the time of first contact. (p. 11)

Iroquois Confederacy: A league of five Native American nations — the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas —

Revolución Industrial: Explosión de grandes inventos y expansión económica basada en el poder del agua y el vapor y el uso de la tecnología de máquinas que transformó ciertas industrias, como los textiles de algodón y el hierro, entre 1790 y 1860. (pág. 248)

Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo: Sindicato general y grupo radical político fundado en 1905, dedicado a la organización de trabajadores no calificados para oponerse al capitalismo. Apodado los Wobblies, promovía la acción directa de los trabajadores, incluyendo el sabotaje y las huelgas generales. (pág. 607)

infiel: persona con creencias opuestas que no acepta una fe en particular. (pág. 966)

sistema interior: sistema de trata de esclavos en el interior del país que surtía esclavos al sur algodonero. (pág. 255)

innovación: introducción de algo nuevo o diferente. (pág. 20)

inocular: vacunar para crear inmunidad contra una enfermedad. (pág. 120)

Casos Insulares: Conjunto de sentencias de la Corte Suprema en 1901 que declararon que la Constitución de los Estados Unidos no otorgaba ciudadanía automática a las personas de territorios adquiridos; sólo el Congreso tenía el poder de decisión para otorgar ciudadanía. (pág. 626)

seguro: cobertura de protección contra gastos potenciales debidos a pérdidas físicas o muerte, pagada proporcionalmente por un cliente. (pág. 55)

insurgencia: rebelión violenta contra un gobierno establecido. (pág. 89)

mejoras internas: obras públicas como carreteras y canales. (pág. 282)

Fondo Monetario Internacional (FMI): Fondo establecido para estabilizar las monedas y ofrecer un entorno predecible para el intercambio monetario, donde el dolar estadounidense es el referente. (pág. 783)

Ley de Comercio Interestatal: Ley de 1887 que creo la Comisión Interestatal del Comercio (ICC), agencia federal reguladora diseñada para vigilar la industria ferroviaria y prevenir colusiones y tarifas injustas. (pág. 522)

intransigencia: negarse a transigir. (pág. 413)

invadir: entrar con fuerzas armadas a un lugar; cometer una intrusión. (pág. 33)

Escándalo Irán-Contra: Escándalo de la administración de Reagan que involucró la venta de armas a Irán a cambio de sus esfuerzos para asegurar la liberación de rehenes en Líbano y la desviación—ilegal porque estaba prohibida por la ley estadounidense—de las ganancias de esas ventas a los Contras nicaragüenses. (pág. 934)

culturas y lenguas iroquesas: Familia de lenguas nativas americanas cuyos hablantes se concentraron en los bosques orientales. La familia de lenguas iroquesas no debe confundirse con las naciones de la Confederación Iroquesa, que habitaban el territorio del estado actual de Nueva York cuando ocurrió el primer contacto. (pág. 11)

Confederación Iroquesa: Liga de cinco naciones nativas de América —mohawks, oneidas, onondagas, cayugas y senecas—que

probably formed around A.D. 1450. A sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, joined the confederacy around 1720. Condolence ceremonies introduced by a Mohawk named Hiawatha formed the basis for the league. Positioned between New France and New Netherland (later New York), the Iroquois played a central role in the era of European colonization. (p. 11)

Islam: A religion that considers Muhammad to be God's last prophet. Following the death of Muhammad in A.D. 632, the newly converted Arab peoples of North Africa used force and fervor to spread the Muslim faith into sub-Saharan Africa, India, Indonesia, Spain, and the Balkan regions of Europe. (p. 22)

itinerant: nomadic. (p. 125)

Jacobins: A political faction in the French Revolution. Many Americans embraced the democratic ideology of the radical Jacobins and, like them, formed political clubs and began to address one another as "citizen." (p. 209)

Jay's Treaty: A 1795 treaty between the United States and Britain, negotiated by John Jay. The treaty accepted Britain's right to stop neutral ships. In return, it allowed Americans to submit claims for illegal seizures and required the British to remove their troops and Indian agents from the Northwest Territory. (p. 212)

jazz: Unique American musical form that arose in New Orleans and other parts of the South before World War I. Jazz musicians developed an ensemble improvisational style. (p. 672)

Jim Crow: Laws that required separation of the races, especially blacks and whites, in public facilities. This system of racial segregation in the South lasted a century, from after the Civil War until the 1960s. (p. 539)

joint-stock corporation: A financial organization devised by English merchants around 1550 that facilitated the colonization of North America. In these companies, a number of investors pooled their capital and received shares of stock in the enterprise in proportion to their share of the total investment. (p. 45)

Judiciary Act of 1789: Act that established a federal district court in each state and three circuit courts to hear appeals from the districts, with the Supreme Court having the final say. (p. 205)

jurisprudence: philosophy of law. (p. 229)

kamikaze: a suicidal mission in which an aircraft filled with explosives crashes into a target. (p. 736)

Kansas-Nebraska Act: A controversial 1854 law that divided Indian Territory into Kansas and Nebraska, repealed the Missouri Compromise, and left the new territories to decide the issue of slavery on the basis of popular sovereignty. Far from clarifying the status of slavery in the territories, the act led to violent conflict in "Bleeding Kansas." (p. 384)

Kerner Commission: Informal name for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, formed by the president to

probablemente se formó alrededor del año 1450 D.C.. Una sexta nación, los tuscaroras, se unió a la confederación alrededor de 1720. Las ceremonias de condolencias introducidas por un mohawk llamado Hiawatha formaron la base de la liga. Ubicados entre Nueva Francia y Nuevos Países Bajos (más tarde Nueva York), los iroqueses desempeñaron un papel central en la era de la colonización europea. (pág. 11)

islam: Religión que considera a Mahoma como el último profeta de Dios. Tras la muerte de Mahoma en 632 D.C. los pueblos árabes recién convertidos del norte de África utilizaron la fuerza y el fervor para difundir la fe musulmana en el África subsahariana, la India, Indonesia, España y las regiones de los Balcanes en Europa. (pág. 22)

itinerante: nómada. (pág. 125)

jacobinos: Facción política en la Revolución Francesa. Muchos americanos adoptaron la ideología democrática de los radicales jacobinos y, como ellos, formaron clubes políticos y comenzaron a dirigirse unos a otros como "ciudadanos". (pág. 209)

Tratado Jay: Tratado que se firmó en 1795 entre los Estados Unidos y Gran Bretaña, negociado por John Jay. El tratado aceptó el derecho de Gran Bretaña de detener barcos neutrales. A cambio, permitió a los estadounidenses presentar reclamaciones por incautaciones ilegales y exigió a los británicos que retiraran sus tropas y agentes indios del Territorio del Noroeste. (pág. 212)

jazz: Música americana que surgió en Nueva Orleans y otras partes del Sur antes de la Primera Guerra Mundial. Los músicos de jazz desarrollaron un estilo de improvisación conjunta. (pág. 672)

Jim Crow: Leyes que requirieron la separación de las razas, particularmente blancos y negros, en lugares públicos. Este sistema de segregación racial en el Sur duró casi un siglo, desde el final de la Guerra Civil hasta la década de 1960. (pág. 539)

sociedad por acciones: Organización financiera ideada por comerciantes ingleses alrededor de 1550 que facilitó la colonización de América del Norte. En estas compañías, varios inversores agrupaban su capital y recibían acciones en la empresa en proporción a su participación en la inversión total. (pág. 45)

Ley Judicial de 1789: Ley que estableció un tribunal federal de distrito en cada estado y tres tribunales de circuito para escuchar las apelaciones de los distritos; el Tribunal Supremo tendría la última palabra. (pág. 205)

jurisprudencia: filosofía del Derecho. (pág. 229)

kamikaze: misión suicida en la cual un avión cargado de explosivos se estrella contra un objetivo. (pág. 736)

Ley de Kansas-Nebraska: Ley controvertida de 1854 que dividió el Territorio indio en Kansas y Nebraska, derogó el Compromiso de Misuri y bajo el argumento de la soberanía popular, dejó la decisión sobre la esclavitud en manos de los nuevos territorios. Lejos de aclarar el estado de la esclavitud en los territorios, la ley condujo al conflicto violento de "*Bleeding Kansas*" (Kansas sangrienta). (pág. 384)

Comisión Kerner: Nombre informal para el Comité Nacional Consultivo sobre los Desórdenes Civiles formado por el presidente

investigate the causes of the 1967 urban riots. Its 1968 report warned that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white, separate and unequal." (p. 805)

Keynesian economics: The theory, developed by British economist John Maynard Keynes in the 1930s, that purposeful government intervention in the economy (through lowering or raising taxes, interest rates, and government spending) can affect the level of overall economic activity and thereby prevent severe depressions and runaway inflation. (p. 695)

King Cotton: The Confederates' belief during the Civil War that their cotton was so important to the British and French economies that those governments would recognize the South as an independent nation and supply it with loans and arms. (p. 401)

kinship: maintaining similarities to others, particularly through family relationships. (p. 170)

kitchen debate: A 1959 debate over the merits of their rival systems between U.S. vice president Richard Nixon and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev at the opening of an American exhibition in Moscow. (p. 780)

Knights of Labor: The first mass labor organization created among America's working class. Founded in 1869 and peaking in strength in the mid-1880s, the Knights of Labor attempted to bridge boundaries of ethnicity, gender, ideology, race, and occupation to build a "universal brotherhood" of all workers. (p. 519)

Ku Klux Klan: Secret society that first undertook violence against African Americans in the South after the Civil War but was reborn in 1915 to fight the perceived threats posed by African Americans, immigrants, radicals, feminists, Catholics, and Jews. (pp. 453)

La Raza Unida: An organization founded in Texas in 1970 by Mexican Americans as an alternative to the two major political parties; La Raza Unida (The United Race) ran candidates for state governor and other local government positions in the 1970s. It was an expression of the Chicano/a movement's attempts to create political unity among American citizens of Mexican descent. (p. 840)

labor theory of value: The belief that human labor produces economic value. Adherents argued that the price of a product should be determined not by the market (supply and demand) but by the amount of work required to make it, and that most of the price should be paid to the person who produced it. (p. 262)

land-grant colleges: Authorized by the Morrill Act of 1862, land-grant colleges were public universities founded to broaden educational opportunities and foster technical and scientific expertise. These universities were funded by the Morrill Act, which authorized the sale of federal lands to raise money for higher education. (p. 470)

para investigar las causas de los disturbios urbanos de 1967. Su reporte, elaborado en 1968, advirtió que "nuestro país se está convirtiendo en dos sociedades, una negra, una blanca, separada y desigual". (pág. 805)

Economía keynesiana: Teoría desarrollada por el economista británico, John Maynard Keynes, en la década de 1930, en la cual la intervención intencionada del gobierno en la economía (a través de reducciones o aumentos de impuestos, tasas de interés y gasto público) puede afectar el nivel general de actividad económica y, por lo tanto, prevenir severas depresiones e inflación desmedida. (pág. 695)

Algodón es rey, el: Creencia de los confederados durante la Guerra Civil de que su algodón era tan importante para las economías británica y francesa que aquellos gobiernos reconocerían al Sur como una nación independiente y le proporcionarían préstamos y armas. (pág. 401)

parentesco: tener similitud con otros, particularmente a través de relaciones familiares. (pág. 170)

debate de cocina: Debate en 1959 entre Richard Nixon, presidente de los Estados Unidos, y Nikita Khruschev, premier soviético, sobre los méritos de sus sistemas rivales, sostenido en la inauguración de una exhibición estadounidense en Moscú. (pág. 780)

Knights of Labor (Caballeros del Trabajo): Primera organización laboral masiva creada entre la clase trabajadora de Estados Unidos. Fundada en 1869, alcanzó su punto máximo a mediados de la década de 1880. Los Knights of Labor intentaron eliminar fronteras de etnicidad, género, ideología, raza y ocupación para crear una "hermandad universal" de todos los trabajadores. (pág. 519)

Ku Klux Klan: Sociedad secreta que en sus principios cometió actos de violencia contra los afroamericanos en el sur después de la Guerra Civil, pero renació en 1915 para luchar contra las amenazas percibidas en afroamericanos, inmigrantes, radicales, feministas, católicos y judíos. (págs. 453)

La Raza Unida: Organización fundada por mexicanos-americanos en Texas en 1970 como alternativa a los dos principales partidos políticos; La Raza Unida postuló a candidatos para gobernador estatal y otros cargos gubernamentales locales en la década de 1970. Fue uno de los intentos del movimiento Chicano para unir a los ciudadanos estadounidenses de descendencia mexicana. (pág. 840)

teoría del valor-trabajo: Creencia de que el trabajo humano produce valor económico. Los adherentes argumentaron que el precio de un producto debería determinarse no por el mercado (oferta y demanda) sino por la cantidad de trabajo requerido para hacerlo, y que la mayor parte del precio debería pagarse a la persona que lo produjo. (pág. 262)

Universidades con Dotación de Terrenos Federales: Autorizadas por la Ley Morrill de 1862, estas universidades públicas fueron fundadas para ampliar las oportunidades educativas y fomentar la experiencia técnica y científica. Estas universidades fueron financiadas por la Ley Morrill, que autorizó la venta de tierras federales para recaudar dinero para la educación superior. (pág. 470)

Lawrence v. Texas: A 2003 landmark decision by the Supreme Court that limited the power of states to prohibit private homosexual activity between consenting adults. (p. 959)

League of Nations: The international organization bringing together world governments to prevent future hostilities, proposed by President Woodrow Wilson in the aftermath of World War I. Although the League of Nations did form, the United States never became a member state. (p. 643)

Lend-Lease Act: Legislation in 1941 that enabled Britain to obtain arms from the United States without cash but with the promise to reimburse the United States when the war ended. The act reflected Roosevelt's desire to assist the British in any way possible, short of war. (p. 716)

libel: to discredit a person. (p. 322)

liberation: the gaining of equal rights and opportunities; granting freedom. (p. 66)

libertarianism: the political belief that the government should interfere in the lives of citizens as little as possible. (p. 767)

Liberty Party: An antislavery political party that ran its first presidential candidate in 1844, controversially challenging both the Democrats and Whigs. (p. 324)

Lieber Code: Union guidelines for the laws of war, issued in April 1863. The code ruled that soldiers and prisoners must be treated equally without respect to color or race; justified a range of military actions if they were based on "necessity" that would "hasten surrender"; and outlawed use of torture. The code provided a foundation for later international agreements on the laws of war. (p. 413)

linguist: a person who studies and speaks various languages. (p. 526)

Lochner v. New York: A 1905 Supreme Court ruling that New York State could not limit bakers' workday to ten hours because that violated bakers' rights to make contracts. (p. 602)

Lodge Bill: Also known as the Federal Elections Bill of 1890, a bill proposing that whenever 100 citizens in any district appealed for intervention, a bipartisan federal board could investigate and seat the rightful winner. The defeat of the bill was a blow to those seeking to defend African American voting rights and to ensure full participation in politics. (p. 593)

Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: A 1903 Supreme Court ruling that Congress could make whatever Indian policies it chose, ignoring all existing treaties. (p. 483)

Louisiana Purchase: The 1803 purchase of French territory west of the Mississippi River that stretched from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada. The Louisiana Purchase nearly doubled the size of the United States and opened the way for future American

Lawrence v. Texas: Decisión histórica de la Corte Suprema que limitó los poderes de los estados para prohibir actividades homosexuales consentidas entre adultos. (pág. 959)

Liga de las Naciones: Organización internacional, propuesta por el presidente Woodrow Wilson, que reunió a los gobiernos del mundo para prevenir hostilidades futuras tras las secuelas de la Primera Guerra Mundial. Si bien se logró la formación de la Liga de las Naciones, Estados Unidos nunca fue un estado miembro. (pág. 643)

Ley de Préstamo y Arriendo: Legislación de 1941 que permitió que Bretaña obtuviera armas de Estados Unidos sin un pago en efectivo con la promesa de reembolsar a Estados Unidos al concluir la guerra. La ley reflejó el deseo de asistir a Bretaña como fuera posible sin tener que ir a la guerra. (pág. 716)

difamar: desacreditar a una persona. (pág. 322)

liberación: obtener igualdad de derechos y oportunidades; conceder libertad. (pág. 66)

libertarismo: la creencia política de que el gobierno no debe interferir más que en lo mínimo posible en las vidas de los ciudadanos. (pág. 767)

Partido Libertad: Partido político antiesclavista que presentó su primer candidato presidencial en 1844, desafiando de manera controvertida tanto a los demócratas como a los whigs. (pág. 324)

Código Lieber: Directrices sindicales para las leyes de la guerra, emitidas en abril de 1863. El código dictaminó que los soldados y los presos debían ser tratados por igual sin importar color o raza; justificó una serie de acciones militares siempre y cuando fueran por una "necesidad" que "aceleraría la rendición"; y proscribió el uso de la tortura. El código proporcionó una base para posteriores acuerdos internacionales sobre las leyes de la guerra. (pág. 413)

lingüista: persona que estudia y habla varios idiomas. (pág. 526)

Lochner v. New York: Sentencia de la Corte Suprema en 1905 que dictaminó que el estado de Nueva York no podría limitar la jornada laboral de los panaderos a diez horas porque violaba el derecho de los panaderos de hacer contratos. (pág. 602)

Propuesta de Ley Lodge: También conocida como la Propuesta de Ley de Elecciones Federales de 1890, proponía que si 100 ciudadanos de cualquier distrito apelaban a favor de una intervención, un comité federal integrado por ambos partidos podría investigar y otorgar la victoria al ganador legítimo. La derrota de la propuesta fue un golpe duro para quienes buscaban defender los derechos del voto afroamericano y asegurar la participación plena en la política. (pág. 593)

Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock: Sentencia de la Corte Suprema de 1903 que dictiaminó que el Congreso podía adoptar cualquier política india, ignorando todos los tratados existentes. (pág. 483)

Compra de Luisiana: Compra en 1803 del territorio francés al oeste del río Misisipi, que se extendía desde el golfo de México hasta Canadá. La Compra de Luisiana casi duplicó el tamaño de los Estados Unidos y abrió el camino para la futura expansión esta-

expansion west. The purchase required President Thomas Jefferson to exercise powers not explicitly granted to him by the Constitution. (p. 220)

Loyalty-Security Program: A program created in 1947 by President Truman that permitted officials to investigate any employee of the federal government for "subversive" activities. (p. 765)

lucrative: profitable. (p. 67)

lynching: most often regarding hanging, an execution outside of legal terms. (p. 323)

machine tools: Cutting, boring, and drilling machines used to produce standardized metal parts, which were then assembled into products such as textile looms and sewing machines. The rapid development of machine tools by American inventors in the early nineteenth century was a factor in the rapid spread of industrialization. (p. 260)

magnate: a person of wealth and influence in a specific area. (p. 379)

Maine Law: The nation's first state law for the prohibition of liquor manufacture and sales, passed in 1851. (p. 307)

malaria: a type of disease transferred by mosquitos into the human bloodstream as well as other animals. (p. 25)

management revolution: An internal management structure adopted by many large, complex corporations that distinguished top executives from those responsible for day-to-day operations and departmentalized operations by function. (p. 499)

Manhattan Project: Top-secret project authorized by Franklin Roosevelt in 1942 to develop an atomic bomb ahead of the Germans. The Americans who worked on the project at Los Alamos, New Mexico (among other highly secretive sites around the country), succeeded in producing a successful atomic bomb by July 1945. (p. 737)

Manifest Destiny: A term coined by John L. O'Sullivan in 1845 to express the idea that Euro-Americans were fated by God to settle the North American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. (p. 348)

manorial: an economic and social system in which farming rights were given in exchange for labor on the lord's estate. (p. 19)

manumission: The legal act of relinquishing property rights in slaves. Worried that a large free black population would threaten the institution of slavery, the Virginia assembly repealed Virginia's 1782 manumission law in 1792. (p. 252)

***Marbury v. Madison* (1803):** A Supreme Court case that established the principle of judicial review in finding that parts of the Judiciary Act of 1789 were in conflict with the Constitution. For the first time, the Supreme Court assumed legal authority to overrule acts of other branches of the government. (p. 219)

dounidense hacia el oeste. La compra requirió que el presidente Thomas Jefferson ejerciera poderes que la Constitución no otorgaba explícitamente. (pág. 220)

Programa de Lealtad: Programa creado en 1947 por el presidente Truman que permitió a oficiales gubernamentales investigar a cualquier empleado del gobierno por "actividades subversivas". (pág. 765)

lucrativo: rentable. (pág. 67)

linchamiento: en la mayoría de los casos se refiere a la ejecución de una persona en la horca, a una ejecución sin debido proceso legal. (pág. 323)

máquinas herramienta: Máquinas de corte, perforación y taladro utilizadas para producir piezas metálicas estandarizadas, que luego se ensamblaban en productos tales como telares textiles y máquinas de coser. El rápido desarrollo de las máquinas herramienta por parte de los inventores estadounidenses a principios del siglo XIX fue un factor en la rápida expansión de la industrialización. (pág. 260)

magnate: persona de riqueza e influencia sobre un lugar específico. (pág. 379)

Ley de Maine: Primera ley estatal de la nación que prohibió la fabricación y la venta de licor, aprobada en 1851. (pág. 307)

malaria: enfermedad transferida por moscos al torrente sanguíneo humano y al de otros animales. (pág. 25)

revolución de la administración: Estructura interna de administración adoptada por muchas corporaciones grandes y complejas que distinguió a los altos ejecutivos de las personas responsables de las operaciones diarias y creo departamentos para separar las operaciones de acuerdo con su función. (pág. 499)

Proyecto Manhattan: Proyecto secreto autorizado por Franklin Roosevelt en 1942 para desarrollar una bomba atómica antes de que lo hicieran los alemanes. Los estadounidenses que trabajaron en el proyecto en Los Álamos, Nuevo México (entre otros puntos secretos del país), lograron producir una bomba atómica en julio de 1945. (pág. 737)

Destino manifiesto: Término acuñado por John L. O'Sullivan en 1845 para expresar la idea de que los euroamericanos estaban predestinados por Dios para establecer el continente norteamericano, desde el Atlántico hasta el océano Pacífico. (pág. 348)

señorío: sistema económico y social donde los derechos agrícolas se entregaban a cambio de mano de obra en la propiedad del terrateniente. (pág. 19)

manumisión: Acto legal de renunciar a los derechos de propiedad de los esclavos. Bajo la preocupación de que una gran población negra libre amenazara la institución de la esclavitud, la asamblea de Virginia derogó la ley de manumisión de 1782 de Virginia en 1792. (pág. 252)

***Marbury v. Madison* (1803):** Caso de la Corte Suprema que estableció el principio de revisión judicial al constatar que algunas partes de la Ley Judicial de 1789 estaban en conflicto con la Constitución. Por primera vez, la Corte Suprema asumió la autoridad legal para anular leyes de otras ramas del gobierno. (pág. 219)

March on Washington: Officially named the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, on August 28, 1963, a quarter of a million people marched to the Lincoln Memorial to demand that Congress end Jim Crow racial discrimination and launch a major jobs program to bring needed employment to black communities. (p. 830)

Market Revolution: The dramatic increase between 1820 and 1850 in the exchange of goods and services in market transactions. The Market Revolution reflected the increased output of farms (including cotton plantations) and factories, the entrepreneurial activities of traders and merchants, and the creation of a transportation network of roads, canals, and railroads. (p. 246)

married women's property laws: Laws enacted between 1839 and 1860 in New York and other states that permitted married women to own, inherit, and bequeath property. (p. 327)

Marshall Plan: Aid program begun in 1948 to help European economies recover from World War II. (p. 755)

materiel: military equipment. (p. 814)

maternalism: The belief that women should contribute to civic and political life through their special talents as mothers, Christians, and moral guides. Maternalists put this ideology into action by creating dozens of social reform organizations. (p. 550)

matriarchy: a political arrangement where a community is ruled by women. (p. 14)

***McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819):** A Supreme Court case that asserted the dominance of national over state statutes. (p. 230)

mechanics: A term used in the nineteenth century to refer to skilled craftsmen and inventors who built and improved machinery and machine tools for industry. (p. 248)

Medicaid: A health plan for the poor passed in 1965 and paid for by general tax revenues and administered by the states. (p. 848)

Medicare: A health plan for the elderly passed in 1965 and funded by a surcharge on Social Security payroll taxes. (p. 848)

medicine: a substance used to aid in illness through treatment and/or prevention of disease, or the science of using such substances. (p. 20)

mercantilism: A system of political economy based on government regulation. Beginning in 1650, Britain enacted Navigation Acts that controlled colonial commerce and manufacturing for the enrichment of Britain. (p. 43)

mercenary: person who partakes in military force for personal gain, often working for a foreign party. (p. 172)

merchant: person who earns a living by buying and selling goods. (p. 11)

Marcha sobre Washington: De nombre oficial Marcha sobre Washington por el Trabajo y la Libertad con fecha del 28 de agosto de 1963, convocó a 250 mil personas que marcharon al Monumento a Lincoln para exigir que el Congreso eliminara la discriminación racial de Jim Crow y lanzara un programa masivo de empleos para llevar a las comunidades negras de vuelta al trabajo. (pág. 830)

revolución mercantil: Aumento drástico en el intercambio de bienes y servicios en las transacciones de mercado que tuvo lugar entre 1820 y 1850. La revolución mercantil reflejó el aumento de la producción de granjas (incluidas las plantaciones de algodón) y fábricas, las actividades empresariales de los comerciantes y mercantes, y la creación de una red de transporte de carreteras, canales y ferrocarriles. (pág. 246)

leyes de propiedad de mujeres casadas: Leyes promulgadas entre 1839 y 1860 en Nueva York y otros estados, que permitieron a las mujeres casadas poseer, heredar y ceder propiedades. (pág. 327)

Plan Marshall: Programa de asistencia comenzado en 1948 para asistir a la recuperación de las economías europeas después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. (pág. 755)

pertrechos: equipo militar. (pág. 814)

maternalismo: La creencia de que las mujeres deben contribuir a la vida política y cívica a través de sus talentos especiales como madres, cristianas y líderes morales. Las maternalistas pusieron en marcha esta ideología mediante la creación de docenas de organizaciones de reforma social. (pág. 550)

matriarcado: situación política donde la comunidad es gobernada por mujeres. (pág. 14)

***McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819):** Caso de la Corte Suprema que afirmó el dominio de los estatutos nacionales sobre los estatales. (pág. 230)

mecánicos: Término utilizado en el siglo XIX para referirse a los artesanos e inventores expertos que construyeron y mejoraron la maquinaria y las máquinas herramienta para la industria. (pág. 248)

Medicaid: Plan de salud para los pobres aprobado en 1965, financiado con ingresos fiscales generales y administrado por los estados. (pág. 848)

Medicare: Plan de salud para la tercera edad aprobado en 1965 financiado por un recargo en los impuestos sobre nóminas de Seguridad Social. (pág. 848)

medicina: substancia usada para curar enfermedades a través de tratamiento y/o prevención de enfermedades, o la ciencia de usar tales substancias. (pág. 20)

mercantilismo: Sistema de economía política basado en la regulación gubernamental. A partir de 1650, Gran Bretaña promulgó leyes de navegación que controlaban el comercio y la fabricación colonial para el enriquecimiento de Gran Bretaña. (pág. 43)

mercenario: persona que participa en fuerzas militares para beneficio personal, con frecuencia trabaja para partidos extranjeros. (pág. 172)

comerciante: persona que se gana la vida mediante la compra y venta de bienes. (pág. 11)

Metacom's War: Also known as King Philip's War, it pitted a coalition of Native Americans led by the Wampanoag leader Metacom against the New England colonies in 1675–1676. A thousand colonists were killed and twelve colonial towns destroyed, but the colonies prevailed. Metacom and his allies lost some 4,500 people. (p. 66)

Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF): A Mexican American civil rights organization founded in 1967 and based on the model of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund. MALDEF focused on legal issues and endeavored to win protections against discrimination through court decisions. (p. 840)

Mexican cession: Lands taken by the United States in the U.S.-Mexico War (1846–1848). (p. 366)

middle class: An economic group of prosperous farmers, artisans, and traders that emerged in the early nineteenth century. Its rise reflected a dramatic increase in prosperity. This surge in income, along with an abundance of inexpensive mass-produced goods, fostered a distinct middle-class urban culture. (p. 268)

Middle Passage: The brutal sea voyage from Africa to the Americas that took the lives of nearly 2 million enslaved Africans. (p. 89)

midwife: someone, usually a woman, who is trained to help women during childbirth despite not being a doctor. (p. 109)

military-industrial complex: A term President Eisenhower used to refer to the military establishment and defense contractors who, he warned, exercised undue influence over the national government. (p. 783)

millennium: a time period of one thousand years. (p. 20)

Minor v. Happersett: A Supreme Court decision in 1875 that ruled that suffrage rights were not inherent in citizenship and had not been granted by the Fourteenth Amendment, as some women's rights advocates argued. Women were citizens, the Court ruled, but state legislatures could deny women the vote if they wished. (p. 440)

minstrel shows: Popular theatrical entertainment begun around 1830, in which white actors in blackface presented comic routines that combined racist caricature and social criticism. (p. 318)

Minutemen: Colonial militiamen who stood ready to mobilize on short notice during the imperial crisis of the 1770s. These volunteers formed the core of the citizens' army that met British troops at Lexington and Concord in April 1775. (p. 165)

miscegenation: A derogatory word for interracial sexual relationships coined by Democrats in the 1864 election, as they claimed that emancipation would allow African American men to gain sexual access to white women and produce mixed-race children. (p. 424)

missionary: a person who goes somewhere, often a foreign country, to share their religious beliefs with others. (p. 23)

Guerra de Metacomet: También conocida como la Guerra del rey Felipe, enfrentó a una coalición de nativos americanos encabezada por el líder wampanoag Metacomet contra las colonias de Nueva Inglaterra en 1675-1676. Mil colonos fueron asesinados y doce ciudades coloniales destruidas, pero las colonias prevalecieron. Metacomet y sus aliados perdieron unas 4,500 personas. (pág. 66)

Fondo Mexicano-Americano de Defensa Legal y Educación (MALDEF): Organización mexicano-americana de derechos civiles fundada en 1967 basada en el modelo del Fondo de Defensa Legal y Educación de la NAACP. MALDEF se enfocó en asuntos legales y buscó lograr protecciones contra la discriminación por medio de decisiones judiciales. (pág. 840)

Cesión mexicana: Tierras tomadas por los Estados Unidos en la Guerra de Estados Unidos-México (1846-1848). (pág. 366)

clase media: Grupo económico de agricultores, artesanos y comerciantes prósperos que surgió a principios del siglo XIX. Su crecimiento reflejó un aumento drástico en la prosperidad. Este aumento en los ingresos, junto con una abundancia de bienes de bajo costo producidos, fomentó una cultura urbana de clase media singular. (pág. 268)

travesía del Atlántico: Brutal viaje por mar desde África hasta las Américas que cobró la vida de casi 2 millones de africanos esclavizados. (pág. 89)

partera: persona, generalmente mujer, capacitada para asistir a las mujeres durante el parto a pesar de no ser doctor. (pág. 109)

complejo industrial-militar: Término empleado por el presidente Eisenhower para referirse al establecimiento militar y a los contratistas de defensa que, advirtió, ejercían demasiada influencia sobre el gobierno nacional. (pág. 783)

milenio: periodo de tiempo de mil años. (pág. 20)

Minor v. Happersett: Decisión de la Corte Suprema en 1875 que dictaminó que los derechos de sufragio no eran inherentes a la ciudadanía y no habían sido otorgados por la Decimocuarta Enmienda, como argumentaban algunos defensores de los derechos de las mujeres. Las mujeres eran ciudadanas, dictaminó la Corte, pero las legislaturas estatales podían negarles el voto si así lo deseaban. (pág. 440)

minstrel: Entretenimiento teatral popular que tuvo sus comienzos alrededor de 1830, en el que los actores blancos, con la cara pintada de negro, presentaban rutinas cómicas que combinaban la caricatura racista y la crítica social. (pág. 318)

minutemen: Milicianos coloniales que estaban listos para movilizarse sin antelación durante la crisis imperial de la década de 1770. Estos voluntarios formaron el núcleo del ejército de ciudadanos que se reunió con las tropas británicas en Lexington y Concord en abril de 1775. (pág. 165)

mestizaje: Palabra despectiva acuñada por los demócratas en las elecciones de 1864 para referirse a las relaciones interraciales. Los demócratas afirmaban que la emancipación les permitiría a los hombres afroamericanos obtener acceso sexual a mujeres blancas y producir niños de raza mixta. (pág. 424)

misionario: persona que va a algún sitio, generalmente un país extranjero, para compartir sus creencias religiosas con otros. (pág. 23)

Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party: Party founded in Mississippi during the Freedom Summer of 1964. Its members attempted to attend the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, as the legitimate representatives of their state, but Democratic leaders refused to recognize the party. (p. 831)

Mississippian culture: A Native American culture complex that flourished in the Mississippi River basin and the Southeast from around A.D. 850 to around 1700. Characterized by maize agriculture, moundbuilding, and distinctive pottery styles, Mississippian communities were complex chiefdoms usually located along the floodplains of rivers. The largest of these communities was Cahokia, in modern-day Illinois. (p. 11)

Missouri Compromise: A series of political agreements devised by Speaker of the House Henry Clay. Maine entered the Union as a free state in 1820 and Missouri followed as a slave state in 1821, preserving a balance in the Senate between North and South and setting a precedent for future admissions to the Union. Most importantly, this bargain set the northern boundary of slavery in the lands of the Louisiana Purchase at the southern boundary of Missouri, with the exception of that state. (p. 281)

mitigate: to make less severe; weaken. (p. 970)

mixed government: John Adams's theory from *Thoughts on Government* (1776), which called for three branches of government, each representing one function: executive, legislative, and judicial. This system of dispersed authority was devised to maintain a balance of power and ensure the legitimacy of governmental procedures. (p. 185)

mobilize: to prepare for action in a certain situation. (p. 67)

modernism: A movement that questioned the ideals of progress and order, rejected realism, and emphasized new cultural forms. Modernism became the first great literary and artistic movement of the twentieth century and remains influential today. (p. 535)

monogamy: the practice of being in a marital or sexual relationship with only one person at a time. (p. 313)

monopoly: the exclusive control of a particular item or service on the market. (p. 87)

Monroe Doctrine: The 1823 declaration by President James Monroe that the Western Hemisphere was closed to any further colonization or interference by European powers. In exchange, Monroe pledged that the United States would not become involved in European struggles. (p. 231)

Montgomery Bus Boycott: Yearlong boycott of Montgomery's segregated bus system in 1955–1956 by the city's African American population. The boycott brought Martin Luther King Jr. to national prominence and ended in victory when the Supreme Court declared segregated seating on public transportation unconstitutional. (p. 824)

Moral Majority: A political organization established by evangelist Jerry Falwell in 1979 to mobilize conservative Christian voters on behalf of Ronald Reagan's campaign for president. (p. 922)

Partido Demócrata de la Libertad de Misisipi: Partido fundado en Misisipi durante el Verano de la Libertad de 1964. Sus integrantes buscaron asistir a la Convención Nacional Demócrata en Atlantic City, Nueva Jersey, como representantes legítimos de su estado, pero los líderes demócratas se negaron a reconocer al partido. (pág. 831)

cultura misisipiana: Complejo de cultura nativa americana que floreció en la cuenca del río Misisipi y en el Sureste entre los años 850 d. C.. y aproximadamente 1700. Caracterizadas por la agricultura de maíz, la construcción de montículos y los estilos distintivos de cerámica, las comunidades misisipianas eran jefaturas complejas que generalmente se ubicaban a lo largo de los terrenos inundables de los ríos. La mayor de estas comunidades fue Cahokia, en la actual Illinois. (pág. 11)

Compromiso de Misuri: Serie de acuerdos políticos ideados por el presidente de la Cámara, Henry Clay. Maine ingresó a la Unión como un estado libre en 1820 y Misuri le siguió como un estado esclavista en 1821, preservando un equilibrio en el Senado entre el Norte y el Sur y sentando un precedente para futuras admisiones a la Unión. Lo más importante es que este compromiso estableció el límite norte de la esclavitud en las tierras de la Compra de Luisiana en el límite sur de Misuri, con la excepción de ese estado. (pág. 281)

mitigar: hacer menos severo; debilitar. (pág. 970)

gobierno mixto: Teoría de John Adams de *Thoughts on Government* (1776), que requería tres ramas de gobierno, cada una en representación de una función: ejecutiva, legislativa y judicial. Este sistema de autoridad separada fue ideado para mantener un equilibrio de poder y garantizar la legitimidad de los procedimientos gubernamentales. (pág. 185)

movilizar: preparar para la acción en cierta situación. (pág. 67)

modernismo: Movimiento que cuestionó los ideales del orden y progreso, rechazó al realismo y enfatizó nuevas formas culturales. El modernismo fue el primer gran movimiento literario y artístico del siglo XX y a la fecha permanece su influencia. (pág. 535)

monogamia: práctica de estar en una relación marital o sexual con una sola persona a la vez. (pág. 313)

monopolio: control exclusivo del mercado de un objeto particular. (pág. 87)

Doctrina Monroe: Declaración de 1823 del presidente James Monroe de que el hemisferio occidental estaba cerrado a cualquier colonización o interferencia de las potencias europeas. A cambio, Monroe se comprometió a no involucrar a los Estados Unidos en las luchas europeas. (pág. 231)

Boicot de autobuses de Montgomery: Boicot de la población afroamericana al sistema segregado de autobuses de la ciudad durante un año entre 1955-1956. El boicot le dio prominencia nacional a Martin Luther King Jr. y tuvo un final victorioso cuando la Corte Suprema declaró que la segregación de asientos en el transporte público era inconstitucional. (pág. 824)

Mayoría Moral: Organización política establecida por el evangelista Jerry Falwell en 1979 para movilizar a los votantes cristianos conservadores en favor de la campaña presidencial de Ronald Reagan. (pág. 922)

moratorium: a designated time period for suspending activity or delaying something such as payment. (p. 887)

mothers' pensions: Progressive Era government support provided to mothers whose husbands had died, been disabled, or abandoned the family. Recipients had to meet standards of "respectability" defined by middle-class home visitors, but those who met approval got help in raising their young children. (p. 606)

muckrakers: A critical term, first applied by Theodore Roosevelt, for investigative journalists who published exposés of political scandals and industrial abuses. (p. 569)

Muller v. Oregon: A 1908 Supreme Court case that upheld an Oregon law limiting women's workday to ten hours, based on the need to protect women's health for motherhood. *Muller* complicated the earlier decision in *Lochner v. New York,* laying out grounds on which states could intervene to protect workers. It divided women's rights activists, however, because some saw its provisions as discriminatory. (p. 606)

multiculturalism: The promotion of diversity in gender, race, ethnicity, religion, and sexual preference. This political and social policy became increasingly popular in the United States during the 1980s post–civil rights era. (p. 956)

multinational corporations: Corporations with offices and factories in multiple countries, which expanded to find new markets and cheaper sources of labor. Globalization was made possible by the proliferation of these multinational corporations. (p. 949)

Munich Conference: A conference in Munich held in September 1938 during which Britain and France agreed to allow Germany to annex the Sudetenland — a German-speaking border area of Czechoslovakia — in return for Hitler's pledge to seek no more territory. (p. 714)

munition: war equipment such as weapons or ammunition. (p. 375)

Munn v. Illinois: An 1877 Supreme Court case that affirmed that states could regulate key businesses, such as railroads and grain elevators, if those businesses were "clothed in the public interest." (p. 467)

mutual aid society: An urban aid society that served members of an ethnic immigrant group, usually those from a particular province or town. The societies functioned as fraternal clubs that collected dues from members in order to pay support in case of death or disability. (p. 564)

My Lai: Vietnamese village where U.S. Army troops executed nearly five hundred people in 1968, including a large number of women and children. (p. 871)

Nation of Islam: A religion founded in the United States that became a leading source of black nationalist thought in the 1960s. Black Muslims preached an apocalyptic brand of Islam, anticipating the day when Allah would banish the white "devils" and give the black nation justice. (p. 835)

moratoria: tiempo designado para suspender una actividad o retrasar algo, por ejemplo, un pago. (pág. 887)

pensiones maternales: Apoyo gubernamental durante la Era Progresiva para madres cuyos maridos fallecieron, habían sido incapacitados o abandonaron a la familia. Las beneficiarias debían cumplir con estándares de "respetabilidad" definidos por visitantes de clase media que acudían a los hogares, y las personas aprobadas recibieron apoyo para criar a sus hijos pequeños. (pág. 606)

muckrakers: Término crítico empleado por Theodore Roosevelt para periodistas investigadores que desenmascararon escándalos políticos y abusos industriales. (pág. 569)

Muller v. Oregon: Caso de la Corte Suprema en 1908 para mantener una ley que limitaba la jornada laboral de las mujeres a diez horas, con base en la necesidad de proteger la salud de las mujeres para la maternidad. *Muller* complicó la decisión anterior de *Lochner v. New York* al sentar las bases para definir cuáles estados podían intervenir para proteger a los trabajadores. Sin embargo, dividió a los activistas de derechos de las mujeres, al considerar que algunas de sus disposiciones eran discriminatorias. (pág. 606)

multiculturalismo: Promoción de la diversidad de género, raza, etnicidad, religión y preferencia sexual. Esta política en materia social y gubernamental fue cada vez más popular en Estados Unidos en la década de 1980, durante la etapa posterior a la era de los derechos civiles. (pág. 956)

corporaciones multinacionales: Corporaciones que tienen oficionas y fábricas en varios países, que se expandieron para buscar nuevos mercados y mano de obra más barata. La globalización fue posible por la proliferación de estas corporaciones multinacionales. (pág. 949)

Conferencia de Munich: Conferencia celebrada en septiembre de 1938 en Munich durante la cual Bretaña y Francia aceptaron que Alemania anexara la región de los Sudetes—región fronteriza de Checoslovaquia de habla alemana—a cambio del compromiso de Hitler de no buscar más territorio. (pág. 714)

munición: equipo de guerra, por ejemplo, armas o balas. (pág. 375)

Munn v. Illinois: Caso de la Corte Suprema de 1877 que afirmaba que los estados podían regular negocios clave, como ferrocarriles y elevadores de granos, si esos negocios estaban "eran de interés público". (pág. 467)

sociedad de asistencia mutua: Sociedad de asistencia urbana que sirvió a miembros de grupos étnicos inmigrantes, normalmente a aquellos de un pueblo o provincia particular. Estas sociedades funcionaron como clubes fraternales que recolectaban fondos de sus miembros para pagar apoyos en caso de muerte o incapacidad. (pág. 564)

My Lai: Pueblo vietnamita donde tropas del ejército estadounidense ejecutaron a cerca de 500 personas en 1968, incluyendo a mujeres y niños. (pág. 871)

Nación de Islam: Religión fundada en Estados Unidos que se convirtió en una fuente de pensamiento nacionalista negro en la década de 1960. Los Musulmanes Negros predicaban una rama apocalíptica del Islam, anticipando el día en que Alá expulsaría a los "diablos" blancos e hiciera justicia para la nación negra. (pág. 835)

National Woman Suffrage Association: A suffrage group headed by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony that stressed the need for women to lead organizations on their own behalf. The NWSA focused exclusively on women's rights — sometimes denigrating men of color in the process — and took up the battle for a federal women's suffrage amendment. (p. 440)

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP): An organization founded in 1909 by leading African American reformers and white allies as a vehicle for advocating equal rights for African Americans, especially through the courts. (p. 607)

National Association of Colored Women: An organization created in 1896 by African American women to provide community support. Through its local clubs, the NACW arranged for the care of orphans, founded homes for the elderly, advocated temperance, undertook public health campaigns, campaigned for women's suffrage, and raised awareness of racial injustice (such as lynching, segregated facilities, and disfranchisement). (p. 551)

National Association of Manufacturers: An association of industrialists and business leaders opposed to government regulation. In the era of the New Deal, the group promoted free enterprise and capitalism through a publicity campaign of radio programs, motion pictures, billboards, and direct mail. (p. 690)

National Child Labor Committee: A reform organization that worked (unsuccessfully) to win a federal law banning child labor. The NCLC hired photographer Lewis Hine to record brutal conditions in mines and mills where thousands of children worked. (p. 606)

National Consumers' League: Begun in New York, a national progressive organization that encouraged women, through their shopping decisions, to support fair wages and working conditions for industrial laborers. (p. 580)

national debt: The cumulative total of all budget deficits. (p. 924)

National Defense Education Act: A 1958 act, passed in response to the Soviet launching of the *Sputnik* satellite, that funneled millions of dollars into American universities, helping institutions such as the University of California at Berkeley and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, among others, become the leading research centers in the world. (p. 783)

National Interstate and Defense Highways Act: A 1956 law authorizing the construction of a national highway system. (p. 801)

National Municipal League: A political reform organization that advised cities to elect small councils and hire professional city managers who would direct operations like a corporate executive. (p. 575)

National Organization for Women (NOW): Women's civil rights organization formed in 1966. Initially, NOW focused on elim-

Asociación Nacional pro Sufragio de la Mujer (NWSA): Grupo de sufragio encabezado por Elizabeth Cady Stanton y Susan B. Anthony que enfatizó la necesidad de que las mujeres lideren organizaciones en representación propia. La NWSA se centró exclusivamente en los derechos de las mujeres —a veces denigrando a los hombres de color en el proceso— y emprendió la batalla por una enmienda federal al sufragio de las mujeres. (pág. 440)

Asociación Nacional para el Progreso de las Personas de Color (NAACP): Organización fundada en 1909 por líderes reformistas afroamericanos y aliados blancos para defender la igualdad de derechos de los afroamericanos, especialmente en los tribunales. (pág. 607)

Asociación Nacional de Mujeres de Color (NACW): Organización creada en 1896 por mujeres afroamericanas para ofrecer apoyo al a comunidad. A través de sus clubes locales, la NACW ayudó a cuidar huérfanos, fundó hogares para la tercera edad, defendió la abstinencia al alcohol, emprendió campañas de salud pública, lanzó campañas para el sufragio de la mujer y creo conciencia de la injusticia racial (como los linchamientos, las instalaciones segregadas y la privación del derecho de representación). (pág. 551)

Asociación Nacional de Manufacturas: Asociación de industrialistas y líderes empresariales que se oponen a la regulación gubernamental. En la era del Nuevo Trato, el grupo promovió la empresa libre y el capitalismo a través de campañas de radio, películas, carteleras y correo directo. (pág. 690)

Comité Nacional del Trabajo Infantil (NCLC): Organización de reforma que trabajó (sin éxito) para lograr una ley federal que prohibiera el trabajo infantil. La NCLC contrató al fotógrafo Lewis Hine para documentar las condiciones brutales en minas y plantas donde trabajaban miles de niños. (pág. 606)

Liga Nacional de Consumidores: Organización nacional progresista, con inicios en Nueva York, que promovió que las mujeres, a través de sus decisiones de compra, apoyaran el salario justo y las condiciones laborales de los trabajadores industriales. (pág. 580)

deuda nacional: Total acumulativo de todos los déficits presupuestales. (pág. 924)

Ley Nacional de Educación de Defensa: Ley de 1958 aprobada en respuesta al lanzamiento soviético del satélite *Sputnik*, que encauzó millones de dólares hacia las universidades estadounidenses y ayudó a instituciones como la Universidad de Berkeley en California y el Massachusetts Institute of Technology, entre otras, a convertirse en centros de investigación líderes a nivel mundial. (pág. 783)

Ley Nacional de Autopistas Interestatales y de Defensa: Ley de 1956 que autorizó la construcción de un sistema nacional de carreteras. (pág. 801)

Liga Nacional Municipal: Organización de reforma política que aconsejó a pequeños condados que contrataran a gestores municipales para dirigir sus operaciones como un ejecutivo corporativo. (pág. 575)

Organización Nacional de Mujeres (NOW): Organización de derechos civiles de mujeres, formada en 1966. En un principio,

inating gender discrimination in public institutions and the workplace, but by the 1970s it also embraced many of the issues raised by more radical feminists. (p. 852)

National Origins Act: A 1924 law limiting annual immigration from each country to no more than 2 percent of that nationality's percentage of the U.S. population as it had stood in 1890. The law severely limited immigration, especially from Southern and Eastern Europe. (p. 667)

National Park Service: A federal agency founded in 1916 that provided comprehensive oversight of the growing system of national parks. (p. 544)

National Recovery Administration: Federal agency established in June 1933 to promote industrial recovery during the Great Depression. It encouraged industrialists to voluntarily adopt codes that defined fair working conditions, set prices, and minimized competition. (p. 687)

National Review: A conservative magazine founded by editor William F. Buckley in 1955, who used it to criticize liberal policy. (p. 916)

National Socialist (Nazi) Party: German political party led by Adolf Hitler, who became chancellor of Germany in 1933. The party's ascent was fueled by huge World War I reparation payments, economic depression, fear of communism, labor unrest, and rising unemployment. (p. 713)

National War Labor Board: A federal agency founded in 1918 that established an eight-hour day for war workers (with time-and-a-half pay for overtime), endorsed equal pay for women, and supported workers' right to organize. (p. 637)

National American Woman Suffrage Association: Women's suffrage organization created in 1890 by the union of the National Woman Suffrage Association and the American Woman Suffrage Association. Up to national ratification of suffrage in 1920, the NAWSA played a central role in campaigning for women's right to vote. (p. 440)

National Woman's Party: A political party founded in 1916 that fought for an Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in the early twentieth century. (p. 643)

nativism: Opposition to immigration and to full citizenship for recent immigrants or to immigrants of a particular ethnic or national background, as expressed, for example, by anti-Irish discrimination in the 1850s and Asian exclusion laws between the 1880s and 1940s. (p. 381)

natural rights: The rights to life, liberty, and property. According to the English philosopher John Locke in *Two Treatises of Government* (1690), political authority was not given by God to monarchs. Instead, it derived from social compacts that people made to preserve their natural rights. (p. 120)

la NOW se enfocó en la eliminación de la discriminación de género en las instituciones públicas y en el trabajo, y para la década de 1970 asumió muchas de las causas de feministas más radicales. (pág. 852)

Ley de Orígenes Nacionales: Ley de 1924 que limitó la inmigración anual de cada país a no más del 2 por ciento del porcentaje de esa nacionalidad en la población de Estados Unidos con respecto a 1890. La ley limitó la inmigración notablemente, especialmente del sur y del este de Europa. (pág. 667)

Servicio de Parques Nacionales: Agencia federal fundada en 1916 que ofreció supervisión integral del creciente sistema de parques nacionales. (pág. 544)

Administración para la Recuperación Nacional: Agencia federal establecida en junio de 1933 para promover la recuperación industrial durante la Gran Depresión. Alentó a industrialistas a adaptar voluntariamente códigos que definieran condiciones laborales justas, precios fijos y minimizaron la competencia. (pág. 687)

National Review: Revista conservadora fundada en 1955 por el editor William F. Buckley, quien la usó para criticar la política liberal. (pág. 916)

Partido Nacional Socialista (Nazi): Partido político alemán dirigido por Adolf Hitler, que fue canciller alemán en 1933. El ascenso del partido fue causado en parte por los enormes pagos de reparación de la Primera Guerra Mundial, por la depresión económica, el miedo al comunismo, el malestar laboral y el aumento del desempleo. (pág. 713)

Comité Nacional de Trabajos de Guerra: Agencia federal fundada en 1918 que estableció la jornada laboral de ocho horas para los trabajadores de guerra (con pagos de tiempo y medio por horas extra), aprobó el pago igualitario para mujeres y apoyó el derecho de organización de los trabajadores. (pág. 637)

Asociación Nacional Americana pro Sufragio de la Mujer (NAWSA): Organización de mujeres sufragistas creada en 1890 tras la unión de la Asociación Nacional pro Sufragio de la Mujer y la Asociación Americana pro Sufragio de la Mujer. Hasta el momento de la ratificación del sufragio en 1920, la NAWSA desempeñó un papel central en las campañas para el derecho de voto de las mujeres. (pág. 440)

Partido Nacional de Mujeres: Partido político fundado en 1916 que luchó por la Enmienda de Igualdad de Derechos de la Constitución de los Estados Unidos a principios del siglo XX. (pág. 643)

nativismo: Oposición a la inmigración y a la ciudadanía plena para inmigrantes recientes o inmigrantes de ciertos orígenes étnicos o nacionales. Un ejemplo fue la discriminación antiirlandesa que tuvo lugar en la década de 1850 y las leyes de exclusión asiáticas entre los años 1880 y 1940. (pág. 381)

derechos naturales: El derecho a la vida, la libertad y la propiedad. Según el filósofo John Locke en su obra *Dos tratados sobre el gobierno civil* (1690), no era Dios quien concedía autoridad política a los monarcas. En cambio, la autoridad derivaba de contratos sociales que las personas hacían para preservar sus derechos naturales. (pág. 120)

Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts: Three laws passed in 1798 that limited individual rights and threatened the fledgling party system. The Naturalization Act lengthened the residency requirement for citizenship, the Alien Act authorized the deportation of foreigners, and the Sedition Act prohibited the publication of insults or malicious attacks on the president or members of Congress. (p. 214)

Navigation Acts: English laws passed, beginning in the 1650s and 1660s, requiring that certain English colonial goods be shipped through English ports on English ships manned primarily by English sailors in order to benefit English merchants, shippers, and seamen. (p. 79)

Negro Leagues: Professional baseball teams formed for and by black players, after the main national leagues began to exclude all African American players in the 1890s. Enduring until the desegregation of baseball after World War II, the leagues enabled black men to showcase athletic ability and race pride, but their working conditions and wages were much less desirable than those of players in the white leagues. (p. 542)

neo-Europes: Term for colonies in which colonists sought to replicate, or at least approximate, economies and social structures they knew at home. (p. 38)

neomercantilism: A system of government-assisted economic development embraced by republican state legislatures throughout the nation, especially in the Northeast. This system of activist government encouraged private entrepreneurs to seek individual opportunity and the public welfare through market exchange. (p. 240)

Neutrality Act of 1935: Legislation that sought to avoid entanglement in foreign wars while protecting trade. It imposed an embargo on selling arms to warring countries and declared that Americans traveling on the ships of belligerent nations did so at their own risk. (p. 714)

New Jersey Plan: Alternative to the Virginia Plan drafted by delegates from small states, retaining the confederation's single-house congress with one vote per state. It shared with the Virginia Plan enhanced congressional powers to raise revenue, control commerce, and make binding requisitions on the states. (p. 194)

New Left: A term applied to radical students of the 1960s and 1970s, distinguishing their activism from the Old Left — the communists and socialists of the 1930s and 1940s, who tended to focus on economic and labor questions rather than cultural issues. (p. 860)

New Lights: Evangelical preachers, many of them influenced by John Wesley, the founder of English Methodism, and George Whitefield, the charismatic itinerant preacher who brought his message to Britain's American colonies. They decried a Christian faith that was merely intellectual and emphasized the importance of a spiritual rebirth. (p. 124)

Leyes de Naturalización, Extranjería y Sedición: Tres leyes aprobadas en 1798 que limitaron derechos individuales y amenazaron al incipiente sistema de partidos. La Ley de Naturalización aumentó el tiempo de residencia requerido para obtener la ciudadanía, la Ley de Extranjería autorizó la deportación de extranjeros y la Ley de Sedición prohibió la publicación de insultos o ataques malignos contra el presidente o miembros del Congreso. (pág. 214)

Actas de Navegación: Leyes aprobadas, apartir de la década de 1650 y 1660, que requerían que ciertos bienes coloniales ingleses fueran importados a través de puertos ingleses, a bordo de embarcaciones inglesas tripuladas por navegantes ingleses con el fin de beneficiar a los mercantes, exportadores y marineros ingleses. (pág. 79)

Ligas Negras: Equipos profesionales de béisbol formados por y para jugadores negros, tras la exclusión de todos los jugadores afroamericanos de las principales ligas nacionales en la década de 1890. Las ligas duraron hasta la abolición de la segregación racial en el béisbol, al concluir la Segunda Guerra Mundial, y permitieron a los hombres negros mostrar sus capacidades atléticas y orgullo racial, pero bajo condiciones y salarios mucho menos deseables que aquellos de los jugadores en las ligas blancas. (pág. 542)

neoeuropeos: Término para las colonias en las cuales los colonos buscaron recrear, o al menos aproximar, las estructuras económicas o sociales que conocían en sus países de origen. (pág. 38)

neomercantilismo: Sistema de desarrollo económico asistido por el gobierno que fue adoptado por las legislaturas de los estados republicanos por todo el país, particularmente en el noreste. Este sistema de gobierno activista invitaba a emprendedores privados a buscar oportunidades individuales y al bienestar público a través del intercambio de mercados. (pág. 240)

Ley de Neutralidad de 1935: Legislación que buscó evitar la participación en guerras extranjeras y al mismo tiempo proteger al comercio. Impuso un embargo a la venta de armas a países en guerra y declaró que los estadounidenses que viajaran en las embarcaciones de países beligerantes lo hacían bajo su propio riesgo. (pág. 714)

Plan de Nueva Jersey: Alternativa para el Plan de Virginia redactado por delegados de estados para mantener el Congreso de una cámara única en la confederación, con un voto por estado. De manera similar al Plan de Virginia, ampliaba los poderes del Congreso para aumentar las rentas, controlar el comercio y hacer requisitos vinculantes a los estados. (pág. 194)

Nueva Izquierda: Término usado para estudiantes radicales de las décadas de 1960 y 1970 que distinguía su activismo del de la Vieja Izquierda—aquellos comunistas y socialistas de las décadas de 1930 y 1940, que solían enfocarse en temas económicos y laborales y en lugar de temas culturales. (pág. 860)

luces nuevas: Predicadores evangélicos, muchos de ellos influidos por John Wesley, fundador del metodismo inglés, y George Whitefield, predicador itinerante que llevó su mensaje a las colonias británicas en América. Menospreciaban a la fe cristiana meramente intelectual y resaltaban la importancia de un renacimiento espiritual. (pág. 124)

"New Look": The defense policy of the Eisenhower administration that stepped up production of the hydrogen bomb and developed long-range bombing capabilities. (p. 770)

New Nationalism: In a 1910 speech, Theodore Roosevelt called for a "New Nationalism" that promoted government intervention to enhance public welfare, including a federal child labor law, more recognition of labor rights, a national minimum wage for women, women's suffrage, and curbs on the power of federal courts to stop reform. (p. 608)

New South: A nickname for the former Confederate states, used by boosters to describe the region's economic diversification and growth of industrial jobs in the post–Civil War era. Because of the region's poverty, many of those industries were extractive (such as coal and timber), and some (like textiles) were low-wage and involved considerable child labor. (p. 508)

Newlands Reclamation Act: A 1902 law, supported by President Theodore Roosevelt, that allowed the federal government to sell public lands to raise money for irrigation projects that expanded agriculture on arid lands. (p. 604)

niche: a place that is well suited for someone or something. (p. 515)

nobility: a distinguished social class which includes those of high birth such as dukes and duchesses, and barons and baronesses. (p. 19)

nonimportation movement: Colonists attempted nonimportation agreements three times: in 1766, in response to the Stamp Act; in 1768, in response to the Townshend duties; and in 1774, in response to the Coercive Acts. In each case, colonial radicals pressured merchants to stop importing British goods. In 1774 nonimportation was adopted by the First Continental Congress and enforced by the Continental Association. American women became crucial to the movement by reducing their households' consumption of imported goods and producing large quantities of homespun cloth. (p. 151)

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA): A 1993 treaty that eliminated all tariffs and trade barriers among the United States, Canada, and Mexico. (p. 949)

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO): Military alliance formed in 1949 among the United States, Canada, and Western European nations to counter any possible Soviet threat. (p. 758)

Northwest Ordinance of 1787: A land act that provided for orderly settlement and established a process by which settled territories would become the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. It also banned slavery in the Northwest Territory. (p. 189)

nostrum: a questionable remedy. (p. 656)

notables: Northern landlords, slave-owning planters, and seaport merchants who dominated the political system of the early nineteenth century. (p. 274)

Política "New Look" (Nueva Apariencia): Política de defensa de la administración de Eisenhower que aumentó la producción de bombas de hidrógeno y desarrolló la capacidad de bombardeo de larga distancia. (pág. 770)

Nuevo Nacionalismo: En un discurso pronunciado en 1910, Theodore Roosevelt, llamó a un "Nuevo Nacionalismo" que promovía la intervención del gobierno para mejorar el bienestar público, incluyendo una ley de trabajo infantil, mayor reconocimiento de los derechos laborales, un salario mínimo nacional para las mujeres, sufragio para las mujeres, y reducciones al poder de las cortes federales para impedir reformas. (pág. 608)

Nuevo Sur: Apodo para los antiguos estados Confederados, usado por sus adeptos para describir la diversificación económica y el aumento de empleos industriales en la región durante la era posterior a la Guerra Civil. Debido a la pobreza de la región, muchas de esas industrias eran de extracción (de carbón y madera) y algunas (como la industria de textiles) pagaban salarios bajos y practicaban en gran medida el trabajo infantil. (pág. 508)

Ley de Recuperación de Newlands: Ley de 1902 apoyada por el presidente Theodore Roosevelt, que permitió al gobierno federal vender tierras públicas para recaudar fondos para los proyectos de irrigación que expandieron la agricultura en tierras áridas. (pág. 604)

nicho: sitio adecuado para alguien o algo. (pág. 515)

nobleza: Clase social distinguida que incluye a aquellos títulos nobiliarios por herencia como duques y duquesas, barones y baronesas. (pág. 19)

movimiento de no importación: Los colonos intentaron firmar acuerdos de no importación tres veces: en 1766, en respuesta a la Ley del Timbre; en 1768, en respuesta a los Actos Townshend; y en 1774, en respuesta a las Leyes Coactivas. En cada caso, los radicales coloniales presionaron a los comerciantes para que dejaran de importar productos británicos. En 1774, la no importación fue aprobada por el Primer Congreso Continental e implementada por la Asociación Continental. Las mujeres americanas se volvieron cruciales para el movimiento al reducir el consumo de bienes importados de sus hogares y producir grandes cantidades de tela casera. (pág. 151)

Tratado de Libre Comercio de América del Norte (TLCAN): Tratado firmado en 1993 que eliminó todos los aranceles y barreras comerciales entre Estados Unidos, Canadá y México. (pág. 949)

Organización del Tratado del Atlántico Norte (OTAN): Alianza militar formada en 1949 entre Estados Unidos, Canadá y los países del occidente de Europa para contrarrestar cualquier amenaza soviética. (pág. 758)

Ordenanza Noroeste de 1787: Ley de tierras que estableció un asentamiento ordenado y un proceso por medio del cual los territorios poblados se convertirían en los estados de Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan y Wisconsin. También prohibió la esclavitud en el Territorio Noroeste. (pág. 189)

panacea: remedio cuestionable. (pág. 656)

notables: Terratenientes norteños, colonos dueños de esclavos y comerciantes de puertos marítimos que dominaron el sistema político del siglo XIX. (pág. 274)

NSC-68: Top-secret government report of April 1950 warning that national survival in the face of Soviet communism required a massive military buildup. (p. 758)

nullification: The constitutional argument advanced by John C. Calhoun that a state legislature or convention could void a law passed by Congress. (p. 286)

odyssey: an epic journey. (p. 914)

Old Lights: Conservative ministers opposed to the passion displayed by evangelical preachers; they preferred to emphasize the importance of cultivating a virtuous Christian life. (p. 124)

oligarchy: government in which only a few people are in command. (p. 931)

Omaha Platform: An 1892 statement by the Populists calling for stronger government to protect ordinary Americans. (p. 594)

one-tenth tax: A tax adopted by the Confederacy in 1863 that required all farmers to turn over a tenth of their crops and livestock to the government for military use. The tax demonstrated the southern government's strong use of centralized power; it caused great hardship for poor families. (p. 410)

open door policy: A claim put forth by U.S. Secretary of State John Hay that all nations seeking to do business in China should have equal trade access. (p. 627)

Operation Rescue: A movement founded by religious activist Randall Terry in 1987 that mounted protests outside abortion clinics and harassed their staffs and clients. (p. 957)

Operation Rolling Thunder: Massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam authorized by President Johnson in 1965; against expectations, it ended up hardening the will of the North Vietnamese to continue fighting. (p. 854)

Oregon Trail: An emigrant route that originally led from Independence, Missouri, to the Willamette Valley in Oregon, a distance of some 2,000 miles. Alternate routes included the California Trail, the Mormon Trail, and the Bozeman Trail. Together they conveyed several hundred thousand migrants to the Far West in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s. (p. 350)

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC): A cartel formed in 1960 by the Persian Gulf states and other oil-rich developing countries that allowed its members to exert greater control over the price of oil. (p. 880)

Ostend Manifesto: An 1854 manifesto that urged President Franklin Pierce to seize the slave-owning province of Cuba from Spain. Northern Democrats denounced this aggressive initiative, and the plan was scuttled. (p. 379)

overleverage: to take on debt. (p. 674)

pacifism: the belief that violence is always unreasonable, and that disagreements should be resolved peacefully. (p. 79)

paganism: religiously believing in multiple gods. (p. 21)

NSC-68 (Reporte 68 del Consejo de Seguridad Nacional): Reporte ultra-secreto del gobierno, redactado en 1950, que advirtió que sobrevivir al comunismo soviético implicaría un aumento drástico en el armamento militar. (pág. 758)

anulación: Argumento constitucional impulsado por John C. Calhoun en el cual una legislatura o convención estatal puede vetar una ley aprobada por el Congreso. (pág. 286)

odisea: viaje épico. (pág. 914)

luces viejas: Ministros conservadores que se opusieron a la pasión mostrada por predicadores evangélicos; preferían resaltar la importancia de cultuivar una vida cristiana virtuosa. (pág. 124)

oligarquía: gobierno en el cual unos pocos tienen el control. (pág. 931)

Plataforma de Omaha: Declaración de los populistas en 1892 pidiendo un gobierno más fuerte para proteger a los estadounidenses comunes. (pág. 594)

impuesto del décimo: Impuesto adoptado por la Confederación en 1863 que requería que todos los agricultores entregaran al gobierno una décima parte de sus cultivos y ganado para uso militar. El impuesto demostró el fuerte uso del gobierno sureño del poder centralizado; causó grandes dificultades para las familias pobres. (pág. 410)

política de puertas abiertas: Afirmación de John Hay, Secretario de Estado de Estados Unidos, quien dijo que todos los países que deseen hacer negocios en China deben tener el mismo nivel de acceso comercial. (pág. 627)

Operación Rescate: Movimiento fundado por el activista religioso Randall Terry que organizó protestas en la entrada de clínicas de aborto y acosó a sus pacientes y empleados. (pág. 957)

Operación Rolling Thunder: Campaña masiva de bombardeos contra Vietnam del Norte autorizada por el presidente Johnson en 1965; contra toda expectativa, alimentó y fortaleció al deseo de los vietnamitas del norte de mantenerse en la pelea. (pág. 854)

senda de Oregon: Ruta emigrante que originalmente iniciaba en Independence, Misuri, y llegaba hasta el valle de Willamette en Oregón, tras un recorrido de unas dos mil millas. Entre las rutas alternas estaba la senda de California, la senda de los Mormones y la senda Bozeman. Las tres rutas llevaron a cientos de miles de migrantes al Lejano Oeste durante las décadas de 1840, 1850 y 1860. (pág. 350)

Organización de Países Exportadores de Petróleo (OPEC, en inglés): Cartel formado en 1960 por los estados del Golfo Pérsico y otros países de riqueza petrolera que permitió a sus miembros ejercer mayor control sobre el precio del petróleo. (pág. 880)

manifiesto de Ostende: Manifiesto de 1854 que exhortó al presidente Franklin Pierce a apoderarse de la provincia esclavista de Cuba que pertenecía a España. Los Demócratas del Norte denunciaron esta agresiva iniciativa y el plan fue desechado. (pág. 379)

sobreapalancamiento: tomar sobre una deuda. (pág. 674)

pacifismo: creencia que la violencia siempre es irrazonable y que los desacuerdos deben resolverse pacíficamente. (pág. 79)

paganismo: creer religiosamente en múltiples dioses. (pág. 21)

paleontology: the scientific study of fossil remains. (p. 528)

palisade: a fence, made of stakes and designed for defense. (p. 166)

Palmer raids: A series of raids led by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer on radical organizations that peaked in January 1920, when federal agents arrested six thousand citizens and aliens and denied them access to legal counsel. (p. 653)

pan-Africanism: The idea that people of African descent, in all parts of the world, have a common heritage and destiny and should cooperate in political action. (p. 673)

Panama Canal: A canal across the Isthmus of Panama connecting trade between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and opened in 1914, the canal gave U.S. naval vessels quick access to the Pacific and provided the United States with a commanding position in the Western Hemisphere. (p. 631)

pandemic: a global outbreak of a contagious sickness. (p. 636)

Panic of 1819: First major economic crisis of the United States. Farmers and planters faced an abrupt 30 percent drop in world agricultural prices, and as farmers' income declined, they could not pay debts owed to stores and banks, many of which went bankrupt. (p. 241)

Panic of 1837: Triggered by a sharp reduction in English capital and credit flowing into the United States, the cash shortage caused a panic while the collapse of credit led to a depression — the second major economic crisis of the United States — that lasted from 1837 to 1843. (p. 296)

pantheism: the belief that the universe is an embodiment of God. (p. 310)

paradigm: a typical example or model. (p. 530)

paradox: something that may be true despite its apparent contradictions. (p. 83)

parlance: a specific way of using words; jargon. (p. 32)

parochial: relating to a church parish. (p. 532)

partisan: a firm supporter of a political group, person, or cause. (p. 176)

pastoral: to be devoted to raising livestock. (p. 353)

paternalism: The ideology held by slave owners who considered themselves committed to the welfare of their slaves. (p. 257)

Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act: Sweeping 2010 health-care reform bill championed by President Obama that established nearly universal health insurance by providing subsidies and compelling larger businesses to offer coverage to employees. (p. 968)

patriarchy: a political arrangement where a community is ruled by men. (p. 19)

patrician: an aristocrat. (p. 684)

patronage: The power of elected officials to grant government jobs and favors to their supporters; also the jobs and favors themselves. (p. 102)

paleontología: ciencia de estudiar restos fósiles. (pág. 528)

palizada: reja fabricada con estacas, diseñada para la defensa. (pág. 166)

Redadas de Palmer: Serie de redadas dirigidas por el fiscal general, A. Mitchell Palmer, sobre las organizaciones radicales que tuvieron su auge en enero de 1920, cuando agentes federales arrestaron a seis mil ciudadanos y extranjeros y les negaron acceso a un abogado. (pág. 653)

pan-africanismo: La idea de que las personas de descendencia africana en todo el mundo tienen una herencia y destino común y deben cooperar en la acción política. (pág. 673)

Canal de Panamá: Canal que atraviesa el Istmo de Panamá y conecta el comercio entre el océano Pacífico y el Atlántico. Construido por los Cuerpos de Ingenieros del Ejército de los Estados Unidos e inaugurado en 1914, el canal le dio acceso rápido a las embarcaciones navales estadounidenses al Pacífico y ofreció a los Estados Unidos una posición dominante en el Hemisferio Occidental. (pág. 631)

pandemia: brote global de una enfermedad contagiosa. (pág. 636)

crisis de 1819: Primera gran crisis económica de Estados Unidos. Granjeros y hacendados enfrentaron una caída repentina del 30 por ciento en los precios mundiales de la agricultura, y al disminuir los ingresos de los granjeros, les fue imposible pagar las deudas contraídas en tiendas y bancos que, a su vez, terminaron en bancarrota. (pág. 241)

crisis de 1837: Provocada por una fuerte reducción de la entrada de capital y crédito inglés a Estados Unidos, la escasez de efectivo causó pánico y el colapso del crédito llevó a una depresión–la segunda crisis económica mayor en Estados Unidos–que duró de 1837 a 1843. (pág. 296)

panteísmo: creencia de que el universo es la encarnación de Dios. (pág. 310)

paradigma: ejemplo típico o modelo. (pág. 530)

paradoja: idea que puede ser verdadera a pesar de sus aparentes contradicciones. (pág. 83)

habla: forma particular de usar palabras; jerga. (pág. 32)

parroquial: relacionado a una iglesia parroquial. (pág. 532)

partidario: fiel seguidor de un grupo, persona o causa política. (pág. 176)

pastoral: dedicarse a criar ganado. (pág. 353)

paternalismo: Ideología de los dueños de esclavos que consideraban que estaban comprometidos con el bienestar de sus esclavos. (pág. 257)

Ley de Protección al Paciente y Cuidado de Salud Asequible: Arrolladora reforma del cuidado de salud en 2010 impulsada por el presidente Obama que estableció un seguro de saludo casi universal al ofrecer subsidios y obligando a las empresas más grandes a ofrecer cobertura a sus empleados. (pág. 968)

patriarcado: situación política donde la comunidad es gobernada por hombres. (pág. 19)

patricio: un aristócrata. (pag. 684)

mecenazgo: El poder de oficiales electos para conceder cargos gubernamentales y favores a sus seguidores; también los trabajos y favores mismos. (pág. 102)

Peace Corps: Program launched by President Kennedy in 1961 through which young American volunteers helped with education, health, and other projects in developing countries around the world. (p. 777)

Pearl Harbor: A naval base in Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, that was attacked by Japanese bombers on December 7, 1941; more than 2,400 Americans were killed. The following day, President Roosevelt asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan. (p. 717)

peasants: The traditional term for farmworkers in Europe. Some peasants owned land, while others leased or rented small plots from landlords. (p. 19)

Pendleton Act: An 1883 law establishing a nonpartisan Civil Service Commission to fill federal jobs by examination. The Pendleton Act dealt a major blow to the "spoils system" and sought to ensure that government positions were filled by trained, professional employees. (p. 589)

Pennsylvania constitution of 1776: A constitution that granted all taxpaying men the right to vote and hold office and created a unicameral (one-house) legislature with complete power; there was no governor to exercise a veto. Other provisions mandated a system of elementary education and protected citizens from imprisonment for debt. (p. 185)

penny papers: Sensational and popular urban newspapers that built large circulations by reporting crime and scandals. (p. 317)

pension: a fixed sum of money payed regularly to a retired person. (p. 178)

peonage: system in which someone pays off their debt through labor. (p. 445)

perestroika: The economic restructuring policy introduced by Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev during the 1980s that contributed, unintentionally, to the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union. (p. 935)

periphery: the boundary or outer edge of an area. (p. 256)

Persian Gulf War: The 1991 war between Iraq and a U.S.-led international coalition that was sparked by the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. A forty-day bombing campaign against Iraq followed by coalition troops storming into Kuwait brought a quick coalition victory. (p. 939)

personal liberty laws: Laws enacted in many northern states that guaranteed to all residents, including alleged fugitives, the right to a jury trial. (p. 377)

Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act: Legislation signed by President Clinton in 1996 that replaced Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the major welfare program dating to the New Deal era, with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, which provided grants to the states to assist the poor and which limited welfare payments to two years, with a lifetime maximum of five years. (p. 960)

Cuerpos de Paz: Programa lanzado por el presidente Kennedy en 1961 a través del cual jóvenes voluntarios estadounidenses asistieron en la educación, salud y otros proyectos en países en desarrollo alrededor del mundo. (pág. 777)

Pearl Harbor: Base naval en Pearl Harbor, Hawái, que el 7 de diciembre de 1941 fue atacada por bombarderos japoneses; más de 2,400 estadounidenses murieron en el ataque. Al día siguiente, el presidente Roosevelt pidió al Congreso que declarara la guerra contra Japón. (pág. 717)

campesinos: Término tradicional para los trabajadores agrícolas en Europa. Algunos campesinos poseían tierras mientras que otros rentaban pequeños terrenos de sus terratenientes. (pág. 19)

Ley Pendleton: Ley de 1883 que estableció una Comisión de Servicio Civil independiente para ocupar cargos federales con base en méritos. La Ley Pendleton significó un fuerte golpe para el "sistema de concesión de favores" y buscó asegurar que los cargos de gobierno fueran ocupados por empleados profesionales y educados. (pág. 589)

Constitución de Pennsylvania de 1776: Constitución que otorgó a todos los hombres contribuyentes el derecho a votar y ocupar cargos públicos y creó una legislatura de una cámara con poderes completos; no incluyó la figura de un gobernador que pudiera ejercer un veto. Otras disposiciones ordenaron un sistema de educación primaria y protegía a los ciudadanos de ser encarcelados por deudas. (pág. 185)

penny press: Periódicos urbanos sensacionalistas y populares que lograron gran circulación al informar sobre crímenes y escándalos. (pág. 317)

pensión: cantidad fija de dinero que se paga en intervalos regulares a una persona jubilada. (pág. 178)

peonaje: sistema en el cual alguien paga una deuda a través del trabajo. (pág. 445)

perestroika: Política de reestructuración económica introducida por el presidente soviético Mikhail Gorbachev durante la década de 1980 que contribuyó, sin quererlo, a la desintegración de la Unión Soviética en 1991. (pág. 935)

periferia: límite o orilla externa de un área. (pág. 256)

Guerra del Golfo Pérsico: Guerra de 1991 entre Irak y una coalición internacional comandada por Estados Unidos y que fue causada por la invasión de Irak a Kuwait. Tras una campaña de bombardeos de 40 días contra Irak, las tropas de la coalición entraron a Kuwait y lograron rápidamente la victoria para la coalición. (pág. 939)

leyes de libertad personal: Leyes promulgadas en muchos estados del norte que garantizaban a todos los residentes, incluidos los presuntos fugitivos, el derecho a un juicio ante un jurado. (pág. 377)

Ley de Responsabilidad Personal y Reconciliación de Oportunidades: Legislación firmada por el presidente Clinton en 1996 que reemplazó el programa de Asistencia a Familias con Niños Dependientes, principal programa de asistencia que remonta a la era del Nuevo Trato, con el programa Asistencia Temporal para Familias Necesitadas, que ofreció subsidios a los estados para asistir a los pobres y limitó los pagos de asistencia a dos años, con un máximo de por vida de cinco años. (pág. 960)

pestilence: a fatal, often contagious disease. (p. 380)

Philipsburg Proclamation: A 1779 proclamation that declared that any slave who deserted a rebel master would receive protection, freedom, and land from Great Britain. (p. 179)

philosophy: the study of general theories, ideas, and aspects of life. (p. 20)

Pietism: A Christian revival movement characterized by Bible study, the conversion experience, and the individual's personal relationship with God. It began as an effort to reform the German Lutheran Church in the mid-seventeenth century and became widely influential in Britain and its colonies in the eighteenth century. (p. 118)

Pilgrims: One of the first Protestant groups to come to America, seeking a separation from the Church of England. They founded Plymouth, the first permanent community in New England, in 1620. (p. 58)

pirate: a person involved with violence at sea that typically involves robbery. (p. 42)

Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey: A 1992 Supreme Court case that upheld a law requiring a twenty-four-hour waiting period prior to an abortion. Although the decision upheld certain restrictions on abortions, it affirmed the "essential holding" in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) that women had a constitutional right to control their reproduction. (p. 958)

plantation: an estate on which crops, such as cotton, are cultivated by resident labor, part. slave labor in the American south. (p. 3)

plantation system: A system of production characterized by unfree labor producing cash crops for distant markets. The plantation complex developed in sugar-producing areas of the Mediterranean world and was transferred to the Americas, where it took hold in tropical and subtropical areas, including Brazil, the West Indies, and southeastern North America. In addition to sugar, the plantation complex was adapted to produce tobacco, rice, indigo, and cotton. (p. 35)

Platt Amendment: A 1902 amendment to the Cuban constitution that blocked Cuba from making a treaty with any country except the United States and gave the United States the right to intervene in Cuban affairs. The amendment was a condition for U.S. withdrawal from the newly independent island. (p. 626)

Plessy v. Ferguson: An 1896 Supreme Court case that ruled that racially segregated railroad cars and other public facilities, if they claimed to be "separate but equal," were permissible according to the Fourteenth Amendment. (p. 539)

plural marriage: The practice of men taking multiple wives, which Mormon prophet Joseph Smith argued was biblically sanctioned and divinely ordained as a family system. (p. 315)

political machine: A highly organized group of insiders that directs a political party. As the power of notables waned in the 1820s, disciplined political parties usually run by professional politicians appeared in a number of states. (p. 276)

pestilencia: enfermedad fatal, a veces contagiosa. (pág. 380)

Proclamación de Philipsburg: Proclamación de 1779 que declaraba que cualquier esclavo que escapara de un maestro rebelde recibiría protección, libertad y tierras de Gran Bretaña. (pág. 179)

filosofía: estudio de teorías generales, ideas y aspectos de la vida. (pág. 20)

pietismo: Movimiento de renacimiento cristiano caracterizado por el estudio de la Biblia, la experiencia de la conversión y la relación personal del individuo con Dios. Comenzó como esfuerzo para reformar la Iglesia Luterana Alemana a mediados del siglo XVII y tuvo gran influencia en Bretaña y sus colonias en el siglo XVIII. (pág. 118)

peregrinos: Uno de los primeros grupos protestantes que llegaron a América buscando separarse de la Iglesia de Inglaterra. Fundaron Plymouth, la primera comunidad permanente en Nueva Inglaterra en 1620. (pág. 58)

pirata: persona involucrada con la violencia en altamar, que típicamente implica robo. (pág. 42)

Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (Planificación de la Familia del Sureste de Pennsylvania contra Casey): Caso de la Corte Suprema de 1992 que mantuvo una ley que requiere un periodo de 24 horas de espera antes de un aborto. Si bien la decisión mantuvo ciertas restricciones sobre el aborto, sostuvo la "determinación esencial" de *Roe v. Wade* (1973), que estableció que las mujeres tienen el derecho constitucional de controlar su reproducción. (pág. 958)

plantación: Una finca de cultivos, por ejemplo de algodón, cultivada por trabajadores residentes, particularmente por esclavos en el sur de los Estados Unidos. (pág. 3)

sistema de plantación: Sistema de producción caracterizado por usar esclavos, que produce cultivos comerciales para mercados lejanos. El sistema de plantación comenzó en las zonas azucareras del mundo mediterráneo y fue transferido a las Américas donde se instaló en zonas tropicales y subtropicales, inclyendo a Brasil, las Indias Occidentales y el sureste de Norteamérica. Aparte del azúcar, las plantaciones fueron adaptadas para producir arroz, tabaco, índigo y algodón. (pág. 35)

Enmienda Platt: Enmienda de 1902 a la constitución cubana que impidió a Cuba firmar tratados con ningún otro país que no fuera Estados Unidos y dio a Estados unidos el derecho a intervenir en asuntos cubanos. La enmienda fue una condición para el retiro de Estados Unidos de la isla recién independizada. (pág. 626)

Plessy v. Ferguson: Caso de la Corte Suprema en 1896 que dictaminó que la segregación racial en vagones de tren y otras instalaciones era permisible bajo la Decimocuarta Enmienda si se aseguraba que eran "separadas pero iguales". (pág. 539)

matrimonio plural: Práctica en la cual los hombres tienen varias esposas, que según el profeta mormón, Joseph Smith, estaba autorizada por la biblia y divinamente ordenado como sistema familiar. (pág. 315)

máquina política: Grupo altamente organizado de personas con información interna que dirigen a un partido. Para la década de 1820, cuando el poder de los notables empezó a disminuir, surgieron partidos políticos disciplinados en varios estados, normalmente dirigidos por políticos profesionales. (pág. 276)

polygamy: the practice of being in a marital or sexual relationship with multiple people at a time. (p. 315)

Popular Front: A small but vocal group of Americans who pushed for greater U.S. involvement in Europe. American Communist Party members, African American civil rights activists, and trade unionists, among other members of the Popular Front coalition, encouraged Roosevelt to take a stronger stand against European fascism. (p. 714)

popular sovereignty: The principle that ultimate power lies in the hands of the electorate. Also a plan, first promoted by Democratic candidate Senator Lewis Cass as "squatter sovereignty," then revised as "popular sovereignty" by fellow Democratic presidential aspirant Stephen Douglas, under which Congress would allow settlers in each territory to determine its status as free or slave. (pp. 168)

Port Huron Statement: A 1962 manifesto by Students for a Democratic Society from its first national convention in Port Huron, Michigan, expressing students' disillusionment with the nation's consumer culture and the gulf between rich and poor, as well as a rejection of Cold War foreign policy, including the war in Vietnam. (p. 855)

"positive good": In 1837, South Carolina Senator John C. Calhoun argued on the floor of the Senate that slavery was not a necessary evil, but a positive good, "indispensable to the peace and happiness" of blacks and whites alike. (p. 257)

Potsdam Conference: The July 1945 conference in which American officials convinced the Soviet Union leader Joseph Stalin to accept German reparations only from the Soviet zone, or far eastern part of Germany. The agreement paved the way for the division of Germany into East and West. (p. 752)

precept: a general rule or principle intended to control behavior or thought. (p. 533)

precinct: a city or town district established for political purposes. (p. 572)

preemptive: preventive measures being made against something, such as a preemptive war that is stared in order to avoid potential attacks. (p. 223)

prerogative: an exclusive right held by a high official, or a special freedom held by certain people. (p. 186)

Presidential Commission on the Status of Women: Commission appointed by President Kennedy in 1961, which issued a 1963 report documenting job and educational discrimination. (p. 852)

prestige: honor, esteem, or noble status. (p. 281)

privateer: a private person or ship hired by a government for use in war. (p. 42)

privation: the deprivation of human essentials, such as food and warmth. (p. 754)

poligamia: práctica de estar en una relación marital o sexual con varias personas a la vez. (pág. 315)

Frente Popular: Pequeño grupo de estadounidenses que hizo escuchar su deseo de aumentar la injerencia de los Estados Unidos en Europa. Miembros del Partido Comunista Americano, activistas de derechos civiles afroamericanos y sindicalistas, entre otros miembros de la coalición del Frente Popular, solicitaron a Roosevelt que asumiera una postura más fuerte ante el fascismo europeo. (pág. 714)

soberanía popular: Principio que establece que el poder descansa finalmente en las manos del electorado. También fue un plan, promovido en un principio por el Senador Lewis Cass, candidato demócrata, como "soberanía de los ocupantes", que luego fue revisada como "soberanía popular" por el aspirante demócrata a la presidencia, Stephen Douglas. Bajo este plan el Congreso permitiría a los pobladores determinar si su territorio sería libre o esclavista. (págs. 168)

Declaración de Port Huron: Manifiesto de los Students for a Democratic Society (Estudiantes para una Sociedad Democrática) en su primera convención nacional en Port Huron, Michigan, que expresaba la desilusión de los estudiantes con la cultura de consumo del país y la enorme brecha entre ricos y pobres, además de rechazar la política exterior de la Guerra Fría, incluyendo la Guerra de Vietnam. (pág. 855)

"bien positivo": En 1837, el senador de Carolina del Sur John C. Calhoun argumentó ante el Senado que la esclavitud no era un mal necesario, sino un bien positivo, "indispensable para la paz y la felicidad" de los negros y los blancos por igual. (pág. 257)

Conferencia de Potsdam: Conferencia llevada a cabo en 1945 en la cual oficiales americanos convencieron a Iósif Stalin, líder de la Unión Soviética, para que aceptara únicamente compensaciones por la zona de ocupación soviética, o la región más oriental de Alemania. El acuerdo pavimentó el camino para la división de Alemania en Oriental y Occidental. (pág. 752)

precepto: regla general o principio creado con la intención de controlar el pensamiento o comportamiento. (pág. 533)

precinto: ciudad o distrito establecido con fines políticos. (pág. 572)

prevención: medidas tomadas en anticipación de un evento, por ejemplo una guerra preventiva que se inicia para prevenir ataques potenciales. (pág. 223)

prerrogativa: derecho exclusivo de un alto oficial o libertad especial que mantienen ciertas personas. (pág. 186)

Comisión Presidencial para el Estatus de las Mujeres: Comisión designada por el presidente Kennedy en 1961 que expidió un reporte en 1963 documentando la discriminación laboral y educativa. (pág. 852)

prestigio: honor, estima o estatus de nobleza. (pág. 281)

corsario: persona privada o embarcación contratada por un gobierno para la guerra. (pág. 42)

privación: falta de bienes esenciales humanos, como alimento y calor. (pág. 754)

Proclamation of Neutrality: A proclamation issued by President George Washington in 1793, allowing U.S. citizens to trade with all belligerents in the war between France and Great Britain. (p. 208)

producerism: The argument that real economic wealth is created by workers who make their living by physical labor, such as farmers and craftsmen, and that merchants, lawyers, bankers, and other middlemen unfairly gain their wealth from such "producers." (p. 519)

profit: a monetary gain made after the sale of something for a higher price than what the seller originally paid. (p. 3)

progressivism: A loose term for the cause of political reformers — especially those from the elite and middle classes — who worked to improve the political system, fight poverty, conserve environmental resources, and increase government involvement in the economy. Giving their name to the "Progressive Era," such reformers were often prompted to act by fear that mass, radical protests by workers and farmers would spread, as well as by their desire to enhance social welfare and social justice. (p. 575)

proliferate: to spread greatly and quickly multiply. (p. 453)

prominent: important; very noticeable. (p. 40)

proponent: argument in favor of something. (p. 692)

Proposition 13: A measure passed overwhelmingly by Californians to roll back property taxes, cap future increases for present owners, and require that all tax measures have a two-thirds majority in the legislature. Proposition 13 inspired "tax revolts" across the country and helped conservatives define an enduring issue: low taxes. (p. 888)

Proposition 209: A proposition approved by California voters in 1996 that outlawed affirmative action in state employment and public education. (p. 956)

proprietorship: A colony created through a grant of land from the English monarch to an individual or group, who then set up a form of government largely independent from royal control. (p. 77)

proselytize: to recruit someone to convert from one faith to another. (p. 622)

protective tariff: A tax or duty on foreign producers of goods coming into or imported into the United States; tariffs gave U.S. manufacturers a competitive advantage in America's gigantic domestic market. (p. 464)

Protestant Reformation: The reform movement that began in 1517 with Martin Luther's critiques of the Roman Catholic Church and that precipitated an enduring schism that divided Protestants from Catholics. (p. 23)

Public Works Administration: A New Deal construction program established by Congress in 1933. Designed to put people back to work, the PWA built the Boulder Dam (renamed Hoover Dam)

Proclamación de neutralidad: Proclamación emitida por el presidente George Washington en 1793 que permitió a los ciudadanos de Estados Unidos comerciar con todos los beligerantes durante la guerra entre Francia y Gran Bretaña. (pág. 208)

productorismo: Argumento que establece que la verdadera riqueza económica es creada por trabajadores que se ganan la vida mediante el trabajo físico, como lo hacen los granjeros y artesanos mientras que los comerciantes, abogados, banqueros y demás intermediarios logran su riqueza injustamente a costa de aquellos "productores". (pág. 519)

ganancia: ganancia monetaria conseguida tras la venta de algo por un precio más alto que aquel que el vendedor pagó originalmente. (pág. 3)

progresismo: Término general para describir la causa que buscaban los reformistas políticos—particularmente de élite y de las clases medias—que trabajaron para mejorar el sistema político, combatir la pobreza, conservar recursos ambientales y aumentar la participación del gobierno en la economía. Los reformistas, que le dieron su nombre a la "Era Progresista", actuaban por miedo a que las protestas radicales de trabajadores y agricultores se extendieran, además del deseo de mejorar el bienestar social y la justicia social. (pág. 575)

proliferar: esparcirse en gran medida y multiplicarse rápidamente. (pág. 453)

prominente: importante; muy notable. (pág. 40)

defensor: argumento a favor de algo. (pág. 692)

Proposición 13: Medida aprobada por una mayoría aplastante de californianos para reducir impuestos sobre la propiedad, limitar los aumentos futuros para propietarios actuales y requerir que toda medida fiscal sea aprobada por mayoría de dos terceras partes en la legislatura. La Proposición 13 inspiró "revueltas contra los impuestos" en todo el país y ayudó a los conservadores a definir un tema duradero: los bajos impuestos. (pág. 888)

Proposición 209: Proposición aprobada por votantes californianos en 1996 que proscribió la acción afirmativa en el empleo estatal y la educación pública. (pág. 956)

propiedad: Colonia creada a través de tierras concedidas por un monarca inglés a una persona o grupo, que entonces crea un gobierno independiente, a grandes rasgos, del control real. (pág. 77)

proselitismo: reclutar a alguien para convertirlo de una fe a otra. (pág. 622)

tarifa protectora: Impuesto a productores extranjeros de bienes que entran o son importados a los Estados Unidos; los aranceles le dieron una ventaja competitiva a los fabricantes estadounidenses dentro del enorme mercado doméstico del país. (pág. 464)

Reforma Protestante: Movimiento de reforma que comenzó en 1517 con las críticas de Martín Lutero a la Iglesia Católica Romana y que precipitó un cisma duradero que dividió a los protestantes de los católicos. (pág. 23)

Administración de Obras Públicas (PWA): Programa de construcción de la época del Nuevo Trato establecido por el Congreso en 1933. Diseñada para devolver a las personas al empleo,

and Grand Coulee Dam, among other large public works projects. (p. 687)

Pueblo Revolt: Also known as Popé's Rebellion, the revolt in 1680 was an uprising of 46 Native American pueblos against Spanish rule. Spaniards were driven out of New Mexico. When they returned in the 1690s, they granted more autonomy to the pueblos they claimed to rule. (p. 66)

Pure Food and Drug Act: A 1906 law regulating the conditions in the food and drug industries to ensure a safe supply of food and medicine. (p. 580)

Puritans: Dissenters from the Church of England who wanted a genuine Reformation rather than the partial Reformation sought by Henry VIII. The Puritans' religious principles emphasized the importance of an individual's relationship with God developed through Bible study, prayer, and introspection. (p. 59)

Quakers: Epithet for members of the Society of Friends. Their belief that God spoke directly to each individual through an "inner light" and that neither ministers nor the Bible was essential to discovering God's Word put them in conflict with both the Church of England and orthodox Puritans. (p. 78)

Quartering Act of 1765: A British law passed by Parliament at the request of General Thomas Gage, the British military commander in America, that required colonial governments to provide barracks and food for British troops. (p. 147)

race riot: A term for an attack on African Americans by white mobs, triggered by political conflicts, street altercations, or rumors of crime. In some cases, such "riots" were not spontaneous but planned in advance by a group of leaders seeking to enforce white supremacy. (p. 565)

Radical Republicans: The members of the Republican Party who were bitterly opposed to slavery and to southern slave owners since the mid-1850s. With the Confiscation Act in 1861, Radical Republicans began to use wartime legislation to destroy slavery. (p. 406)

"rain follows the plow": An unfounded theory that settlement and farming of the Great Plains caused an increase in rainfall. (p. 472)

rancor: bitterness; resent. (p. 770)

Reagan coalition: A coalition supporting Ronald Reagan that included the traditional core of Republican Party voters, middle-class suburbanites and migrants to the Sunbelt states, blue-collar Catholics, and a large contingent of southern whites, an electorally key group of former Democrats that had been gradually moving toward the Republican Party since 1964. (p. 922)

Reagan Democrats: Blue-collar Catholics from industrialized midwestern states such as Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois who were

la PWA sirvió para construir la Presa de Boulder (cuyo nombre cambió después a Presa de Hoover) y la Presa Grand Coulee y otras grandes obras. (pág. 687)

Rebelión de los Indios: También conocida como la Rebelión de Popé, la revuelta de 1680 fue un levantamiento de 46 pueblos nativos americanos contra el dominio español. Los españoles fueron expulsados de Nuevo México. Cuando regresaron en la década de 1690, concedieron mayor autonomía a los pueblos a quienes afirmaban gobernar. (pág. 66)

Ley de Pureza de Alimentos y Medicamentos: Ley de 1906 que reguló las condiciones en las industrias de alimentos y medicamentos para asegurar un abastecimiento seguro de alimentos y medicinas. (pág. 580)

puritanos: Disidentes de la Iglesia de Inglaterra que deseaban una reforma genuina en lugar de la reforma parcial buscada por Enrique VIII. Los principios religiosos de los puritanos resaltaban la importancia de la relación del individuo con Dios, que se desarrolla a través del estudio de la Biblia, la oración y la introspección. (pág. 59)

cuáqueros: Epíteto para miembros de la Sociedad de Amigos. Por creer que Dios le hablaba directamente a cada individuo a través de una "luz interna" y que ni los ministros ni la Biblia eran esenciales para descubrir la Palabra de Dios, entraron en conflicto con la Iglesia de Inglaterra y los puritanos ortodoxos. (pág. 78)

Ley del Alojamiento de 1765: Ley británica aprobada por el Parlamento por solicitud del general Thomas Gage, comandante militar británico en América, que requería que los gobiernos proveyeran cuarteles y alimento para las tropas británicas. (pág. 147)

disturbios raciales: Término para describir un ataque perpetrado por grupos blancos contra afroamericanos, provocado por conflictos políticos, altercados callejeros o rumores de crímenes. En algunos casos, tales "disturbios" no fueron espontáneos sino planeados por adelantado por grupos de líderes que buscaban imponer la supremacía blanca. (pág. 565)

republicanos radicales: Miembros del Partido Republicano que se opusieron amargamente a la esclavitud y a los dueños de esclavos desde mediados de la década de 1850. Con la Ley de Confiscación en 1861, los republicanos radicales empezaron a usar la legislación de tiempos de guerra para destruir la esclavitud. (pág. 406)

"la lluvia sigue al arado": Teoría sin fundamento que decía que los asentamientos y el cultivo de las Grandes Planicies causarían un aumento en las lluvias. (pág. 472)

rencor: amargura; resentimiento. (pág. 770)

Coalición Reagan: Coalición en favor de Ronald Reagan que incluyó al núcleo tradicional de votantes del Partido Republicano, personas de clase media de los suburbios y migrantes habitantes de los estados del Sur y Suroeste, obreros católicos y un gran contingente de blancos sureños, grupo clave, en términos electorales, de antiguos demócratas que transitó gradualmente hacia el Partido Republicano a partir de 1964. (pág. 922)

Demócratas por Reagan: Obreros católicos de los estados industrializados del Medio Oeste como Michigan, Ohio e Illinois, que

dissatisfied with the direction of liberalism in the 1970s and left the Democratic Party for the Republicans. (p. 922)

realism: A movement that called for writers and artists to picture daily life as precisely and truly as possible. (p. 535)

rebate: a refund. (p. 500)

reconnaissance: a military survey of enemy territory to gain information. (p. 776)

reconstitute: to change into a different form. (p. 600)

Reconstruction Act of 1867: An act that divided the conquered South into five military districts, each under the command of a U.S. general. To reenter the Union, former Confederate states had to grant the vote to freedmen and deny it to leading ex-Confederates. (p. 437)

Red Scare: A term for anticommunist hysteria that swept the United States, first after World War I, and led to a series of government raids on alleged subversives and a suppression of civil liberties. (p. 653)

Red Summer: The summer and fall of 1919, in which antiblack riots by white Americans in more than two dozen cities led to hundreds of deaths. So named because of the bloody clashes. The worst occurred in Chicago, in which 38 people were killed (23 blacks, 15 whites), 537 injured, and 1,000 black families made homeless. (p. 654)

redemptioner: A common type of indentured servant in the Middle colonies in the eighteenth century. Unlike other indentured servants, redemptioners did not sign a contract before leaving Europe. Instead, they found employers after arriving in America. (p. 116)

referendum: voting on a proposed law carried out directly by the population, rather than leaving it in the hands of legislators. (p. 392)

reforestation: the natural or intentional renewal of forests and woodlands that have been depleted. (p. 687)

Regulators: Landowning protestors who organized in North and South Carolina in the 1760s and 1770s to demand that the eastern-controlled government provide western districts with more courts, fairer taxation, and greater representation in the assembly. (p. 133)

Religious Right: Politically active religious conservatives, especially Catholics and evangelical Christians, who became particularly vocal in the 1980s against feminism, abortion, and homosexuality and who promoted "family values." (p. 916)

repercussion: an outcome, especially an unwelcome one. (p. 710)

Report on Manufactures: A proposal by treasury secretary Alexander Hamilton in 1791 calling for the federal government to urge the expansion of American manufacturing while imposing tariffs on foreign imports. (p. 207)

se encontraban insatisfechos con la dirección del liberalismo en la década de 1970 y que dejaron al Partido Demócrata por los republicanos. (pág. 922)

realismo: Movimiento que llamaba a artistas y escritores a relatar la vida diaria de la manera más precisa y fidedigna posible. (pág. 535)

descuento: un reembolso. (pág. 500)

reconocimiento: inspección militar del territorio enemigo para obtener información. (pág. 776)

reconstituir: cambiar algo para darle una forma diferente. (pág. 600)

Ley de Reconstrucción de 1867: Ley que dividió al Sur conquistado en cinco distritos militares, cada uno bajo el mando de un general de los Estados Unidos. Para reingresar a la Unión, los antiguos estados Confederados debían otorgar el derecho de voto a los libertos y negárselo a los dirigentes ex confederados. (pág. 437)

Temor Rojo: Término para describir la histeria anticomunista que cimbró a los Estados Unidos al concluir la Primera Guerra Mundial, y que condujo a una serie de redadas gubernamentales a supuestas personas subversivas y a la supresión de libertades civiles. (pág. 653)

Verano Rojo: El verano y otoño de 1919, en los cuales los disturbios anti-negros perpetrados por americanos blancos en más de dos docenas de ciudades ocasionaron cientos de muertes. Obtuvo su nombre por los choques sangrientos. El peor sucedió en Chicago, donde murieron 38 personas (23 negros, 15 blancos), 537 personas fueron heridas y más de mil familias negras se quedaron sin hogar. (pág. 654)

redemptioner: Tipo común de sirviente aprendiz en las colonias medias del siglo XVIII. A diferencia de otros sirvientes como ellos, los redemptioners no firmaban un contrato antes de dejar Europa. En cambio, encontraban patrones al llegar a América. (pág. 116)

referendo: voto sobre una propuesta de ley llevado a cabo directamente por la población en lugar de dejarlo en manos de los legisladores. (pág. 392)

reforestación: renovación natural o intencional de los bosques y zonas arboladas que han sido reducidas. (pág. 687)

reguladores: Manifestantes terratenientes que, en las décadas de 1760 y 1770 en Carolina del Norte y del Sur, se organizaron para exigir que el gobierno controlado por el este proveyera más tribunales, impuestos más justos y mayor representación en la asamblea a los distritos del oeste. (pág. 133)

Derecha Religiosa: Conservadores religiosos políticamente activos, especialmente católicos y cristianos evangélicos, que en la década de 1980 fueron particularmente activos en su postura contra el feminismo, el aborto, los homosexuales y que promovían los "valores de la familia". (pág. 916)

repercusión: resultado especialmente desfavorable. (pág. 710)

Informe sobre manufacturas: Propuesta del secretario de la tesorería, Alexander Hamilton, en 1791 pidiendo al gobierno federal la expansión de la manufactura estadounidense y al mismo tiempo la imposición de aranceles sobre exportaciones extranjeras. (pág. 207)

Report on the Public Credit: Alexander Hamilton's 1790 report recommending that the federal government should assume all state debts and fund the national debt — that is, offer interest on it rather than repaying it — at full value. Hamilton's goal was to make the new country creditworthy, not debt-free. (p. 205)

repository: a storage place. (p. 82)

republic: A state without a monarch or prince that is governed by representatives of the people. (p. 20)

republican aristocracy: The Old South gentry that built impressive mansions, adopted the manners and values of the English landed gentry, and feared federal government interference with their slave property. (p. 335)

republican motherhood: The idea that the primary political role of American women was to instill a sense of patriotic duty and republican virtue in their children and mold them into exemplary republican citizens. (p. 278)

repudiate: to refuse acceptance or reject authority. (p. 59)

retinue: a group of assistants and/or advisers. (p. 25)

Revenue Act: A 1942 act that expanded the number of people paying income taxes from 3.9 million to 42.6 million. These taxes on personal incomes and business profits paid half the cost of World War II. (p. 717)

revile: to criticize abusively or insultingly. (p. 853)

revival: A renewal of religious enthusiasm in a Christian congregation. In the eighteenth century, revivals were often inspired by evangelical preachers who urged their listeners to experience a rebirth. (p. 121)

rights liberalism: The conviction that individuals require government protection from discrimination. This version of liberalism was promoted by the civil rights and women's movements and focused on identities — such as race or gender — rather than the general social welfare of New Deal liberalism. (p. 810)

Rocky Mountains: A high mountain range that spans some 3,000 miles, the Rocky Mountains are bordered by the Great Plains on the east and the Great Basin on the west. Native peoples fished, gathered roots and berries, and hunted elk, deer, and bighorn sheep there. Silver mining boomed in the Rockies in the nineteenth century. (p. 15)

Roe v. Wade: The 1973 Supreme Court ruling that the Constitution protects the right to abortion, which states cannot prohibit in the early stages of pregnancy. The decision galvanized social conservatives and made abortion a controversial policy issue for decades to come. (p. 897)

romanticism: A European philosophy that rejected the ordered rationality of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, embracing human passion, spiritual quest, and self-knowledge. Romanticism strongly influenced American transcendentalism. (p. 309)

Rome-Berlin Axis: A political and military alliance formed in 1936 between German dictator Adolf Hitler and the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. (p. 713)

Informe sobre el crédito público: Reporte de Alexander Hamilton en 1790 que recomendó que el gobierno federal debe asumir todas las deudas estatales y financiar la deuda nacional–es decir, que ofrezcan interés sobre la deuda en lugar de pagarla–en su valor total El objetivo de Hamilton fue lograr que el país fuera solvente, no que estuviera libre de deudas. (pág. 205)

repositorio: sitio para almacenar. (pág. 82)

república: Estado sin monarca o príncipe gobernado por representantes del pueblo. (pág. 20)

aristocracia republicana: La pequeña nobleza del Viejo Sur que construyó mansiones impresionantes, adoptó las maneras y valores de la nobleza inglesa y temía que el gobierno interfiriera con su propiedad de esclavos. (pág. 335)

maternidad republicana: La idea de que el papel principal de las mujeres americanas era instaurar un sentido de deber patriótico y de virtud republicana en sus hijos para forjar ciudadanos republicanos ejemplares. (pág. 278)

repudiar: negarse a aceptar o rechazar a la autoridad. (pág. 59)

comitiva: grupo de asistentes y/o consejeros. (pág. 25)

Ley de Ingresos: Ley de 1942 que aumentó el número de personas que pagaban impuestos sobre la renta de de 3.9 millones a 42.6 millones. Estos impuestos sobre ingresos personales y de ganancias de negocios pagaron la mitad del costo de la Segunda Guerra Mundial. (pág. 717)

injuriar: criticar de manera abusiva o con intención de insultar. (pág. 853)

renacimiento: Renovación del entusiasmo religioso en una congreagación cristiana. En el siglo XVIII, los renacimientos fueron inspirados normalmente por predicadores evangélicos que exhortaban a sus seguidores a vivir un renacer. (pág. 121)

liberalismo de derechos: La convicción de que los individuos requieren protección gubernamental contra la discriminación. Esta versión del liberalismo fue promovida por los movimientos de derechos civiles de las mujeres y se enfocaba en la identidad —de raza o de género —más que en el bienestar social general del liberalismo del Nuevo Trato. (pág. 810)

Rocallosas: Cadena montañosa elevada que se extiende sobre aproximadamente 3000 millas. Las Rocallosas están bordeadas por las Grandes Llanuras al este y la Gran Cuenca al oeste. Ahí, los pueblos nativos pescaban, recolectaban raíces comestibles y moras, y cazaban alces, venado y borregos cimarrones. La minería de plata tuvo un auge en las Rocalloseas a mediados del siglo XIX. (pág. 15)

Roe v. Wade: Decisión de la Corte Suprema en 1973 que protege el derecho a abortar, que los estados no pueden prohibir en las etapas iniciales del embarazo. La decisión impulsó a los conservadores sociales y convirtió al aborto en un tema político controvertido en las décadas siguientes. (pág. 897)

romanticismo: Filosofía europea que rechazaba la racionalidad ordenada de la Ilustración del siglo XVIII para adoptar la pasión humana, la búsqueda espiritual y el auto-conocimiento. El romanticismo influyó en gran medida sobre el trascendentalismo americano. (pág. 309)

Eje Roma-Berlín: Alianza política y militar formada en 1936 entre el dictador alemán Adolf Hitler y el dictador italiano Benito Mussolini. (pág. 713)

Roosevelt Corollary: The 1904 assertion by President Theodore Roosevelt that the United States would act as a "policeman" in the Caribbean region and intervene in the affairs of nations that were guilty of "wrongdoing or impotence" in order to protect U.S. interests in Latin America. (p. 631)

Roosevelt recession: A recession from 1937 to 1938 that occurred after President Roosevelt cut the federal budget. (p. 693)

Root-Takahira Agreement: A 1908 agreement between the United States and Japan confirming principles of free oceanic commerce and recognizing Japan's authority over Manchuria. (p. 630)

royal colony: In the English system, a royal colony was chartered by the crown. The colony's governor was appointed by the crown and served according to the instructions of the Board of Trade. (p. 46)

Rural Electrification Administration: An agency established in 1935 to promote nonprofit farm cooperatives that offered loans to farmers to install power lines. (p. 705)

Rust Belt: The once heavily industrialized regions of the Northeast and Midwest that went into decline after deindustrialization. By the 1970s and 1980s, these regions were full of abandoned plants and distressed communities. (p. 886)

saccharine: overly sweet. (p. 790)

sadistic: deriving gratification through the suffering or humilation of another person. (p. 347)

salutary neglect: A term used to describe British colonial policy during the reigns of George I (r. 1714–1727) and George II (r. 1727–1760). By relaxing their supervision of internal colonial affairs, royal bureaucrats inadvertently assisted the rise of self-government in North America. (p. 102)

Sand Creek massacre: The November 29, 1864, massacre of more than a hundred peaceful Cheyennes, largely women and children, by John M. Chivington's Colorado militia. (p. 480)

Sandinistas: The democratically elected group in Nicaragua that President Reagan accused of threatening U.S. business interests. Reagan attempted to overthrow them by ordering the CIA to assist an armed opposition group called the Contras. (p. 931)

scientific management: A system of organizing work developed by Frederick W. Taylor in the late nineteenth century. It was designed to coax maximum output from the individual worker, increase efficiency, and reduce production costs. (p. 505)

Scopes trial: The 1925 trial of John Scopes, a biology teacher in Dayton, Tennessee, for violating his state's ban on teaching evolution. The trial created a nationwide media frenzy and came to be seen as a showdown between urban and rural values. (p. 666)

Corolario Roosevelt: Declaración del presidente Theodore Roosevelt en 1904, afirmando que Estados Unidos actuaría como "policía" en la región del Caribe e intervendría en los asuntos de naciones que fueran culpables de "obrar mal o de impotencia" y así proteger los intereses de los Estados Unidos en América Latina. (pág. 631)

Recesión de Roosevelt: Recesión ocurrida de 1937 a 1938 tras los recortes del presidente Roosevelt al presupuesto federal. (pág. 693)

Acuerdo Root-Takahira: Acuerdo firmado en 1908 entre los Estados Unidos y Japón confirmando los principios de comercio marítimo libre y en reconocimiento de la autoridad japonesa sobre Manchuria. (pág. 630)

colonia real: En el sistema inglés, la corona decretaba las colonias reales. La corona designaba al gobernador de la colonia y éste servía de acuerdo a las instrucciones de la Junta de Comercio. (pág. 46)

Administración de la Electrificación Rural: Agencia establecida en 1935 para promover cooperativas rurales sin fines de lucro que ofrecieron préstamos a granjeros para que instalaran cables de suministro eléctrico. (pág. 705)

Rust Belt (región): Las regiones que anteriormente estuvieron altamente industrializadas en el Noreste y Medio Oeste y que empezaron a declinar con la desindustrialización. Para las décadas de 1970 y 1980, en estas regiones abundaban las plantas abandonadas y las comunidades afligidas. (pág. 886)

sacarina: excesivamente dulce. (pág. 790)

sádico: obtener gratificación a través del sufrimiento o humillación de otra persona. (pág. 347)

negligencia saludable: Término usado para describir al proyecto colonial británico durante el reinado de George I (r. 1714–1727) y George II (r. 1727–1760). Al relajar la supervisión de los asuntos internos coloniales, los burócratas reales inadvertidamente asistieron al surgimiento del auto-gobierno en América del Norte. (pág. 102)

Masacre de Sand Creek: En la masacre ocurrida el 29 de noviembre de 1964, murieron más de cien indígenas cheyenne pacíficos, en su mayoría mujeres y niños, a manos de la milicia de John M. Chivington en Colorado. (pág. 480)

Sandinistas: Grupo elegido democráticamente en Nicaragua que el presidente Reagan acusó de amenazar intereses comerciales de los Estados Unidos. Reagan trató de derrocarlos ordenando a la CIA que asistiera al grupo de oposición armada conocido como los Contras. (pág. 931)

administración científica: Sistema de organización del trabajo desarrollado por Frederick W. Taylor a finales del siglo XIX. Fue diseñado para obtener la producción máxima de cada trabajador individual, aumentar la eficiencia y reducir los costos de producción. (pág. 505)

Juicio de Scopes: El juicio en 1925 del maestro de biología, John Scopes, en Dayton, Tennessee, por violar la prohibición estatal de la enseñanza de la evolución. El juicio causó un frenesí mediático a nivel nacional y llegó a ser percibido como un enfrentamiento entre valores urbanos y rurales. (pág. 666)

Second Bank of the United States: National bank with multiple branches chartered in 1816 for twenty years. Intended to help regulate the economy, the bank became a major issue in Andrew Jackson's reelection campaign in 1832. (p. 286)

Second Continental Congress: Legislative body that governed the United States from May 1775 through the war's duration. It established an army, created its own money, and declared independence once all hope for a peaceful reconciliation with Britain was gone. (p. 165)

Second Great Awakening: A series of evangelical Protestant revivals extending from the 1790s to the 1830s that prompted thousands of conversions and widespread optimism about Americans' capacity for progress and reform. (p. 304)

Second Hundred Years' War: An era of warfare beginning with the War of the League of Augsburg in 1689 and lasting until the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. In that time, England fought in seven major wars; the longest era of peace lasted only twenty-six years. (p. 82)

secret ballot: Form of voting that allows the voter to enter a choice in privacy without having to submit a recognizable ballot or to voice the choice out loud to others. (p. 339)

Securities and Exchange Commission: A commission established by Congress in 1934 to regulate the stock market. The commission had broad powers to determine how stocks and bonds were sold to the public, to set rules for margin (credit) transactions, and to prevent stock sales by those with inside information about corporate plans. (p. 689)

sedentary: leisurely or inactive lifestyle. (p. 18)

Sedition Act of 1918: Wartime law that prohibited any words or behavior that might promote resistance to the United States or help in the cause of its enemies. (p. 639)

self-made man: A nineteenth-century ideal that celebrated men who rose to wealth or social prominence from humble origins through self-discipline, hard work, and temperate habits. (p. 269)

semisedentary societies: Societies whose members combine slash-and-burn agriculture with hunting and fishing. Semisedentary societies often occupy large village sites near their fields in the summer, then disperse during the winter months into smaller hunting, fishing, and gathering camps, regathering again in spring to plant their crops. (p. 8)

Seneca Falls Convention: The first women's rights convention in the United States. Held in Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, it resulted in a manifesto extending to women the egalitarian republican ideology of the Declaration of Independence. (p. 328)

service industries: Term that includes food, beverage, and tourist industries, financial and medical service industries, and computer technology industries, which were the leading sectors of U.S. growth in the second half of the 1980s. This pattern

Segundo Banco de los Estados Unidos: Banco nacional con múltiples sucursales constituido en 1816 por 20 años. Creado con la intención de ayudar a regular la economía, el banco se convirtió en uno de los puntos principales de la campaña de reelección de Andrew Jackson en 1832. (pág. 286)

Segundo Congreso Continental: Órgano legislativo que gobernó a los Estados Unidos desde mayo de 1775 hasta que terminó la guerra. Estableció un ejército, creó su propio dinero y declaró la independencia cuando toda esperanza de una reconciliación pacífica con Bretaña había desaparecido. (pág. 165)

Segundo Gran Despertar: Serie de renacimientos evangélicos protestantes que duraron desde la década de 1790 hasta la década de 1830 y que fue causa de miles de conversiones y de un optimismo generalizado sobre la capacidad de los estadounidenses para el progreso y la reforma. (pág. 304)

Segunda Guerra de los Cien Años: Era de conflictos bélicos que comenzó con la guerra de la Liga de Augsburgo en 1689 y que duró hasta la derrota de Napoleón en Waterloo en 1815. Durante ese tiempo, Inglaterra estuvo en siete grandes guerras; el periodo de paz más largo duró a penas 26 años. (pág. 82)

voto secreto: Forma de voto que permite al votante marcar su elección sin tener que entregar una boleta reconocible ni revelar en voz alta su decisión a los demás. (pág. 339)

Comisión de Bolsa y Valores: Comisión establecida por el Congreso en 1934 para regular la bolsa de valores. La comisión contaba con amplios poderes para determinar cómo se venderían las acciones y los bonos al público, para establecer las reglas de operaciones marginales (de crédito) y para prevenir la venta de acciones por aquellos con información interna sobre planes corporativos. (pág. 689)

sedentario: estilo de vida relajado o inactivo. (pág. 18)

Ley de Sedición de 1918: Ley de tiempos de guerra que prohibió cualquier expresión o comportamiento que pudiera promover la resistencia contra los Estados Unidos o servir a la causa de sus enemigos. (pág. 639)

hombre que prosperó: Ideal del siglo XIX que celebraba a los hombres que habían alcanzado la riqueza o la prominencia social desde orígenes humildes gracias a la disciplina, el esfuerzo y los hábitos moderados. (pág. 269)

sociedades semisedentarias: Sociedades cuyos miembros combinan la agricultura despiadada con la pesca y la cacería. Las sociedades semisedentarias suelen ocupar grandes villas cerca de sus cultivos en el verano para dispersarse durante el invierno en campamentos de cacería, pesca y recolección, y juntarse de nuevo en primavera para sembrar sus cultivos. (pág. 8)

Convención de Seneca Falls: Primera convención de derechos de la mujer en Estados Unidos. Celebrada en 1848 en Seneca Falls, Nueva York, dio como resultado un manifiesto que extendió la ideología igualitaria republicana de la Declaración de Independencia para incluir a las mujeres. (pág. 328)

Industrias de servicio: Término que incluye las industrias de alimentos, bebidas y turismo, así como la industria financiera y de servicios médicos y las industrias de tecnología informática, que fueron los sectores líderes del crecimiento de los Estados Unidos en la segunda mitad de la década de 1980. Este patrón

represented a shift from reliance on the heavy industries of steel, autos, and chemicals. (p. 928)

Servicemen's Readjustment Act: Popularly known as the GI Bill, 1944 legislation authorizing the government to provide World War II veterans with funds for education, housing, and health care, as well as loans to start businesses and buy homes. (p. 725)

shantytown: area around a city that is settled by the poor, characterized by small, rickety buildings. (p. 682)

sharecropping: The labor system by which landowners and impoverished southern farmworkers, particularly African Americans, divided the proceeds from crops harvested on the landowner's property. With local merchants providing supplies—in exchange for a lien on the crop—sharecropping pushed farmers into cash-crop production and often trapped them in long-term debt. (p. 444)

Sharon Statement: Drafted by founding members of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), this manifesto outlined the group's principles and inspired young conservatives who would play important roles in the Reagan administration in the 1980s. (p. 860)

Shays's Rebellion: A 1786–1787 uprising led by dissident farmers in western Massachusetts, many of them Revolutionary War veterans, protesting the taxation policies of the eastern elites who controlled the state's government. (p. 191)

Shelley v. Kraemer: A 1948 Supreme Court decision that outlawed restrictive covenants on the occupancy of housing developments by African Americans, Asian Americans, and other minorities. Because the Court decision did not actually prohibit racial discrimination in housing, unfair practices against minority groups continued until passage of the Fair Housing Act in 1968. (p. 799)

Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act: The first federally funded health-care legislation that provided federal funds for medical clinics, prenatal education programs, and visiting nurses. (p. 661)

Sherman Antitrust Act: Landmark 1890 act that forbade anticompetitive business activities, requiring the federal government to investigate trusts and any companies operating in violation of the act. (p. 593)

Sierra Club: An organization founded in 1892 that was dedicated to the enjoyment and preservation of America's great mountains (including the Sierra Nevadas) and wilderness environments. Encouraged by such groups, national and state governments began to set aside more public lands for preservation and recreation. (p. 544)

silent majority: Term derived from the title of a book by Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard Scammon (called *The Real Majority*) and used by Nixon in a 1969 speech to describe those who supported his positions but did not publicly assert their voices, in contrast to those involved in the antiwar, civil rights, and women's movements. (p. 869)

representó un cambio en la dependencia de las industrias pesadas del acero, automóviles y químicos. (pág. 928)

Ley de Reajuste del Personal de las Fuerzas Armadas: Conocida popularmente como el GI Bill, esta legislación de 1944 autorizó al gobierno para ofrecer fondos para educación, vivienda y salud a los veteranos de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, así como préstamos para comprar casas y emprender negocios. (pág. 725)

asentamiento irregular: zona aledaña a una ciudad que ha sido asentada por pobres, caracterizada por construcciones pequeñas e inestables. (pág. 682)

aparcería: Sistema laboral en el cual los propietarios de la tierra y los trabajadores agrícolas del Sur, particularmente los afroamericanos, se dividieron los ingresos de los cultivos cosechados en la propiedad. A su vez, los comerciantes locales ofrecían insumos—a cambio de un gravamen sobre el cultivo—de tal manera que los granjeros tuvieron que producir cultivos comerciales que con frecuencia los endeudaba en el largo plazo. (pág. 444)

Declaración de Sharon: Redactada por integrantes de Young Americans for Freedom (Jóvenes Americanos por la Libertad, YAF), este manifiesto delineó los principios de este grupo e inspiró a jóvenes conservadores que tuvieron un papel importante en la administración de Reagan en la década de 1980. (pág. 860)

Rebelión de Shays: Levantamiento ocurrido en 1786-1787 encabezado por agricultores disidentes en el oeste de Massachussets, muchos de los cuales eran veteranos de la Guerra de Revolución que protestaban las políticas de impuestos de las élites del este que controlaban al gobierno del estado. (pág. 191)

Shelley v. Kraemer: Decisión de la Corte Suprema en 1948 que proscribió los pactos restrictivos sobre la ocupación de desarrollos de vivienda por afroamericanos, asiáticos americanos y otras minorías. Debido a que la decisión de la Corte no prohibió en sí la discriminación racial en la vivienda, las prácticas injustas contra las minorías continuaron hasta que se aprobó la Ley de Vivienda Justa en 1968. (pág. 799)

Ley Federal Sheppard Towner de Protección de la Maternidad y la Infancia: Primera legislación de cuidados de salud de financiamiento federal que ofreció fondos federales a clínicas médicas, programas de educación prenatales y enfermeras que realizaban visitas a hogares. (pág. 661)

Ley Sherman Antimonopolio: Ley histórica de 1890 que prohibió las actividades de negocios anti-competitivas y requirió que el gobierno federal investigara los trusts y cualquier compañía que actuara contra esta ley. (pág. 593)

Sierra Club: Organización fundada en 1892 dedicada a la preservación y goce de las grandes montañas (incluyendo la Sierra Nevada) y los entornos naturales. Gracias a la inspiración de estos grupos, los gobiernos nacionales y estatales empezaron a apartar más tierras públicas para la preservación y la recreación. (pág. 544)

mayoría silenciosa: Término derivado del título de un libro escrito por Ben J. Wattenberg y Richard Scammon (llamado *The Real Majority*) retomado por Nixon en un discurso de 1969 para describir a aquellos que apoyaron sus posturas pero no lo pronunciaron públicamente, en contraste con aquellos involucrados en los movimientos antiguerra, de derechos civiles y de mujeres. (pág. 869)

Silent Spring: Book published in 1962 by biologist Rachel Carson. Its analysis of the pesticide DDT's toxic impact on the human and natural food chains galvanized environmental activists. (p. 881)

Slaughter-House Cases: A group of decisions begun in 1873 in which the Court began to undercut the power of the Fourteenth Amendment to protect African American rights. (p. 456)

"slave power" conspiracy: The political argument, made by abolitionists, free soilers, and Republicans in the pre–Civil War years, that southern slaveholders were using their unfair representative advantage under the three-fifths compromise of the Constitution, as well as their clout within the Democratic Party, to demand extreme federal proslavery policies (such as annexation of Cuba) that the majority of American voters would not support. (p. 369)

slave society: A society in which the institution of slavery affects all aspects of life. (p. 335)

smallpox: a highly contagious and deadly disease that was eradicated throughout the world by a vaccine. (p. 3)

Smoot-Hawley Tariff: A high tariff enacted in 1930 during the Great Depression. By taxing imported goods, Congress hoped to stimulate American manufacturing, but the tariff triggered retaliatory tariffs in other countries, which further hindered global trade and led to greater economic contraction. (p. 681)

Social Darwinism: An idea, actually formulated not by Charles Darwin but by British philosopher and sociologist Herbert Spencer, that human society advanced through ruthless competition and the "survival of the fittest." (p. 529)

Social Gospel: A movement to renew religious faith through dedication to public welfare and social justice, reforming both society and the self through Christian service. (p. 533)

Social Security Act: A 1935 act with three main provisions: old-age pensions for workers; a joint federal-state system of compensation for unemployed workers; and a program of payments to widowed mothers and the blind, deaf, and disabled. (p. 692)

social settlement: A community welfare center that investigated the plight of the urban poor, raised funds to address urgent needs, and helped neighborhood residents advocate on their own behalf. Social settlements became a nationally recognized reform strategy during the Progressive Era. (p. 578)

society: an organized group of people living together as a community. (p. 2)

sociology: the scientific study of the development, structure, and interaction of human society. (p. 528)

soft power: The exercise of popular cultural influence abroad, as American radio and movies became popular around the world in the 1920s, transmitting American cultural ideals overseas. (p. 659)

Primavera silenciosa: Libro publicado por la bióloga Rachel Carson en 1962. Su análisis de los impactos tóxicos del pesticida DDT sobre los humanos y las cadenas alimenticias impulsó a los activistas ambientales. (pág. 881)

Casos del matadero: Conjunto de decisiones tomadas a partir de 1873, en las cuales la Corte empezó a debilitar el poder de la Decimocuarta Enmienda para proteger los derechos de los afroamericanos. (pág. 456)

conspiración de la "potencia negra": Argumento político de abolicionistas, partidarios del suelo libre y republicanos en los años previos a la Guerra Civil, que decía que los dueños de esclavos usaban injustamente sus ventajas representativas, bajo el Compromiso de los Tres Quintos de la Constitución, así como su influencia con el Partido Demócrata, para exigir políticas anti-esclavistas federales extremas (como la anexión de Cuba) que la mayoría de los votantes americanos no apoyarían. (pág. 369)

sociedad esclavista: Sociedad en la cual la institución de la esclavitud afecta todos los aspectos de la vida. (pág. 335)

viruela: enfermedad altamente contagiosa y mortal que fue erradicada en todo el mundo gracias a una vacuna. (pág. 3)

Tarifa Smoot-Hawley: Tarifa promulgada en 1930 durante la Gran Depresión. Al colocar impuestos sobre los bienes importados, el Congreso esperaba estimular la manufactura estadounidense, pero la tarifa causó represalias en otros países, que impidieron el comercio global aún más y llevaron a una contracción económica más fuerte. (pág. 681)

Darwinismo Social: Idea formulada, no por Charles Darwin, sino por el filósofo y sociólogo inglés Herbert Spencer, en la cual la sociedad humana avanza gracias a la competencia despiadada y la "supervivencia de los más aptos". (pág. 529)

Evangelio Social: Movimiento para renovar la fe religiosa mediante la dedicación al bienestar público y la justicia social, y para reformar tanto a la sociedad como al individuo a través del servicio cristiano. (pág. 533)

Ley de Seguridad Social: Ley de 1935 que incluyó tres disposiciones principales: pensiones para trabajadores de la tercera edad; un sistema federal-estatal conjunto para compensar a trabajadores desempleados; y un programa de pagos para madres viudas y para los ciegos, sordos y discapacitados. (pág. 692)

asentamiento social: Centros de bienestar comunitario que investigaban la situación de los pobres, recaudaban fondos para responder a necesidades urgentes y ayudaban a los residentes del vecindario a abogar por sí mismos. Los asentamientos sociales se convirtieron en una estrategia de reforma reconocida a nivel nacional durante la Era Progresista. (pág. 578)

sociedad: grupo organizado de personas que viven juntos en comunidad. (pág. 2)

sociología: ciencia que estudia el desarrollo, estructura e interacción de la sociedad humana. (pág. 528)

poder suave: El ejercicio de la influencia de la cultura popular en el extranjero con la creciente popularidad de películas y radio estadounidenses en el mundo durante la década de 1920, que transmitieron ideales culturales de Estados Unidos a otros países. (pág. 659)

Sons of Liberty: Colonists—primarily middling merchants and artisans—who banded together to protest the Stamp Act and other imperial reforms of the 1760s. The group originated in Boston in 1765 but soon spread to all the colonies. (p. 148)

South Atlantic System: A new agricultural and commercial order that produced sugar, tobacco, rice, and other tropical and subtropical products for an international market. Its plantation societies were ruled by European planter-merchants and worked by hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans. (p. 86)

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC): After the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders formed the SCLC in 1957 to coordinate civil rights activity in the South. (p. 824)

Special Field Order No. 15: An order by General William T. Sherman, later reversed by policymakers, that granted confiscated land to formerly enslaved families in Georgia and South Carolina so they could farm independently. (p. 426)

specie: money in the form of coin. (p. 207)

Specie Circular: An executive order in 1836 that required the Treasury Department to accept only gold and silver in payment for lands in the national domain. (p. 299)

specter: a threat. (p. 145)

spoils system: The widespread award of public jobs to political supporters after an electoral victory. In 1829, Andrew Jackson instituted the system on the national level, arguing that the rotation of officeholders was preferable to a permanent group of bureaucrats. (p. 277)

sprawl: to spread and stretch out in a disorganized and awkward manner, such as some cities. (p. 127)

Sputnik: The world's first satellite, launched by the Soviet Union in 1957. After its launch, the United States funded research and education to catch up in the Cold War space competition. (p. 783)

squalid: lowly, repulsive and neglected. (p. 837)

squatter: Someone who settles on land he or she does not own or rent. Many eighteenth-century settlers established themselves on land before it was surveyed and entered for sale, requesting the first right to purchase the land when sales began. (p. 114)

stagflation: An economic term coined in the 1970s to describe the condition in which inflation and unemployment rise at the same time. (p. 885)

stalemate: a position in which rivaling parties are unable to act. (p. 85)

Stamp Act Congress: A congress of delegates from nine assemblies that met in New York City in October 1765 to protest the loss of American "rights and liberties," especially the right to trial by jury. The congress challenged the constitutionality of both the Stamp and Sugar Acts by declaring that only the colonists' elected representatives could tax them. (p. 148)

Hijos de la Libertad: Colonos–principalmente comerciantes y artesanos medianos–que se juntaron para protestar la Ley del Timbre y otras reformas imperiales de la década de 1760. El grupo se originó en Boston en 1765 y rápidamente se esparció a todas las colonias. (pág. 148)

Sistema del Atlántico Sur: Nueva orden agricultora y comercial que produjo azúcar, tabaco, arroz y otros productos tropicales y subtropicales para el mercado internacional. Sus sociedades de plantación fueron dominadas por comerciantes-hacendados y fueron trabajadas por cientos de miles de africanos esclavizados. (pág. 86)

Conferencia Sur de Liderazgo Cristiano (SCLC): Después del boicot de autobuses en Montgomery, en 1957 Martin Luther King Jr. y otros líderes de derechos civiles fundaron la SLCS para coordinar actividades de derechos civiles en el Sur. (pág. 824)

Orden militar especial n.° 15: Orden emitida por el general William T. Sherman, posteriormente revocada por legisladores, que concedía tierras confiscadas a familias anteriormente esclavizadas en Georgia y Carolina del Sur para que pudieran cosecharlas independientemente. (pág. 426)

especie: dinero en forma de moneda. (pág. 207)

Specie Circular: Orden ejecutiva de 1836 que requería que el Departamento de Tesorería aceptara únicamente oro y plata como pago por tierras en el dominio nacional. (pág. 299)

espectro: una amenaza. (pág. 145)

clientelismo: La entrega generalizada de empleos públicos a seguidores políticos después una victoria electoral. En 1829, Andrew Jackson instituyó este sistema a nivel nacional, argumentando que la rotación de cargos era mejor que un grupo de burócratas permanentes. (pág. 277)

expansión: crecimiento desorganizado y torpe, como ocurre en algunas ciudades. (pág. 127)

Sputnik: Primer satélite en el mundo, lanzado por la Unión Soviética en 1957. Después del lanzamiento, Estados Unidos financió la investigación y la educación para ponerse al tanto en la competencia por el espacio de la Guerra Fría. (pág. 783)

escuálido: humilde, repulsivo y en condiciones de negligencia. (pág. 837)

ocupante: Persona que se asienta en tierras que no posee ni renta. Muchos pobladores del siglo XVIII se asentaron en la tierra antes de que fuera inspeccionada y colocada en venta, exigiendo el derecho primordial de adquirir las tierras cuando comenzaran las ventas. (pág. 114)

estagflación: Término económico acuñado en la década de 1970 para describir la condición en la cual la inflación y el desempleo crecen al mismo tiempo. (pág. 885)

tablas: posición en la cual dos partes rivales se encuentran sin posibilidad de actuar. (pág. 85)

Congreso de la Ley del Timbre: Congreso de delegados de nueve asambleas que se reunieron en la Ciudad de Nueva York en octubre de 1765 para protestar la pérdida de "derechos y libertades" americanas y el derecho a ser juzgado ante un jurado. El congreso cuestionó la constitucionalidad de las Leyes del Timbre y del Azúclar, al declarar que sólo los representantes elegidos por colonos podían cobrarles impuestos. (pág. 148)

Stamp Act of 1765: British law imposing a tax on all paper used in the colonies. Widespread resistance to the Stamp Act prevented it from taking effect and led to its repeal in 1766. (p. 146)

Standard Oil decision: A 1911 Supreme Court decision that directed the breakup of the Standard Oil Company into smaller companies because its overwhelming market dominance and monopoly power violated antitrust laws. (p. 604)

states' rights: An interpretation of the Constitution that exalts the sovereignty of the states and circumscribes the authority of the national government. (p. 286)

States' Rights Democratic Party: Known popularly as the Dixiecrats, a breakaway party of white Democrats from the South that formed for the 1948 election. Its formation shed light on an internal struggle between the civil rights aims of the party's liberal wing and southern white Democrats. (p. 817)

stenographer: someone who is employed to transcribe diction, normally in shorthand. (p. 503)

steppe: a treeless plain that covers a wide area with grass. (p. 15)

stigma: a mark of shame or disgrace. (p. 547)

stimulate: to encourage growth or activity. (p. 43)

Stonewall Inn: A gay bar in New York's Greenwich Village that was raided by police in 1969; the ensuing two-day riot contributed to the rapid rise of a gay liberation movement. (p. 868)

Stono Rebellion: Slave uprising in 1739 along the Stono River in South Carolina in which a group of slaves armed themselves, plundered six plantations, and killed more than twenty colonists. Colonists quickly suppressed the rebellion. (p. 97)

STOP ERA: An organization founded by Phyllis Schlafly in 1972 to fight the Equal Rights Amendment. (p. 896)

stratification: being arranged into separate parts or layers. (p. 16)

stringent: severely difficult or limiting. (p. 162)

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC): A student civil rights group founded in 1960 under the mentorship of activist Ella Baker. SNCC initially embraced an interracial and nonhierarchical structure that encouraged leadership at the grassroots level and practiced the civil disobedience principles of Martin Luther King Jr. As violence toward civil rights activists escalated nationwide in the 1960s, SNCC expelled nonblack members and promoted "black power" and the teachings of Malcolm X. (p. 824)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS): An organization for social change founded by college students in 1960. (p. 855)

stump speech: a speech that addresses the general public during a political campaign. (p. 551)

stymied: to be prevented from completing a task or goal. (p. 182)

Ley del Timbre de 1765: Ley británica que colocó impuestos sobre todo el papel usado en las colonias. La resistencia generalizada a la Ley del Timbre impidió que entrara en vigencia y llevó a su revocación en 1766. (pág. 146)

Decisión Standard Oil: Decisión de la Corte Suprema en 1911 de desintegrar a la Standard Oil Company en compañías más pequeñas porque su apabullante influencia en el mercado y su poder monopólico violaba leyes antimonopolio. (pág. 604)

derechos de los estados: Interpretación de la Constitución que exalta la soberanía de los estados y limita el poder del gobierno nacional. (pág. 286)

Partido Demócrata por los Derechos de los Estados: Conocido popularmente como los Dixiecrats, este partido fue una escisión de demócratas del Sur que se formó para la elección de 1948. Su formación reveló las luchas internas entre los objetivos de derechos civiles del ala liberal del partido y los demócratas blancos del Sur. (pág. 817) .

estenógrafo: Persona empleada para transcribir dicción, normalmente en taquigrafía. (pág. 503)

estepa: planicie de gran tamaño cubierta de pasto y sin árboles. (pág. 15)

estigma: marca de verguenza o de desgracia. (pág. 547)

estimular: promover el crecimiento o la actividad. (pág. 43)

Stonewall Inn: Bar gay en Greenwich Village en Nueva York donde la policía condujo una redada en 1969; los disturbios consecuentes, con duración de dos días, contribuyeron al rápido crecimiento del movimiento de liberación gay. (pág. 868)

Rebelión de Stono: Levantamiento de esclavos en 1739 en Stono River, Carolina del Sur, donde un grupo de esclavos armados saquearon seis plantaciones y mataron a más de veinte colonos. Los colonos rápidamente contuvieron esta rebelión. (pág. 97)

STOP ERA (siglas de la campaña Stop Taking Our Privileges Equal Rights Amendment): Organización fundada por Phyllis Schlafly en 1972 para luchar contra la Enmienda de Igualdad de Derechos. (pág. 896)

estratificación: ordenar por partes separadas o capas. (pág. 16)

astringente: severamente difícil o restrictivo. (pág. 162)

Comité Coordinador Estudiantil No Violento (SNCC): Grupo de derechos civiles fundado en 1960 guiado por la activista Ella Baker. El SNCC inicialmente adoptó una estructura interracial y sin jerarquías que fomentaba un liderazgo desde las bases y practicaba los principios de desobediencia civil de Martin Luther King Jr. Con el aumento de la violencia hacia activistas de derechos civiles en el país durante la década de 1960, la SNCC expulsó a los miembros que no eran negros y promovió las enseñanzas de "poder negro (black power)" de Malcolm X. (p.824)

Estudiantes por una Sociedad Democrática (SDS): Organización para el cambio social fundada por estudiantes universitarios en 1960. (pág. 855)

discurso base: discurso dirigido al público general durante una campaña política. (pág. 551)

obstaculizar: impedir que se concluya una tarea o se alcance un objetivo. (pág. 182)

subjugate: to conquer. (p. 11)

subsidize: to support financially. (p. 32)

subterfuge: deception used in order to conceal or avoid something. (p. 541)

succumb: to accept defeat in regard to something once opposed or resisted. (p. 469)

Sugar Act of 1764: British law that decreased the duty on French molasses, making it more attractive for shippers to obey the law, and at the same time raised penalties for smuggling. The act enraged New England merchants, who opposed both the tax and the fact that prosecuted merchants would be tried by British-appointed judges in a vice-admiralty court. (p. 145)

Sunbelt: Name applied to the Southwest and South, which grew rapidly after World War II as a center of defense industries and non-unionized labor. (p. 803)

supply-side economics (Reaganomics): Economic theory that tax cuts for individuals and businesses encourage investment and production (supply) and stimulate consumption (demand) because individuals can keep more of their earnings. In reality, supply-side economics created a massive federal budget deficit. (p. 923)

surreptitious: secretive; stealthy. (p. 573)

symbiotic: indicating a mutually favorable relationship. (p. 946)

symbolic: of, relating to, or expressed as a symbol. (p. 2)

syncretism: the merging of different cultures. (p. 488)

syndicalism: when workers seize control of the government and economy by means of a strike. (p. 607)

taboo: something avoided or forbidden due to unacceptable, inappropriate qualities, or sacredness. (p. 327)

Taft-Hartley Act: Law passed by the Republican-controlled Congress in 1947 that overhauled the 1935 National Labor Relations Act, placing restrictions on organized labor that made it more difficult for unions to organize workers. (p. 763)

talented tenth: A term used by Harvard-educated sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois for the top 10 percent of educated African Americans, whom he called on to develop new strategies to advocate for civil rights. (p. 607)

Tariff of Abominations: A tariff enacted in 1828 that raised duties significantly on raw materials, textiles, and iron goods. New York senator Van Buren hoped to win the support of farmers in New York, Ohio, and Kentucky with the tariff, but it enraged the South, which had no industries that needed tariff protection and resented the higher cost of imported dutied goods. (p. 283)

task system: A system of labor common in the rice-growing regions of South Carolina in which a slave was assigned a daily task to complete and allowed to do as he wished upon its completion. (p. 346)

subyugar: conquistar. (pág. 11)

subsidiar: apoyar económicamente. (pág. 32)

subterfugio: engaño empleado para ocultar o evitar algo. (pág. 541)

sucumbir: aceptar la derrota en algo donde uno antes se oponía o resistía. (pág. 469)

Ley del Azúcar de 1764: Ley británica que redujo el arancel en la melaza francesa, de tal manera que los exportadores tuvieron más motivos para obedecer la ley. Al mismo tiempo, aumentaron los castigos por el contrabando. Esta ley enfureció a los comerciantes de Nueva Inglaterra, que se oponían al impuesto y al hecho de que los comerciantes perseguidos serían juzgados por jueces de designación británica en un tribunal de vicealmirante. (pág. 145)

Sunbelt (o Franja del Sol, región de los Estados Unidos): Nombre aplicado a la región del Sur y al Suroeste, que creció rápidamente después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial como centro para las industrias de defensa y la mano de obra no sindicalizada. (pág. 803)

economía de la oferta (reaganomía): Teoría económica en la cual los recortes de impuestos para negocios e individuos invitan a la inversión y a la producción (oferta) y estimulan el consumo (demanda) gracias a que los individuos logran conservar una parte mayor de sus ingresos. En realidad, la economía de la oferta creó un enorme déficit en el presupuesto federal. (pág. 923)

subrepticio: secreto; sigiloso. (pág. 573)

simbiótico: indica una relación mutuamente favorable. (pág. 946)

simbólico: de, relacionado con, o expresado como símbolo. (pág. 2)

sincretismo: la fusión de dos culturas. (pág. 488)

sindicalismo: cuando los trabajdores toman control del gobierno y de la economía por medio de una huelga. (pág. 607)

tabú: algo que se evita o que está prohibido debido a sus cualidades inaceptables o por ser sagrado. (pág. 327)

Ley Taft-Harley: Ley aprobada por el Congreso de mayoría republicana en 1947 que revisó la Ley Nacional de Relaciones Laborales de 1935, misma que colocó restricciones sobre el trabajo organizado e hizo más difícil que los sindicatos organizaran a los trabajadores. (pág. 763)

El décimo talentoso: Término usado por el sociólogo formado en Harvard, W. E. B. Du Bois, para el 10 por ciento de afroamericanos educados, a quienes llamó a desarrollar nuevas estrategias para abogar por sus derechos civiles. (pág. 607)

arancel de las abominaciones: Arancel aprobado en 1828 que aumentó significativamente los impuestos sobre materia prima, textiles y bienes de hierro. El senador van Buren de Nueva York esperaba ganarse el apoyo de los agricultores de Nueva York, Ohio y Kentucky con el arancel, pero enfureció al Sur que no tenía industrias y necesitaba protección arancelaria, por lo cual resintieron el costo de bienes importados con gravámenes. (pág. 283)

sistema de tareas: Sistema de trabajo común en las regiones arroceras de Carolina del Sur, donde a los esclavos se les asignaba una tarea diaria y al completarla podían usar su tiempo como quisieran. (pág. 346)

tax revolt: A movement to lower or eliminate taxes. California's Proposition 13, which rolled back property taxes, capped future increases for present owners, and required that all tax measures have a two-thirds majority in the legislature, was the result of one such revolt, inspiring similar movements across the country. (p. 888)

Tea Act of May 1773: British act that lowered the existing tax on tea and granted exemptions to the East India Company to make their tea cheaper in the colonies and entice boycotting Americans to buy it. Resistance to the Tea Act led to the passage of the Coercive Acts and imposition of military rule in Massachusetts. (p. 158)

Tea Party: A set of far-right opposition groups that emerged during President Obama's first term and gave voice to the extreme individualism and antigovernment sentiment traditionally associated with right-wing movements in the United States. (p. 969)

Teapot Dome: Nickname for scandal in which Interior Secretary Albert Fall accepted $300,000 in bribes for leasing oil reserves on public land in Teapot Dome, Wyoming. It was part of a larger pattern of corruption that marred Warren G. Harding's presidency. (p. 657)

teenager: A term for a young adult. American youth culture, focused on the spending power of the "teenager," emerged as a cultural phenomenon in the postwar decades. (p. 789)

Teller Amendment: An amendment to the 1898 U.S. declaration of war against Spain disclaiming any intention by the United States to occupy Cuba. The amendment assured the public that the United States would uphold democracy abroad as well as at home. (p. 624)

temperance: moderation; self-restraint. (p. 235)

Ten Percent Plan: A plan proposed by President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, but never implemented, that would have granted amnesty to most ex-Confederates and allowed each rebellious state to return to the Union as soon as 10 percent of its voters had taken a loyalty oath and the state had approved the Thirteenth Amendment. (p. 434)

tenancy: The rental of property. To attract tenants in New York's Hudson River Valley, Dutch and English manorial lords granted long tenancy leases, with the right to sell improvements — houses and barns, for example — to the next tenant. (p. 108)

tenement: A high-density, cheap, five- or six-story housing unit designed for working-class urban populations. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tenements became a symbol of urban immigrant poverty. (p. 565)

tenet: a belief held in common by members of a group. (p. 422)

revuelta contra los impuestos: Movimiento para reducir o eliminar los impuestos. La Proposición 13 del estado de California, que revirtió impuestos sobre la propiedad, limitó impuestos futuros para propietarios actuales y requirió que cualquier medida fiscal tuviera aprobación de dos terceras partes de la legislatura, dio como resultado la revuelta, que inspiró movimientos similares en todo el país. (pág. 888)

Ley del Té de mayo de 1773: Ley británica que redujo el impuesto existente sobre el té y otorgó exenciones a la East India Company para reducir el precio de su té en las colonias y convencer a los americanos, que lo estaban boicoteando, de comprarlo. La resistencia a la Ley del Té llevó a la promulgación de las Leyes Coactivas y a la imposición del régimen militar el Massachusetts. (pág. 158)

Partido del Té: Conjunto de grupos de oposición de extrema derecha que surgieron durante el primer término del presidente Obama y dieron voz al sentimiento individualista extremo y antigobierno tradicionalmente asociados con los movimientos de derecha en los Estados Unidos. (pág. 969)

Teapot Dome: Apodo para el escándalo en el cual el Secretario de Interior, Albert Fall, aceptó sobornos de $300,000 a cambio de arrendar reservas petroleras en terrenos públicos en Teapot Dome, Wyoming. Fue parte de un patrón de corrupción más grande, que manchó la presidencia de Warren G. Harding. (pág. 657)

Adolescente (teenager): Término para un adulto joven. La cultura juvenil americana, enfocada sobre el poder adquisitivo de los "teenagers", surgió como fenómeno cultural en las décadas de la posguerra. (pág. 789)

Enmienda Teller: Enmienda a la declaración de Guerra de los Estados Unidos contra España en 1898 que negó cualquier intención de Estados Unidos de ocupar Cuba. La enmienda aseguró al público que Estados Unidos mantendría la democracia en el extranjero al igual que en casa. (pág. 624)

templanza: moderación; auto-control. (pág. 235)

Plan del diez por ciento: Plan propuesto por el presidente Abraham Lincoln durante la Guerra Civil, que nunca fue implementado y que hubiera otorgado amnistía a la mayoría de los ex Confederados para permitir que cada estado rebelde regresara a la Unión una vez que el 10 por ciento de sus votantes hayan protestado su lealtad y una vez que cada estado aprobara la Decimotercera Enmienda. (pág. 434)

tenencia: Renta de una propiedad. Para atraer inquilinos a la cuenca del río Hudson, terratenientes señoriales ingleses y holandeses concedieron arrendamientos de largo plazo con derecho a vender las mejoras–casas y establos, por ejemplo–al siguiente inquilino. (pág. 108)

vecindad: Unidad de vivienda de alta densidad, bajo costo y de cinco o seis pisos diseñada para las poblaciones urbanas de clase trabajadora. A finales del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX, las vecindades se convirtieron en símbolo de la pobreza inmigrante urbana. (pág. 565)

principio: creencia compartida por varios miembros de un grupo. (pág. 422)

Tennessee Valley Authority: An agency funded by Congress in 1933 that integrated flood control, reforestation, electricity generation, and agricultural and industrial development in the Tennessee Valley area. (p. 705)

Tet offensive: Major campaign of attacks launched throughout South Vietnam in January 1968 by the North Vietnamese and Vietcong. A major turning point in the war, it exposed the credibility gap between official statements and the war's reality, and it shook Americans' confidence in the government. (p. 862)

The Affluent Society: A 1958 book by John Kenneth Galbraith that analyzed the nation's successful middle class and argued that the poor were only an "afterthought" in the minds of economists and politicians. (p. 785)

The Conscience of a Conservative: A 1960 book that set forth an uncompromising conservatism and inspired a Republican grassroots movement in support of its author, Barry Goldwater. (p. 915)

The Feminine Mystique: The title of an influential book written in 1963 by Betty Friedan critiquing the ideal whereby women were encouraged to confine themselves to roles within the domestic sphere. (p. 852)

The Other America: A 1962 book by left-wing social critic Michael Harrington, chronicling "the economic underworld of American life." His study made it clear that in economic terms the bottom class remained far behind. (p. 785)

thermonuclear: of or relating to nuclear reactions that occur at extremely high temperatures. (p. 758)

Three Mile Island: A nuclear plant near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where a reactor core came close to a meltdown in March 1979. After the incident at Three Mile Island, no new nuclear plants were authorized in the United States, though a handful with existing authorization were built in the 1980s. (p. 884)

Title IX: A law passed by Congress in 1972 that broadened the 1964 Civil Rights Act to include educational institutions, prohibiting colleges and universities that received federal funds from discriminating on the basis of sex. By requiring comparable funding for sports programs, Title IX made women's athletics a real presence on college campuses. (p. 868)

"To Secure These Rights": The 1947 report by the Presidential Committee on Civil Rights that called for robust federal action to ensure equality for African Americans. President Truman asked Congress to make all of the report's recommendations — including the abolition of poll taxes and the restoration of the Fair Employment Practice Committee — into law, leading to discord in the Democratic Party. (p. 816)

toleration: The allowance of different religious practices. Lord Baltimore persuaded the Maryland assembly to enact the Toleration Act (1649), which granted all Christians the right to follow their beliefs and hold church services. The crown imposed toleration on Massachusetts Bay in its new royal charter of 1691. (p. 59)

Autoridad del Valle de Tennessee: Agencia fundada por el Congreso en 1933 que integraba el control de inundaciones, la reforestación, la generación de electricidad y el desarrollo cultural en la región del Valle de Tennessee. (pág. 705)

Ofensiva del Tet: Campaña mayor de ataques lanzados sobre el Sur de Vietnam por los vietnamitas del norte y el Vietcong en enero de 1968. Fue un importante punto de transición en la guerra, reveló la brecha de credibilidad entre los comunicados oficiales y la realidad de la guerra y afectó la confianza de los estadounidenses en el gobierno. (pág. 862)

La sociedad opulenta: Libro escrito en 1958 por John Kenneth Galbraith, que analizó a la exitosa clase media del país y argumentó que los pobres sólo eran una consideración secundaria en las mentes de economistas y políticos. (pág. 785)

La conciencia de un conservador: Libro publicado en 1960 que promovió el conservadurismo intransigente e inspiró el movimiento de las bases republicanas para apoyar a su autor, Barry Goldwater. (pág. 915)

La mística de la feminidad: Título de un influyente libro escrito en 1963 por Betty Friedan, que criticaba el ideal en el cual las mujeres debían limitarse a labores domésticas. (pág. 852)

La otra América: Libro publicado en 1962 por Michael Harrington, crítico social de izquierdas que documentó "el submundo económico de la vida americana". Su estudio dejó claro que, en términos económicos, la clase baja ha quedado muy atrás. (pág. 785)

termonuclear: relacionado con reacciones nucleares que ocurren a temperaturas extremadamente altas. (pág. 758)

Three Mile Island: Planta nuclear cerca de Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, donde, en marzo de 1979, el núcleo de un reactor estuvo cerca de sufrir una fusión. Después del incidente en Three Mile Island, no se autorizaron más plantas nucleares en los Estados Unidos, aunque un número pequeño de plantas previamente autorizadas fueron construidas en la década de 1980. (pág. 884)

Título IX: Ley aprobada por el Congreso en 1972 que extendió la Ley de Derechos Civiles de 1964 para incluir instituciones educativas y prohibir que las universidades y colegios que recibieran fondos federales pudieran discriminar por sexo. Al requerir financiamiento equiparable para los programas deportivos, el Título XI le dio una presencia real al deporte femenil en los campus universitarios. (pág. 868)

"Para asegurar estos derechos" Reporte de 1947 elaborado por el Comité Presidencial de Derechos Civiles que llamaba a tomar medidas federales para asegurar la igualdad para los afroamericanos. El presidente Truman pidió al congreso que convirtiera todas las recomendaciones del reporte – incluyendo la abolición de impuestos de capitación y la restauración del Comité de Prácticas de Empleo Justo— en ley, lo que llevó a desacuerdos en el Partido Demócrata. (pág. 816)

tolerancia social: Permiso para distintas prácticas religiosas. Lord Baltimore convenció a la asamblea de Maryland para que promulgara la Ley de Tolerancia (1649), que concedió a todos los cristianos el derecho de seguir sus creencias y celebrar ceremonias religiosas. La corona impuso la tolerancia en Massachusetts Bay en su nueva carta real de 1691. (pág. 59)

town meeting: A system of local government in New England in which all male heads of households met regularly to elect selectmen, levy local taxes, and regulate markets, roads, and schools. (p. 65)

Townsend Plan: A plan proposed by Francis Townsend in 1933 that would give $200 a month (about $3,600 today) to citizens over the age of sixty. Townsend Clubs sprang up across the country in support of the plan, mobilizing mass support for old-age pensions. (p. 690)

Townshend Act of 1767: British law that established new duties on tea, glass, lead, paper, and painters' colors imported into the colonies. The Townshend duties led to boycotts and heightened tensions between Britain and the American colonies. (p. 151)

Trail of Tears: Forced westward journey of Cherokees from their lands in Georgia to present-day Oklahoma in 1838. Nearly a quarter of the Cherokees died en route. (p. 292)

transcendentalism: A nineteenth-century American intellectual movement that posited the importance of an ideal world of mystical knowledge and harmony beyond the immediate grasp of the senses. Influenced by romanticism, transcendentalists Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau called for the critical examination of society and emphasized individuality, self-reliance, and nonconformity. (p. 310)

transcontinental railroad: The railway line completed on May 10, 1869, that connected the Central Pacific and Union Pacific lines, enabling goods to move by railway from the eastern United States all the way to California. (p. 462)

transient: temporary; impermanent. (p. 305)

"treat": A form of heterosexual dating in which, given the male partner's higher wage level, he is expected to pay for food and entertainment, and the young woman is expected to provide sexual favors in return. (p. 568)

Treaty of Ghent: The treaty signed on Christmas Eve 1814 that ended the War of 1812. It retained the prewar borders of the United States. (p. 228)

Treaty of Greenville: A 1795 treaty between the United States and various Indian tribes in Ohio. American negotiators acknowledged Indian ownership of the land, and, in return for various payments, the Western Confederacy ceded most of Ohio to the United States. (p. 216)

Treaty of Kanagawa: An 1854 treaty in which, after a show of military force by U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry, leaders of Japan agreed to permit American ships to refuel at two Japanese ports. (p. 378)

Treaty of Paris of 1783: The treaty that ended the Revolutionary War. In the treaty, Great Britain formally recognized American independence and relinquished its claims to lands south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi River. (p. 183)

Treaty of Versailles: The 1919 treaty that ended World War I. The agreement redrew the map of the world, assigned Germany sole responsibility for the war, and saddled it with a debt of

gobierno asambleario: Sistema de gobierno local de Nueva Inglaterra donde todos los hombres, jefes de hogar, se reunían regularmente para elegir concejales, recaudar impuestos locales y regular mercados, vías y escuelas. (pág. 65)

Plan Townsend: Plan propuesto por Francis Townsend en 1933 que entregaría $200 mensuales (cerca de $3,600 en la actualidad) a ciudadanos mayores de sesenta años. Los Clubes Townsend aparecieron en todo el país para apoyar al plan y movilizar el apoyo para las pensiones de la tercera edad. (pág. 690)

Ley Townshend de 1767: Ley británica que colocó nuevos impuestos sobre té, vidrio, plomo y los colores para pintores importados a las colonias. Los impuestos de Townshend condujero a boicots y tensiones entre Bretaña y las colonias americanas. (pág. 151)

Sendero de lágrimas: Viaje de los cheroquis que fueron forzosamente removidos de sus tierras en Georgia en 1838 para reubicarse en lo que ahora es Oklahoma. Cerca de una cuarta parte de los cheroquis murieron en el camino. (pág. 292)

trascendentalismo: Movimiento intelectual estadounidense del siglo XIX que plantea la importancia de un mundo ideal de conocimientos místicos y armonía más allá del alcance de los sentidos. Con la influencia del romanticismo, los trascendentalistas Ralph Waldo Emerson y Henry David Thoreau llamaron al análisis crítico de la sociedad y destacaron la individualidad, la dependencia de uno mismo y el inconformismo. (pág. 310)

ferrocarril transcontinental: Ferrocarril completado el 10 de mayo de 1869, que conectó las líneas de Central Pacific y Union Pacific y permitió el tránsito de bienes por ferrocarril desde el este de Estados Unidos hasta California. (pág. 462)

efímero: temporal; pasajero. (pág. 305)

"invitar": Costumbre en las citas heterosexuales donde, por el nivel salarial más alto del hombre, se espera que pague o "invite" la comida y el entretenimiento y se espera que la mujer ofrezca favores sexuales a cambio. (pág. 568)

Tratado de Gante: Tratado firmado en Nochebuena de 1814 que dio fin a la Guerra de 1812. Como resultado, las fronteras de los Estados Unidos previas a la guerra se mantuvieron. (pág. 228)

Tratado de Greenville: Tratado que se firmó en 1795 entre los Estados Unidos y Gran Bretaña, negociado por John Jay. Los negociadores americanos reconocieron la propiedad indígena de la tierra, y, a cambio de varios pagos, la Confederación del Oeste cedió la mayoría de Ohio a los Estados Unidos. (pág. 216)

Tratado de Kanagawa: Tratado de 1854 en el cual, después de un despliegue de fuerza militar por parte del comodoro de Estados Unidos, Matthew Perry, los líderes de Japón dieron permiso a las embarcaciones estadounidenses de cargar combustible en dos puertos japoneses. (pág. 378)

Tratado de París de 1783: Tratado que dio fin a la guerra de Independencia de los Estados Unidos. En el tratado, Gran Bretaña reconoció formalmente la independencia americana y renunció a sus derechos sobre las tierras del sur de los Grandes Lagos y al este del Río Misisipi. (pág. 183)

Tratado de Versalles: Tratado de 1919 que dio fin a la Primera Guerra Mundial. El acuerdo cambió el mapa del mundo, responsabilizó únicamente a Alemania por la guerra y la dejó con

$33 billion in war damages. Its long-term impact around the globe — including the creation of British and French imperial "mandates" — was catastrophic. (p. 645)

Triangle Fire: A devastating fire that quickly spread through the Triangle Shirtwaist Company in New York City on March 25, 1911, killing 146 people. In the wake of the tragedy, fifty-six state laws were passed dealing with such issues as fire hazards, unsafe machines, and wages and working hours for women and children. The fire also provided a national impetus for industrial reform. (p. 581)

tribalization: The adaptation of stateless peoples to the demands imposed on them by neighboring states. (p. 82)

tribute: an act, statement, or gift that is intended to show respect and admiration. (p. 3)

trope: a figurative word or expression. (p. 377)

Truman Doctrine: President Harry S. Truman's commitment to "support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." First applied to Greece and Turkey in 1947, it became the justification for U.S. intervention into several countries during the Cold War. (p. 755)

trust: A small group of associates that hold stock from a group of combined firms, managing them as a single entity. Trusts quickly evolved into other centralized business forms, but progressive critics continued to refer to giant firms like U.S. Steel and Standard Oil as "trusts." (p. 500)

tuberculosis: a disease with the potential to affect most of the body, particularly the lungs. (p. 576)

tumultuous: being noisy or confused; commotion. (p. 293)

twenty-Negro rule: A law adopted by the Confederate Congress that exempted one man from military conscription for every twenty slaves owned by a family. The law showed how dependence on coerced slave labor could be a military disadvantage, and it exacerbated class resentments among nonslaveholding whites who were required to serve in the army. (p. 411)

Tydings-McDuffie Act: A 1934 law that provided for the independence of the Philippines, after a ten-year transition period. Though it granted Philippine independence, its origins were nativist, because the law's proponents wished to classify Filipinos as "alien" and reduce their immigration to the United States. (p. 704)

U.S. Fisheries Commission: A federal bureau established in 1871 that made recommendations to stem the decline in wild fish. Its creation was an important step toward wildlife conservation and management. (p. 478)

U.S. Sanitary Commission: An organization that supported the Union war effort through professional and volunteer medical aid. (p. 414)

una deuda de $33 mil millones por daños de la guerra. Su impacto en el largo plazo alrededor de la tierra— incluyendo los "mandatos" imperiales de Bretaña y Francia— fue catastrófico. (pág. 645)

Incendio en la fábrica Triangle Shirtwaist: Devastador incendio que el 25 de marzo de 1911 se extendió rápidamente por la Triangle Shirtwaist Company en la ciudad de Nueva York y costó la vida de 146 personas. Tras la tragedia se aprobaron 56 leyes estatales para regular temas como peligros de incendio, equipamiento peligroso y salarios y horarios de mujeres y niños. El incendio también dio ímpetu nacional a la reforma industrial. (pág. 581)

tribalización La adaptación de personas apátridas a las demandas impuestas sobre ellos por estados vecinos. (pág. 82)

tributo: acto, declaración u obsequio hecho con la intención de mostrar respeto y admiración. (pág. 3)

tropo: palabra o expresión figurada. (pág. 377)

Doctrina Truman: Compromiso del presidente Harry S. Truman de "apoyar a las personas libres que se resisten a la subyugación de minorías armadas o presiones externas". Aplicada por primera vez a Grecia y Turquía en 1947, se convirtió en una justificación para la intervención de Estados Unidos en varios países durante la Guerra Fría. (pág. 755)

trust: Pequeño grupo de asociados que poseen acciones en un grupo de empresas combinadas que administran como una sola entidad. Los trusts evolucionaron rápidamente para convertirse en otras formas de negocio centralizado, pero los críticos progresistas no dejaron de referirse a compañías gigantes como U.S. Steel y Standard Oil como "trusts". (pág. 500)

tuberculosis: enfermedad capaz de afectar a la mayoría del cuerpo, particularmente a los pulmones. (pág. 576)

tumultuoso: ser ruidoso o confuso; conmoción. (pág. 293)

Regla de los veinte esclavos: Ley adoptada por el Congreso Confederado que eximía a un hombre de la conscripción militar por cada veinte esclavos pertenecientes a una familia. La ley mostraba cómo la dependencia del trabajo esclavo forzado podía ser una desventaja militar, y exacerbaba los resentimientos de clase entre los blancos no esclavistas que debían servir en el ejército. (pág. 411)

Ley Tydings-McDuffie: Ley de 1934 que dio la independencia a Filipinas tras un periodo de transición de diez años. Si bien reconoció la independencia de Filipinas, sus orígenes fueron nativistas porque los defensores de la ley deseaban calificar a los Filipinos como "extranjeros" y reducir su inmigración a los Estados Unidos. (pág. 704)

Comisión de Pesca de los Estados Unidos: Agencia federal establecida en 1871 que hizo recomendaciones para detener el declive de peces salvajes. Su creación representó un paso importante hacia la conservación y administración de la vida salvaje. (pág. 478)

Comisión Sanitaria de los Estados Unidos: Organización que apoyó el esfuerzo bélico de la Unión por medio de auxilios médicos voluntarios. (pág. 414)

Underground Railroad: An informal network of whites and free blacks in the South that assisted fugitive slaves to reach freedom in the North. (p. 323)

unions: Organizations of workers that began during the Industrial Revolution to bargain with employers over wages, hours, benefits, and control of the workplace. (p. 261)

United Farm Workers (UFW): A union of farmworkers founded in 1962 by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta that sought to empower the mostly Mexican American migrant farmworkers who faced discrimination and exploitative conditions, especially in the Southwest. (p. 840)

United Nations: An international body agreed upon at the Yalta Conference and founded at a conference in San Francisco in 1945, consisting of a General Assembly, in which all nations are represented, and a Security Council of the five major Allied powers — the United States, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union — and seven other nations elected on a rotating basis. (p. 751)

Universal Negro Improvement Association: A Harlem-based group, led by charismatic, Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey, that arose in the 1920s to mobilize African American workers and champion black separatism. (p. 673)

USA PATRIOT Act: A 2001 law that gave the government new powers to monitor suspected terrorists and their associates, including the ability to access personal information. (p. 965)

utopias: Communities founded by reformers and transcendentalists to help realize their spiritual and moral potential and to escape from the competition of modern industrial society. (p. 312)

Valley Forge: A military camp in which George Washington's army of 12,000 soldiers and hundreds of camp followers suffered horribly in the winter of 1777–1778. (p. 176)

vanguard: at the forefront of new ideas. (p. 503)

vassal: a person or group of persons who received security and property from a leader in exchange for loyalty and services. (p. 25)

vaudeville theater: A type of professional stage show popular in the 1880s and 1890s that included singing, dancing, and comedy routines; it created a form of family entertainment for the urban masses that deeply influenced later forms, such as radio shows and television sitcoms. (p. 566)

veneration: treating with honor or respect. (p. 149)

vertical integration: A business model in which a corporation controlled all aspects of production from raw materials to packaged products. "Robber barons," or industrial innovators such as Gustavus Swift and Andrew Carnegie, pioneered this business form at the end of the Civil War. (p. 499)

Veterans Administration: A federal agency that assists former soldiers. Following World War II, the VA helped veterans purchase new homes with no down payment, sparking a building boom that created jobs in the construction industry and fueling consumer spending in home appliances and automobiles. (p. 786)

ferrocarril subterráneo: Red informal de blancos y negros libres en el Sur que asistieron a los esclavos fugitivos a alcanzar la libertad en el Norte. (pág. 323)

sindicatos: Organizaciones de trabajadores que comenzaron con la Revolución Industrial para negociar con patrones sobre salarios, horarios, beneficios y control del sitio de trabajo. (pág. 261)

Unión de Trabajadores Campesinos (UFW): Unión de campesinos fundada en 1962 por César Chávez y Dolores Huerta con el fin de empoderar a la mayoría de trabajadores migrantes mexicano-americanos que enfrentaban discriminación y condiciones de explotación, particularmente en el Suroeste. (pág. 840)

Naciones Unidas: Cuerpo internacional acordado a partir de la Conferencia de Yalta y fundado en una conferencia en San Francisco en 1945, que consistiría en una Asamblea General donde todos los países están representados, y en un Consejo de Seguridad de los cinco principales poderes aliados— Estados Unidos, Bretaña, Francia, China y la Unión Soviética— además de siete naciones más que serían elegidas por rotación. (pág. 751)

Asociación Universal de Desarrollo Negro: Grupo basado en Harlem, dirigido por el carismático Marcus Garvey, nacido en Jamaica, que surgió en la década de 1920 para mobilizar a los trabajadores afroamericanos y abogar por el separatismo negro. (pág. 673)

Ley USA PATRIOT: Ley de 2001 que dio nuevos poderes al gobierno para vigilar a sospechosos de terrorismo y sus asociados, incluso permitiendo acceso a su información personal. (pág. 965)

utopías: Comunidades fundadas por reformistas y trascendentalistas para ayudar a realizar su potencial moral y espiritual, y escapar de la competencia de la sociedad industrial moderna. (pág. 312)

Valley Forge: Campo militar en el cual el ejército de George Washington, compuesto por 12 mil soldados y cientos de seguidores del campamento, sufrieron horriblemente en el invierno de 1777-1778. (pág. 176)

vanguardia: al frente de nuevas ideas. (pág. 503)

vasallo: persona o grupo de personas que reciben seguridad y propiedad de parte de un líder a cambio de lealtad y servicios. (pág. 25)

teatro vaudeville: Tipo de espectáculo escénico profesional popularizado en las décadas de 1880 y 1890 que incluyó cantos, bailes y rutinas de comedia; creó una forma de entretenimiento familiar que tuvo profunda influencia sobre otros formatos más tardíos, como los programas de radio y las comedias en televisión. (pág. 566)

veneración: tratar con honor o respeto. (pág. 149)

integración vertical: Modelo de negocios en el cual una corporación controlaba todos los aspectos de la producción, desde la materia prima hasta los productos empaquetados. Los "robber barons" (capitalistas inescrupulosos) o innovadores industriales como Gustavus Swift y Andrew Carnegie, fueron pioneros de este tipo de negocios tras la Guerra Civil. (pág. 499)

Departamento de Asuntos Veteranos (VA): Agencia federal que asiste a ex soldados. Después de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, la VA ayudó a los veteranos a adquirir nuevos hogares sin requerir un depósito, resultando en un boom en la construcción que creó empleos en la industria constructora y alimentó el gasto de consumidores en aparatos eléctricos y automóviles. (pág. 786)

vice-admiralty court: A maritime tribunal presided over by a royally appointed judge, with no jury. (p. 145)

Vietnamization: A new U.S. policy, devised under President Nixon in the early 1970s, of delegating the ground fighting to the South Vietnamese in the Vietnam War. American troop levels dropped and American casualties dropped correspondingly, but the killing in Vietnam continued. (p. 870)

vilify: to make false or abusive statements about. (p. 167)

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions: Resolutions of 1798 condemning the Alien and Sedition Acts that were submitted to the federal government by the Virginia and Kentucky state legislatures. The resolutions tested the idea that state legislatures could judge the constitutionality of federal laws and nullify them. (p. 214)

Virginia Plan: A plan drafted by James Madison that was presented at the Philadelphia Constitutional Convention. It designed a powerful three-branch government, with representation in both houses of the congress tied to population; this plan would have eclipsed the voice of small states in the national government. (p. 193)

virtual representation: The claim made by British politicians that the interests of the American colonists were adequately represented in Parliament by merchants who traded with the colonies and by absentee landlords (mostly sugar planters) who owned estates in the West Indies. (p. 147)

virulent: dangerous. (p. 41)

vitriolic: bitter; malicious. (p. 844)

Volstead Act: Officially the National Prohibition Act, passed by Congress in 1920 to enforce the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment banning the sale of alcohol. (p. 663)

Voting Rights Act of 1965: Law passed during Lyndon Johnson's administration that empowered the federal government to intervene to ensure minorities' access to the voting booth. (p. 834)

Wade-Davis Bill: A bill proposed by Congress in July 1864 that required an oath of allegiance by a majority of each state's adult white men, new governments formed only by those who had never taken up arms against the Union, and permanent disenfranchisement of Confederate leaders. The plan was passed but pocket vetoed by President Abraham Lincoln. (p. 434)

Wagner Act: A 1935 act that upheld the right of industrial workers to join unions and established the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), a federal agency with the authority to protect workers from employer coercion and to guarantee collective bargaining. (p. 691)

Waltham-Lowell System: A system of labor using young women recruited from farm families to work in factories in Lowell, Chicopee, and other sites in Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The women lived in company boardinghouses with strict rules and curfews and were often required to attend church. (p. 249)

tribunal de vicealmirante: Tribunal marítimo presidido por un juez de designación real, sin jurado. (pág. 145)

Vietnamización Nueva política de los Estados Unidos, diseñada por el presidente Nixon a principios de la década de 1970, de delegar el combate terrestre a los vietnamitas del sur durante la Guerra de Vietnam. Se redujo la cantidad de tropas estadounidenses las muertes estadounidenses disminuyeron, pero la matanza en Vietnam continuó. (pág. 870)

denigrar: hacer declaraciones falsas o abusivas sobre alguien. (pág. 167)

Resoluciones de Virginia y Kentucky: Resoluciones emitidas en 1798 condenando las leyes de Extranjería y Sedición que fueron presentadas al gobierno federal por las legislaturas estatales de Virginia y Kentucky. Las resoluciones pusieron a prueba la idea de que las legislaturas estatales podían juzgar la constitucionalidad de las leyes federales y anularlas. (pág. 214)

Plan de Virginia: Plan escrito por James Madison, presentado en la Convención Constitucional de Filadelfia. Diseñó un poderoso gobierno de tres ramas, con la representación de ambas cámaras del congreso vinculadas a la población; este plan hubiera eclipsado la voz de los estados pequeños en el gobierno nacional. (pág. 193)

representación virtual: Afirmación de políticos británicos de que los intereses de los colonos americanos habían sido debidamente representados en el Parlamento por comerciantes que intercambiaban con las colonias, y por terratenientes ausentes (en su mayoría cultivadores de azúcar) dueños de fincas en las Indias Occidentales. (pág. 147)

virulento: peligroso. (pág. 41)

vitriólico: amargado; malicioso. (pág. 844)

Ley Volstead: Oficialmente, Ley Nacional de Prohibición, aprobada por el Congreso en 1920 para aplicar las disposiciones de la Decimoctava Enmienda que prohibió la venta de alcohol. (pág. 663)

Ley de Derecho al Voto de 1965: Ley aprobada durante la administración de Lyndon Johnson que confirió poderes al gobierno federal para intervenir y asegurar el acceso de las minorías a las urnas. (pág. 834)

Proyecto de Ley Wade-Davis: Ley propuesta por el Congreso en Julio de 1864 que requirió que la mayoría de los hombres blancos adultos de cada estado hicieran un juramento de lealtad, que los nuevos gobiernos fueran formados por personas que no se habían levantado en armas contra la Unión y la inhabilitación política permanente de los líderes confederados. El plan fue aprobado pero el presidente Lincoln lo vetó "de bolsillo". (pág. 434)

Ley Wagner: Ley de 1935 que mantuvo el derecho de los trabajadores industriales de formar sindicatos y establecer la Junta Nacional de Relaciones Laborales (NLRB), agencia federal autorizada para proteger a los trabajadores de la coacción de sus empleadores y garantizar negociaciones colectivas. (pág. 691)

sistema Waltham-Lowell: Sistema de trabajo que reclutó a mujeres jóvenes de familias agricultoras para trabajar en fábricas de Lowell, Chicopee y otros sitios de Massachusetts y New Hampshire. Las mujeres vivían en dormitorios de la compañía con reglas estrictas y toques de queda, y con frecuencia se les requería asistir a la iglesia. (pág. 249)

War Industries Board: A federal board established in July 1917 to direct military production, including allocation of resources, conversion of factories to war production, and setting of prices. (p. 636)

War Powers Act (1941): The law that gave President Roosevelt unprecedented control over all aspects of the war effort during World War II. (p. 717)

War Powers Act (1973): A law that limited the president's ability to deploy U.S. forces without congressional approval. Congress passed the War Powers Act in 1973 as a series of laws to fight the abuses of the Nixon administration. (p. 891)

warfare: engaging in battle or strongly competing with fighting executed through use of weaponry. (p. 2)

Warren Court: The Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren (1953–1969), which expanded the Constitution's promise of equality and civil rights. It issued landmark decisions in the areas of civil rights, criminal rights, reproductive freedom, and separation of church and state. (p. 872)

Warsaw Pact: A military alliance established in Eastern Europe in 1955 to counter the NATO alliance; it included Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the Soviet Union. (p. 758)

Watergate: Term referring to the 1972 break-in at Democratic Party headquarters in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C., by men working for President Nixon's reelection campaign, along with Nixon's efforts to cover it up. The Watergate scandal led to President Nixon's resignation. (p. 890)

Webster v. Reproductive Health Services: A 1989 Supreme Court ruling that upheld the authority of state governments to limit the use of public funds and facilities for abortions. (p. 958)

welfare capitalism: A system of labor relations that stressed management's responsibility for employees' well-being. (p. 655)

welfare state: A term applied to industrial democracies that adopt various government-guaranteed social-welfare programs. The creation of Social Security and other measures of the Second New Deal fundamentally changed American society and established a national welfare state for the first time. (p. 691)

Whigs: The second national party, the Whig Party arose in 1834 when a group of congressmen contested Andrew Jackson's policies and conduct. The party identified itself with the pre-Revolutionary American and British parties — also called Whigs — that had opposed the arbitrary actions of British monarchs. (p. 293)

Whiskey Rebellion: A 1794 uprising by farmers in western Pennsylvania in response to enforcement of an unpopular excise tax on whiskey. (p. 209)

Consejo de Industrias de Guerra: Consejo federal establecido en 1917 para dirigir la producción militar, incluyendo la asignación de recursos, la conversión de fábricas a la producción para la guerra y la definición de precios. (pág. 636)

Ley de Poderes de Guerra (1941): Ley que confirió al presidente Roosevelt un nivel de control sin precedentes sobre todos los aspectos del esfuerzo bélico durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial. (pág. 717)

Ley de Poderes de Guerra (1973): Ley que limitó el poder de los presidentes de desplegar fuerzas estadounidenses sin aprobación del Congreso. El Congreso aprobó la Ley de Poderes de Guerra en 1973 como parte de una serie de leyes para combatir los abusos de la administración de Nixon. (pág. 891)

guerra: entablar combate o competir fuertemente en disputas ejecutadas por medio del uso de armas. (pág. 2)

La Corte de Warren: La Corte Suprema bajo la presidente del tribunal, Earl Warren, (1953-1969), que expandió la promesa de igualdad y derechos civiles de la Constitución. Emitió decisiones históricas en el terreno de derechos civiles, derechos de los criminales, libertades reproductivas y separación de iglesia y estado. (pág. 872)

Pacto de Varsovia: Alianza militar establecida en Europa del Este en 1955 en respuesta a la alianza de la OTAN; incluyó a Albania, Bulgaria, Checoslovaquia, Alemania Oriental, Hungría, Polonia, Rumania y la Unión Soviética. (pág. 758)

Watergate: Término que describe la intrusión en la sede del Partido Demócrata ubicada en el complejo de Watergate de Washington D.C. en 1972, perpetrada por hombres que trabajan para la campaña de reelección de Nixon y el esfuerzo de Nixon para encubrir este acto. El escándalo de Watergate condujo a la renuncia del presidente Nixon. (pág. 890)

Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (Caso Webster contra los Servicios de Salud Reproductiva): Decisión de la Corte Suprema en 1989 que mantuvo la autoridad de los estados para limitar el uso de fondos públicos en instalaciones para abortos. (pág. 958)

capitalismo de bienestar: Sistema de relaciones laborales que resaltaban que el bienestar de los empleados es responsabilidad de la administración. (pág. 655)

estado de bienestar: Término aplicado a las democracias industriales que adoptan varios programas de bienestar social garantizados por el gobierno. La creación de la Seguridad Social junto con otras medidas del Segundo Nuevo Trato, cambió fundamentalmente a la sociedad estadounidense y estableció por primera vez un estado nacional de bienestar. (pág. 691)

whigs: El segundo partido nacional, el Partido de los Whigs, surgió en 1834 cuando un grupo de congresistas impugnaron la conducta y las políticas de Andrew Jackson. El partidio se identificaba con la América pre-revolucionaria y con los partidos británicos–también llamados *whigs*–que se habían opuesto a las acciones de los monarcas británicos. (pág. 293)

Rebelión del Whisky: Levantamiento en 1794 de agricultores en el oeste de Pennsylvania como respuesta a un impopular impuesto especial sobre el whiskey. (pág. 209)

Williams v. Mississippi: An 1898 Supreme Court ruling that allowed states to impose poll taxes and literacy tests. By 1908, every southern state had adopted such measures. (p. 599)

Wilmot Proviso: The 1846 proposal by Representative David Wilmot of Pennsylvania to ban slavery in territory acquired from the U.S.-Mexico War. (p. 368)

Wisconsin Idea: A policy promoted by Republican governor Robert La Follette of Wisconsin for greater government intervention in the economy, with reliance on experts, particularly progressive economists, for policy recommendations. (p. 605)

Woman's Christian Temperance Union: An organization advocating the prohibition of liquor that spread rapidly after 1879, when charismatic Frances Willard became its leader. Advocating suffrage and a host of reform activities, it launched tens of thousands of women into public life and was the first nationwide organization to identify and condemn domestic violence. (p. 550)

Woman's Loyal National League: An organization of Unionist women that worked to support the war effort, hoping the Union would recognize women's patriotism with voting rights after the war. (p. 414)

Women's Trade Union League: A labor organization for women founded in New York in 1903 that brought elite, middle-class, and working-class women together as allies. The WTUL supported union organizing efforts among garment workers. (p. 581)

women's liberation: A new brand of feminism in the 1960s that attracted primarily younger, college-educated women fresh from the New Left, antiwar, and civil rights movements who sought to end to the denigration and exploitation of women. (p. 867)

Works Progress Administration: Federal New Deal program established in 1935 that provided government-funded public works jobs to millions of unemployed Americans during the Great Depression in areas ranging from construction to the arts. (p. 692)

World Bank: An international bank created to provide loans for the reconstruction of war-torn Europe as well as for the development of former colonized nations in the developing world. (p. 783)

World Trade Organization (WTO): International economic body established in 1995 through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to enforce substantial tariff and import quota reductions. (p. 944)

World Wide Web: A collection of interlinked computer servers that debuted in 1991, allowing access by millions to documents, pictures, and other materials. (p. 951)

Williams v. Mississippi: Dictamen de la Corte Suprema que permitió a los estados imponer impuestos de capitación y pruebas de alfabetización. Para 1908, todos los estados del Sur habían adoptado estas medidas. (pág. 599)

Enmienda Wilmot: Propuesta presentada por el Representante David Wilmot en 1846 para prohibir la esclavitud en los territorios adquiridos durante la Intervención estadounidense en México. (pág. 368)

Idea de Wisconsin: Política promovida por el gobernador republicano, Robert La Follette, de Wisconsin, para una mayor intervención del gobierno en la economía que se apoyaría en expertos, particularmente economistas progresistas, para recomendaciones de políticas. (pág. 605)

Unión Cristiana de Mujeres por la Templanza: Organización que abogó por la prohibición del licor, que a partir de 1879 se expandió rápidamente cuando Frances Willard se convirtió en su líder. Abogaba por el sufragio y varias actividades reformistas, lanzó a decenas de miles de mujeres hacia la vida pública y fue la primera organización nacional que condenó la violencia doméstica. (pág. 550)

Woman's Loyal National League: Organización de mujeres de la Unión que trabajaron para apoyar el esfuerzo bélico con la esperanza de que la Unión correspondería el patriotismo de las mujeres con derechos de voto después de la guerra. (pág. 414)

Liga del Sindicato de Mujeres (WTUL): Organización laboral para mujeres fundada en Nueva York en 1903 que unió a mujeres de las élites, de la clase media y de la clase trabajadora como aliadas. La WTUL apoyó los esfuerzos para organizar un sindicato de trabajadores de manufactura de prendas. (pág. 581)

liberación de las mujeres: Nueva forma de feminismo surgido en la década de 1960 que atrajo principalmente a mujeres jóvenes con educación universitaria, que recién se habían unido a la Nueva Izquierda, se oponían a la guerra y estaban a favor de los movimientos de derechos civiles que buscaban terminar la degradación y explotación de las mujeres. (pág. 867)

Administración del Progreso de Obras: Programa federal del Nuevo Trato establecido en 1935 para ofrecer empleos públicos financiados por el gobierno a los millones de estadounidenses desempleados durante la Gran Depresión en industrias desde la construcción hasta las artes. (pág. 692)

Banco Mundial: Banco internacional creado para brindar préstamos de reconstrucción a Europa tras la devastación de la guerra y para el desarrollo de los países en vías de desarrollo que fueron colonias. (pág. 783)

Organización Mundial del Comercio (OMC o WTO en inglés): Entidad económica internacional establecida en 1995 por medio del Acuerdo General sobre Aranceles Aduaneros y Comercio, para imponer reducciones substanciales en cuotas de importación y aranceles. (pág. 944)

World Wide Web: Conjunto de servidores de computadora interconectados que en 1991, permitiendo el acceso de millones a documentos, imágenes y otros materiales. (pág. 951)

Wounded Knee: The 1890 massacre of Sioux Indians by American cavalry at Wounded Knee Creek, South Dakota. Sent to suppress the Ghost Dance, soldiers caught up with fleeing Lakotas and killed as many as three hundred. (p. 488)

XYZ Affair: A 1797 incident in which American negotiators in France were rebuffed for refusing to pay a substantial bribe. The incident led the United States into an undeclared war that curtailed American trade with the French West Indies. (p. 213)

Yalta Conference: A meeting in Yalta of President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Joseph Stalin in February 1945, in which the leaders discussed the treatment of Germany, the status of Poland, the creation of the United Nations, and Russian entry into the war against Japan. (p. 750)

yellow journalism: A derogatory term for newspapers that specialize in sensationalistic reporting. Yellow journalism is associated with the inflammatory reporting by the Hearst and Pulitzer newspapers leading up to the Spanish-American War in 1898. (p. 569)

Yellowstone National Park: Established in 1872 by Congress, Yellowstone was the United States's first national park. (p. 477)

yeoman: a property holder. (p. 68)

Young Americans for Freedom (YAF): The largest student political organization in the country, whose conservative members defended free enterprise and supported the war in Vietnam. (p. 860)

Young Lords Organization: An organization that sought self-determination for Puerto Ricans in the United States and in the Caribbean. Though immediate victories for the YLO were few, their dedicated community organizing produced a generation of leaders and awakened community consciousness. (p. 837)

Young Men's Christian Association: Introduced in Boston in 1851, the YMCA promoted muscular Christianity, combining evangelism with athletic facilities where men could make themselves "clean and strong." (p. 539)

Zimmermann telegram: A 1917 intercepted dispatch in which German foreign secretary Arthur Zimmermann urged Mexico to join the Central Powers and promised that if the United States entered the war, Germany would help Mexico recover Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Published by American newspapers, the telegram outraged the American public and help precipitate the move toward U.S. entry in the war on the Allied side. (p. 634)

zoot suits: Oversized suits of clothing in fashion in the 1940s, particularly among young male African Americans and Mexican Americans. In June 1943, a group of white sailors and soldiers in Los Angeles, seeking revenge for an earlier skirmish with Mexican American youths, attacked anyone they found wearing a zoot suit in what became known as the zoot-suit riots. (p. 727)

Masacre de Wounded Knee: Suceso que tuvo lugar en 1890 en Wounded Knee Creek, Dakota del Sur, en el que los indios siux fueron masacrados por la caballería estadounidense. Enviados para reprimir la Danza de los espíritus, los soldados alcanzaron a los lakotas cuando huían y mataron a unos trescientos de ellos. (pág. 488)

caso XYZ: Incidente en 1797 en el cual negociadores estadounidenses en Francia fueron rechazados por negarse a pagar un soborno considerable. El incidente llevó a los Estados Unidos a una guerra no declarada que redujo el comercio estadounidense con las Antillas Francesas. (pág. 213)

Conferencia de Yalta Reunión en Yalta del presidente Roosevelt, el primer ministro Churchill y Iósif Stalin en febrero de 1945 donde se discutió el trato hacia Alemania, el estatus de Polonia, la creación de las Naciones Unidas y el ingreso ruso a la guerra contra Japón. (pág. 750)

periodismo amarillista: Término despectivo para periódicos que se especializan en reportes sensacionalistas. El periodismo amarillista está asociado con la cobertura incendiaria de los periódicos Hearst and Pullitzer de cara a la Guerra Hispano-Estadounidense en 1898. (pág. 569)

Parque Nacional de Yellowstone: Establecido en 1872 por el Congreso, Yellowstone fue el primer parque nacional de los Estados Unidos. (p. 477)

yeoman: titular de una propiedad. (pág. 68)

Jóvenes Americanos por la Libertad (YAF): Organización política estudiantil más grande del país cuyos miembros conservadores defendieron a la empresa libre y apoyaron a la guerra en Vietnam. (pág. 860)

Organización Young Lords (YLO): Organización que buscó la autodeterminación para los puertorriqueños en Estados Unidos y el Caribe. Si bien los YLO obtuvieron pocas victorias inmediatas, su dedicación a la organización de la comunidad produjo una generación de líderes y despertó la conciencia comunitaria. (pág. 837)

Asociación Cristiana de Jóvenes (YMCA): Introducida en Boston en 1851, la YMCA promovió la cristiandad muscular, combinando el evangelismo con las instalaciones deportivas donde los hombres pudieran convertirse en "limpios y fuertes". (pág. 539)

telegrama Zimmermann: Envío interceptado en 1917 donde el secretario de exterior alemán llamaba a México a unirse a los Poderes Centrales y prometía que si Estados Unidos entraba a la guerra, Alemania ayudaría a México a recuperar Texas, Nuevo México y Arizona. Publicado por periódicos estadounidenses, el telegrama indignó al público americano y ayudó a precipitar la decisión de Estados Unidos de involucrarse en la guerra del lado de los Aliados. (pág. 634)

zoot suits (vestimenta): Trajes de tamaño excesivo que estuvieron de moda en la década de 1940, particularmente entre hombres afroamericanos y mexicano-americanos jóvenes. En junio de 1943, un grupo de marinos y soldados blancos, buscando vengarse de un conflicto anterior con jóvenes mexicano-americanos, atacaron a cualquiera que portara un zoot suit en lo que se conoce como los disturbios zoot-suit. (pág. 727)

Index

A note about the index: Names of individuals appear in boldface; biographical dates are included for major historical figures. Letters in parentheses following page numbers refer to: *(f)* figures, including charts and graphs; *(i)* illustrations, including photographs and artifacts; *(m)* maps; and *(t)* tables.

AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933), 687, 690, 693*(t)*, 701
AA-SS (American Anti-Slavery Society), 322–323, 324
Abel, Mary Hinman, 506–507
Abenaki Indians, 85
Abernathy, Ralph, 824
Abilene (Kansas), 471
Ableman v. Booth (1857), 377
abolition and abolitionism
  African Americans and, 279–280, 320
  Fugitive Slave Act and, 367*(i)*, 377–378
  growth of, 377–378
  in Kansas, 385, 385*(i)*
  in Massachusetts, 150
  music of, 318
  opposition to, 323–325
  radicalism and, 385, 389
  rise of, 321–325
  Secret Six group of, 389
  tactics of, 321–323
  violent responses to, 323–324
  women and, 322, 324, 327–329
Abolitionist Society (England), 89*(i)*
abortion and abortion rights
  feminists vs. conservatives on, 867, 957
  harassment at clinics, 957, 958*(i)*
  Supreme Court on, 897, 900, 925–926, 957, 958*(i)*, 958–959
Abrams v. United States (1919), 639
absolutism, 81*(i)*, 157
abstract art, 493
Abu Ghraib prison, 966, 967*(i)*
Abzug, Bella, 852*(i)*, 868, 896
academies, for women, 326
Acadia. *See* Nova Scotia
Acadia National Park (Maine), 544
accommodation
  by Native Americans, 483, 487
  by slaves, 96–97
  Washington (Booker T.) and, 549
acculturation, of Native American children, 482
Acheson, Dean, 748, 756
acid (LSD), 861
ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union), 666
Acoma Indians, 16
activism. *See also* reform and reformers; *specific groups and movements*
  African American, 673, 810, 819–823, 838–839, 866
  antiabortion, 957, 958*(i)*
  conservative, 915–916
  government, 452
  Japanese American, 819
  labor, 516–523
  Mexican American, 817–819, 839–840, 866
  Native American, 840–841, 841*(i)*
  peace, 862
  Protestant, 904–905
  of Puerto Ricans, 837
  Republican, 593
  by women, 327–329, 550, 850–853, 867–868, 895–897
ACT UP (Aids Coalition to Unleash Power), 926*(i)*
ADA (Americans for Democratic Action), 816
Adams, Abigail, 186, 189, 206, 250
Adams, Charles Francis, 368, 370
Adams, Henry, 409
Adams, John (1735–1826)
  on Boston Tea Party, 158
  on Boylston, 132, 132*(i)*
  on central government, 192
  on colonial elites, 102
  on Continental army, 165, 178
  diplomacy following American Revolution, 183
  in election of 1796, 213, 214*(m)*
  in election of 1800, 214, 214*(m)*
  Enlightenment and, 121
  on Haitian Revolution, 212
  on Magna Carta, 149
  on mixed government and republicanism, 185
  Olive Branch Petition and, 167
  on Pennsylvania constitution, 185
  on Stamp Act protests, 148
  Thoughts on Government by, 185, 198
  on vice-admiralty courts, 146
  as vice president, 204
Adams, John Quincy (1767–1848)
  as Antifederalist, 196–197
  diplomacy of, 230–232
  in election of 1824, 281–282, 282*(m)*, 283*(f)*
  in election of 1828, 284, 284*(m)*
  National Republicans and, 232
  Native American policies of, 283
  as president (1825–1829), 282–284
  tariffs and, 282, 283
Adams, Lily, 856–857
Adams, Samuel
  as Antifederalist, 198
  committees of correspondence and, 158
  nonattendance at Constitutional Convention, 192
  Oliver on, 163
  on parliamentary supremacy, 156
  on Shays's Rebellion, 191
  support for revolution from, 165
Adamson Eight-Hour Act of 1916, 611*(t)*, 612
Adams-Onís Treaty (1819), 231
ADC (Aid to Dependent Children), 692
Addams, Jane
  anti-imperialism of, 625
  on democracy, 605
  Hull House and, 578–579
  on political bosses, 573
  Roosevelt (Theodore) and, 608
Address to the Slaves of the United States of America (Garnet), 323
Adena culture, 11, 12*(i)*
Adirondack Park (New York), 544*(i)*
adolescents. *See* children and adolescents
Advanced Research Projects Agency Network (ARPANET), 951
Adventures of Huckleberry Finn, The (Twain), 535
Adventures of Tom Sawyer, The (Twain), 535
advertisements. *See also* propaganda
  in 1920s, 658
  for baby boomers, 788
  consumerism and, 500*(i)*, 502–503, 537*(i)*
  domestic help, 383
  indentured servants, 94
  separated immigrants, 383
  slave, 94*(i)*, 95, 180*(i)*, 257*(i)*
  to teen market, 788
  television, 788*(i)*, 788–789
  United Fruit, 655*(i)*
  Wild West, 484, 484*(i)*
  in World War II, 728, 728*(i)*
AEF (American Expeditionary Force), 635, 635*(m)*
aerospace industry, 804
AFC (America First Committee), 715
AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), 606, 692, 960, 961*(i)*

affirmative action, 894*(i)*, 894–895, 956–957
affluence. *See* prosperity; wealth
Affluent Society, The (Galbraith), 785
Afghanistan
  Al Qaeda in, 962–963, 965
  Obama and, 970
  Reagan and, 931
  Soviet invasion of, 920, 934–935
AFL. *See* American Federation of Labor
AFL-CIO, 840, 875
Africa. *See also specific regions and countries*
  decolonization in, 838*(m)*
  freedom in, 818
  immigrants from, 662, 953*(i)*
  independence movements in, 771
  Islam in, 25, 28, 88
  laborers from, 52–53
  marriage in, 89
  origins of *Homo sapiens* in, 23
  Portugal and, 6, 24*(m)*, 27*(i)*, 28
  religion and spirituality in, 28, 341
  slave culture and, 341, 343
  slave economy and, 86–97, 88*(m)*
  slave trade in, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 30–31
  trade in, 28
  in World War I, 633
African Americans. *See also* civil rights movement; free blacks; freedpeople; race riots; racism; segregation; slaves and slavery
  abolitionism and, 279–280, 320
  in American Revolution, 179, 180–181, 252
  in Baptist church, 126, 127
  in baseball, 541–542
  business success of, 320*(i)*
  children in families of, 344*(i)*, 344–345, 345*(i)*
  churches of, 280, 305*(i)*, 449, 814
  citizenship for, 363, 386–387, 435, 654
  in Civil War, 362, 363, 401*(i)*, 406, 412–414, 413*(i)*, 426–427
  communities of, 93, 96–97, 449–450
  as cowboys, 471, 472*(i)*
  discrimination against, 252, 321, 413, 509, 538, 539, 636, 639, 819–823
  disfranchisement of, 277, 599*(m)*, 599–600, 601, 661–662, 813
  education for, 446, 548, 814, 814*(t)*
  as elected officials, 834, 837, 838
  as Exodusters, 473
  families, 344*(i)*, 344–345, 345*(i)*, 565*(i)*
  Farmers' Alliance for, 520
  in Great Depression, 675
  in Greenback movement, 519
  Harlem Renaissance and, 669, 669*(i)*, 669*(m)*, 672*(i)*, 672–674
  institutions of, 321, 446, 448, 449–450
  Johnson (Lyndon) and, 830, 847
  juba dancing of, 319
  labor of, 565, 653, 812–813
  labor unions of, 523, 724, 814
  lynchings of, 551, 551*(i)*, 554, 598*(i)*, 600, 700
  as mayors, 837, 838
  in middle class, 565*(i)*, 806, 814
  migration by, 473, 565, 639*(i)*, 639, 642, 653, 816*(m)*
  music of, 343, 567–568, 790, 902
  nationalism of, 866
  Negro Election Day and, 306
  New Deal and, 700–701, 701*(i)*
  police and, 836, 971
  Populists and, 599
  Protestantism developed by, 127, 321, 341–343
  in public office, 445, 447
  reforms by, 526
  rights of, 607, 609
  Roosevelt (Franklin) and, 815
  school busing and, 873–874
  Second Great Awakening and, 303*(i)*, 304
  as sharecroppers, 444–445, 445*(i)*
  in South, 340, 445–448, 452, 599–600, 700, 701
  talented tenth of, 607
  on television, 789, 902*(i)*
  theatrical caricatures of, 318
  Truman and, 816–817
  in urban areas, 565, 654, 804–805
  voting rights for, 277, 433*(i)*, 439, 593, 599–600, 643
  as wageworkers, 493, 509
  in War of 1898, 625
  Wilson and, 612
  women's organizations of, 551, 554
  women's rights and, 867
  in World War I, 636, 639, 653, 654
  in World War II, 711*(i)*, 720, 723–724, 724*(i)*, 810, 814, 815*(i)*
African Lodge of Freemasons, 279
African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME), 280, 321, 347*(i)*, 449
Africans. *See* African Americans; slaves and slavery
Afrika Korps, 734
afterlife, in Christianity, 22*(i)*
aging persons. *See* elderly persons
Agnew, Spiro, 891
agrarianism, of Jefferson, 208
Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 (AAA), 687, 690, 693*(t)*, 701
agriculture. *See also* crops; planters and plantations; tenant farmers; yeomen
  in Atlantic Ocean region, 29
  in California, 373–374
  canals and, 244–245, 246*(m)*
  in Civil War, 408–409
  corporate, 476, 702, 703*(i)*
  crop-lien system, 444–445
  dry farming, 476
  dust bowl and, 704, 704*(m)*
  in Europe, 18–19
  federal funding for, 521–522
  Grange and, 517–518
  in Great Depression, 676*(i)*, 682
  on Great Plains, 472, 473
  innovations in, 218
  Jefferson on, 208
  labor for, 702, 703, 725
  livestock and, 15, 41, 351, 374, 471–472
  in Mesoamerica, 9–10
  Native American, 9–10, 16, 217
  in New Deal, 687, 700, 705
  in New England, 65, 108, 109, 112–113
  populism and, 594–595
  post–World War I recession and, 658
  prosperity in, 208
  sharecropping, 444*(m)*, 444–445, 445*(i)*, 687, 701
  in South, 341, 508*(m)*
  subsidies for, 687
  tariffs and, 286
  technological innovation in, 218, 260*(i)*, 408–409
  westward movement and, 218, 244
  worker-farmer alliances, 493, 517–518, 520–522
Agriculture Department, 470
Aguinaldo, Emilio, 626
Ahuitzotl (Aztec), 33*(i)*
AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP), 926*(i)*
AIDS/HIV, 926*(i)*, 926–927
Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), 692
Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), 606, 692, 960, 961*(i)*
AIM (American Indian Movement), 840–841, 841*(i)*
airplanes, in World War I, 634*(i)*
air pollution, 507
Air Quality Act of 1965, 849*(t)*
Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of (1748), 103, 103*(i)*
Akan states, 25
Alabama
  Democratic Party in, 453
  Freedom Riders in, 825
  migration to, 217, 218
  Native Americans in, 288
  plantation agriculture in, 253
  racial violence in, 825
  secession of, 392, 392*(i)*
  slavery in, 254*(m)*
  southern rights convention and, 375
  voting rights in, 275, 339
Alabama (ship), 419, 464
Alamance, Battle of (1771), 134
Alamo, Battle of (1836), 339, 339*(m)*
Alaska
  ancient migration to, 8, 9*(m)*
  U.S. purchase of, 465

Albany (New York)
in American Revolution, 174
British in, 86
Fort Orange in, 56, 57
Albany Argus (newspaper), 277
Albany Congress (1754), 129, 159
Albany Plan of Union, 129
Alcatraz Island, Native American occupation of, 841, 841*(i)*
alcohol and alcoholism. *See also* prohibition; temperance movement
crime and, 550
effects of, 552*(i)*
social life of, 210–211
wage earners and, 306–309
Alcoholics Anonymous, 308
Alcott, Louisa May, 420–421, 506
Aleut peoples, 8, 348
Alford, Barney, 344
Alger, Horatio, Jr., 540*(i)*
Algeria, 219, 838*(m)*
Algonquian Indians, 10*(m)*, 11–12, 15, 54, 56–57, 58
Ali, Muhammad, 866, 866*(i)*
Ali, Sonni (r. 1464–1492), 30
Alien Act of 1798, 214, 219
alien enemies, in World War I, 640
Alien Land Law (California), 819
Allen, Paul, 930
Allen, Richard, 280
Allen, Thomas, 447
Alliance, Treaty of (1778), 171*(i)*, 177, 183
alliances. *See also specific alliances*
in American Revolution, 171*(i)*, 175, 177–178, 183
colonist–Native American, 74
defense, 771, 772*(m)*
Dutch-Indian, 60
with France, 171*(i)*, 175, 177–178
Indian-European, 84–85
post–World War II, 710, 716, 758
in World War I, 632
in World War II, 713
Allies (World War I), 617, 633, 634–637, 635*(m)*, 643–645
Allies (World War II), 617, 715, 732–735, 739–740, 751
All in the Family (television show), 878, 902, 903
almanacs, 317*(i)*
Al Qaeda, 942, 962–963, 964–965, 966
Alton Observer, 323
Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, 496
amalgamation, 323, 401
Ambrose, Stephen, 751
AME (African Methodist Episcopal Church), 280, 321, 347*(i)*, 449
amendments. *See also specific amendments*
Bill of Rights, 192*(i)*, 205
Reconstruction, 438*(t)*, 457
Tallmadge, 280, 281
America First Committee (AFC), 715
American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 324, 370
American Anti-Slavery Society (AA-SS), 322–323, 324
American Automobile Association, 660
American Bandstand (television show), 791
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 666
American Colonization Society, 280, 321, 322
American Education Society, 305
American Enterprise Institute, 916
American exceptionalism, 622
American Expeditionary Force (AEF), 635, 635*(m)*
An American Family (television show), 900
American Federation of Labor (AFL), 522–523, 607, 608, 652, 697. *See also* AFL-CIO
American Friends Service Committee, 819
American Fur Company, 242, 354
American GI Forum, 817*(i)*, 819
American Indian Movement (AIM), 840–841, 841*(i)*
American Indians. *See* Native Americans
Americanism Versus Bolshevism (Hanson), 652–653
American Legion, 653
American Liberty League, 690
American Medical Association, 765, 960
American National Exhibition (Moscow), 782*(i)*
American Party. *See* Know-Nothing Party
American Philosophical Society, 121
American Plan of employment, 654, 655
American Progress (Gast), 333*(i)*, 392*(i)*
American Protective Association (APA), 533
American Protective League, 639
American Psychiatric Association, 798
American Public Health Association, 506
American Purity Foundation, 578*(i)*
American Railway Union (ARU), 609
American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, 968
American Red Cross, 415
American Renaissance, 309–310
American Republican Party, 384
American Revolution (1776–1783). *See also* Loyalists; Patriots; *specific battles*
in 1776–1778, 172–177
in 1778–1783, 177–183
African Americans in, 179, 180–181, 252
alliances in, 171*(i)*, 175, 177–178, 183
British blockade in, 175
British recognition of U.S. independence following, 183
debt following, 183, 189, 191
diplomacy following, 183
economy in, 175
events leading up to, 158–168
financial crisis in, 176
France in, 171*(i)*, 175, 177–178, 181–182, 182*(m)*, 183
losers in, 186–187
Native Americans and, 172, 174, 178, 178*(m)*, 183
in North, 172–177, 174*(m)*
Patriot advantage in, 182–183
republican institutions following, 184–189, 191
Rush on, 136
Saratoga as turning point in, 175
slaves and slavery in, 178–179, 180–181, 252, 252*(m)*
soldiers in, 172, 173, 175*(i)*, 252
in South, 166, 178–182, 182*(m)*
in West (1778–1779), 178*(m)*
women in, 175–176
Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), 816
American Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses (Weld & Grimkés), 322
American System
Adams (John Quincy) and, 282
Clay and, 281–282, 355
demise of, 282–283
Jackson and, 284, 285, 287, 292
Van Buren and, 295
Whigs and, 294, 295
American Temperance Magazine, 309
American Temperance Society, 306
American Woman Suffrage Association, 440
America(s). *See also* Mesoamerica; Native Americans; North America; South America
Columbian Exchange in, 3, 36, 40, 41, 42*(m)*
emblem of (1800), 203*(i)*
empires of, 8, 10–11, 32*(m)*
Enlightenment in, 106, 120–121
European colonies in, 40*(f)*
gold and silver from, 3, 27*(i)*, 40–41, 42
migration of ancient peoples to, 8–9, 9*(m)*
naming of, 33
as new world, 33
plantation system in, 35–36, 44*(m)*, 44–47
Portuguese conquests in, 26
settlement of, 8–9, 9*(m)*
Spanish conquests in, 32*(m)*, 32–36, 40–44, 71
transit of Africans to, 86*(f)*

Ames, Adelbert, 456
Ames, Fisher, 191
Amos 'n' Andy (television show), 789
Amsterdam, 55
amusement parks, 526, 566–567, 567*(i)*, 804
anarchism
  Haymarket affair and, 520
  immigrants and, 666
  McKinley assassination and, 603
  Sacco-Vanzetti case and, 653
Anasazi peoples, 16, 16*(i)*
Ancient Society (Morgan), 484–485, 484*(t)*
Andelin, Helen B., 905
Anders, Bill, 882*(i)*
Anderson, John, 921, 921*(m)*
Andersonville (Georgia), prison camp at, 413
Andes Mountains region
  ancient peoples of, 8, 9
  empires of, 10–11
  mines and mining in, 40
  silver in, 40
Andover (Massachusetts), 64*(m)*
Andrews, Matthew Page, 459
Andros, Edmund, 80
Angelo, Giovanni (Marchese d'Ossoli), 311*(i)*
Anglican Church. *See* Church of England
Anglos, 467, 470
Angola, 93, 931
Anguilla, 47
animals. *See also* fur trade; livestock; *specific animals*
  in ancient Americas, 9*(m)*
  in Columbian Exchange, 3, 41, 42*(m)*
animism, 17, 21
Anishinaabe peoples, 15
Anne (England, r. 1702–1714), 82*(i)*, 84–85
annexation
  of Hawaii, 465, 620, 625
  of Mexican lands, 369
  of Philippines, 625–626
  of Texas, 339, 339*(m)*, 348, 349, 355
Annexation Club (Hawaii), 625
"Annual Message to Congress" (Roosevelt), 695
Anschutz, Thomas P., 505*(i)*
antebellum era. *See also* South
  dance and social identity in, 318–319
  motivation of reformers in, 307
  slave quarters in, 346*(i)*
  southern whites in, 335–338
  use of term, 234
  western expansion of slave-cotton economy, 371
Anthony, Susan B., 329, 440, 441, 475
antiabortion movement, 957
anti-Catholicism, 381, 384, 533
anticolonialism, 771–774
anticommunism. *See also* communism
  civil rights and, 768–769
  Cold War and, 763
  isolationism before World War II and, 714
  New Right and, 917
  race and, 817
  Reagan and, 931
Antietam, Battle of (1862), 403*(m)*, 405, 406*(i)*, 407
Antifederalists, 195–198
Antigua, 47
anti-immigration sentiment, 381, 384
anti-imperialism, 625–626, 628–629
Antilles, 42, 47
Anti-Masonic Party, 294–295
antipoverty programs, 846
Antiquities Act of 1906, 545, 604, 611*(t)*
antiradicalism, 653, 657
antirape movement, 895
Anti-Saloon League, 553, 640, 640*(i)*, 656, 663
anti-Semitism. *See also* Jews and Judaism
  Coughlin and, 690*(i)*
  Ford and, 668
  Hitler and, 713
  isolationism before World War II and, 714
  KKK and, 670
  of Russia, 512
  in U.S., 736
antislavery movement. *See* abolition and abolitionism
antisuffragists, 555
antitrust laws
  Clayton Antitrust Act, 610
  Roosevelt (Theodore) and, 603–604
  Sherman Antitrust Act, 593, 604, 610
  Wilson and, 610
antiunionism, 697, 787
antiwar movement (Vietnam War), 745, 855, 860–861, 864–866, 871
APA (American Protective Association), 533
Apache Indians, 8, 17, 66, 353, 356, 487
Apalachee Indians, 11, 84
Appalachian Mountain Club, 544
Appalachian Mountains region
  Great Depression in, 681*(m)*
  settlement west of, 146*(m)*, 153, 159*(m)*
  slave ownership in, 335
  southern whites in, 337
Appalachian Regional and Development Act of 1965, 849*(t)*
Appalachian Trail, 706
Appeal . . . to the Colored Citizens of the World, An (Walker), 321, 321*(i)*
appeasement, at Munich Conference, 714–715
Apple Computers, 930, 950
Appleton, Nathan, 249
appliances
  in 1920s, 658
  consumer culture and, 538
  for middle class, 787, 788
Appomattox Court House (Virginia), Lee's surrender at, 423*(m)*, 427
Apprentice, The (television show), 972
apprenticeships, 261, 435
Arabs and Arab world. *See also* Islam and Muslims; Middle East
  anti-Western ideology in, 940
  Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 880, 920
  Egypt and, 773
  Israel and, 773, 880, 939
  Palestine and, 773
  trade in, 20, 30, 30*(m)*
  World War I peace conference and, 644
Arab Spring, 970
Arapaho Indians, 354, 480, 486, 488
Arawak peoples, 32, 33
Arbenz Guzmán, Jacobo, 757, 772
architecture, Chicago school of, 561
Architecture of Country Houses, The (Downing), 268*(i)*
Ardley, Neil, 932
Argentina
  bankruptcy and, 950
  Great Depression and, 680
Argonne forest, Battle of (1918), 635
Arikara Indians, 221, 354
aristocracy
  of capital, 262
  financial, 428
  planters, 266
  republican, 335
Aristotle, 310
Arizona
  Gadsden Purchase and, 378
  Mexican American land claims in, 467
  Native Americans in, 16
Arkansas
  Civil War in, 418
  Democratic Party in, 453
  emancipation in, 424–425
  plantation agriculture in, 253
  racial violence in, 436
  school desegregation in, 814, 822*(i)*, 822–823
  secession and, 392, 393
  statehood granted to, 246
Arkwright, Richard, 248
armaments. *See* weapons
Armas, Carlos Castillo, 757
armed forces. *See also* Continental army; military; veterans
  African Americans in, 362–363, 408, 412–414, 413*(i)*, 426–427, 636, 654
  in American Revolution, 172, 173, 175*(i)*, 252
  British deployments in colonies, 144–145, 147, 152, 152*(m)*, 156

in Civil War, 401*(i)*, 408, 411–414, 412*(i)*, 413*(i)*, 420–421
Confederate, 401*(i)*
in Constitution, 195
desegregation of, 760*(i)*, 817
Indian resistance and, 480–481, 486
integration of, 760*(i)*
Japanese Americans in, 731
in Korean War, 744, 760*(i)*
LGBT persons in, 730, 970
in Philippines, 626
quartering of, 147
segregation in, 636, 720, 724, 814
in U.S.-Mexico War, 359–360, 360*(i)*
in Vietnam, 744, 854, 854*(f)*, 870
in War of 1898, 624, 625
women in, 939*(i)*
in World War I, 635, 636, 636*(i)*
in World War II, 718, 720, 810
armistice, in World War I, 635
Armory Show (New York City), 535, 536*(i)*
Armour, Philip D., 409
arms race, 770, 783, 931
arms reduction negotiations, 920, 971
Armstrong, Louis, 673
Army-McCarthy hearings, 767, 767*(i)*
Army of Northern Virginia, 418
Army of the Potomac, 402, 418, 422
Arnold, Benedict, 181
Around the World in Eighty Days (Verne), 570
ARPANET (Advanced Research Projects Agency Network), 951
arranged marriages, 112
arsenal of democracy, U.S. as, 715
art and artists. *See also* literature; music; painting; *specific works and artists*
in 1920s, 669, 669*(i)*
abstract, 493
expressionism, 659
in Harlem Renaissance, 669, 669*(i)*, 672*(i)*
masculinity in, 536
museums for, 569
in New Deal, 679*(i)*, 706
realism in, 493, 528, 535–536, 536*(i)*
in Renaissance, 21
Articles of Confederation, 187–189, 188*(m)*, 192, 193–194. *See also* Constitution, U.S.
Article X, of League covenant, 644, 647
Art Institute of Chicago, 672*(i)*
artisan republicanism, 261, 261*(i)*, 269, 295
artisans
colonial, 99, 100
free blacks as, 320
industrialization and, 238, 260, 261, 504, 505*(i)*
political parties formed by, 295
republican ideology of, 261, 261*(i)*, 262, 295
ARU (American Railway Union), 609
Asante peoples, 88
Ash Can School, 535, 559*(i)*
Asia. *See also specific regions and countries*
British Empire in, 144*(t)*
containment in, 759–763
financial crisis in, 950
immigrants from, 662, 953*(i)*
independence movements in, 771
migration of ancient peoples from, 8, 9*(m)*
open door policy in, 627–630
trade with, 241*(i)*, 378, 465
in World War I, 633
in World War II, 710, 716–717
Asian Americans
citizenship for, 515, 516, 667, 704
discrimination against, 514–516, 703
New Deal and, 703–704
population of (2000), 956*(m)*
restrictive covenants for, 799
in West, 703–704
Asian immigrants, 372, 514–516, 666, 953–954. *See also specific groups*
assassinations
Garfield, 589
Kennedy (John), 830, 846–847
Kennedy (Robert), 863–864, 864*(i)*
King, 839, 862–863
Lincoln, 427, 434
McKinley, 603
assemblies. *See also* legislatures
colonial, 101–102
middle classes in, 185*(f)*
in Pennsylvania, 117
Assemblies of God, 905
assembly lines, 499
assimilation
of mixed-race peoples, 369
of Native Americans, 216–217, 289–290, 482, 483
Assiniboine Indians, 354, 355
associated state, business and government in, 656
Association for the Advancement of Women, 549
assumption of war debts, 205–207
Astor, John Jacob (1763–1848), 240, 242, 243, 348
astronomy, 119–120
Aswan Dam, 774
asylums, 327, 448
Atahualpa (Inca), 33
Atchison, David R., 385
Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad, 468
Atherton, Joshua, 198
athletics. *See* sports
Atlanta (Georgia)
race riot in, 565
Sherman's March through, 423, 424, 425, 426*(m)*
Atlanta Compromise address (Washington), 548–549
Atlantic Charter (1941), 716, 732, 741
Atlantic magazine, 924
Atlantic Ocean region, 70–104. *See also* Atlantic slave trade
agriculture in, 29
British Empire in, 144*(t)*
cities in, 264*(m)*
cultural developments in, 71
Glorious Revolution in England and America, 80–81
land values in, 133
maritime economy in, 99–101
from mercantilism to imperial dominion, 79–80
Native Americans in, 82–86
politics in, 101–104
population movements in, 70
Restoration Colonies and imperial expansion in, 77–79
self-governing colonies and new elites in, 76–77
slave economy in, 86–97, 88*(m)*
southern gentry of, 97–98
timeline for, 72–73
urban society in, 100–101
Atlantic slave trade
abolition of, 253, 279
decline of, 340
economic role of, 86–97, 88*(m)*
origins of, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 36
planters and, 253–254
atomic bombs. *See also* nuclear weapons
Soviet, 758
Truman and, 737–740
in World War II, 710, 737*(m)*, 737–740, 740*(i)*
Atwater, Jesse, 241
Atwater, Lee, 937
Audubon, John James, 544
Audubon Societies, 544–545
Auschwitz death camp, 735, 736
Austin, Mary, 544
Austin, Moses, 338
Austin, Stephen F., 338
Australia
gold rush in, 372, 372*(t)*
in World War II, 736
Austria-Hungary
immigrants from, 510
in Triple Alliance, 632
in World War I, 632–633
authoritarianism, 80, 712
Autobiography (Franklin), 120, 122–123
automation, 785
automobiles and automobile industry
Bartov on, 802
economic crisis in, 967

automobiles (*cont.*)
emergence and growth of, 617, 650, 659–660, 660*(i)*
fuel-efficient, 881
for middle class, 788
strikes in, 697*(i)*
suburban growth and, 659 660, 800–802
autonomy of workers, 504
Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, The (Monk), 381
axis of evil, Bush (G. W.) on, 965
Axis powers (World War II), 717, 732, 734, 752*(i)*
Azore Islands, 28, 31, 44
Aztec Empire
centralization of, 10*(m)*
Cortés and, 32*(m)*, 33
cosmos of, 11
features of, 10–11
Moctezuma and, 33
Nahuatl language of, 33*(i)*
Spanish invasion of, 32*(m)*

Babbitt (Lewis), 663
Babcock, Orville, 452
baby boomers
advantages of, 793
advertisements for, 788
education for, 786
families and, 901
sexual freedom and, 903
Social Security and Medicare for, 793
bachelors lifestyle, 568, 798
backcountry
farmers in, 185
Lord Dunmore's War and, 165
Regulators in, 133–134
religion in, 106
Back to Africa movement, 835
Backus, Isaac, 125
Bacon, Nathaniel, and Bacon's Rebellion, 67–68, 77
Bad Axe Massacre (1832), 292
Baez, Joan, 861
Bahia, sugar mills in, 45
Baker (Judge), 297
Baker, Ella, 824*(i)*, 824–825, 828, 831*(i)*
Baker, James A., III, 923
Baker, Josephine, 663
Bakke, Allan, 895
Bakker, Jim and Tammy, 905
Bakke v. University of California (1978), 895, 956
Balboa, Vasco Núñez de, 33
Balfour, Arthur, 645
Balkan region
immigrants from, 510
World War I and, 632–633
Ball, Charles, 256
"Ballad for Americans" (La Touche & Robinson), 696
Ballard, Florence, 790*(i)*
Baltimore (Maryland)
Civil War in, 402
Fifteenth Amendment celebration in, 433*(i)*
population of, 99, 315
urban growth in, 340
Baltimore Orioles, 541
Banca d'Italia, 564
bank holiday, 686
Banking Act of 1935, 689–690, 693*(t)*
banknotes, 241, 469
Bank of America, 564
Bank of England, 296–297
Bank of North America, 188, 240
Bank of the United States
charter for, 207, 241
First, 207, 241
Jefferson and, 219
Second, 229, 230, 241, 281, 286–287
bankruptcy
in 1837 panic, 298
in 1873 depression, 450
in 1890s depression, 598
in cities, 880
of financial institutions, 950
in Great Depression, 674, 683
post-Revolutionary War, 188
of railroads, 450
banks and banking. *See also* Bank of the United States; finances
1873 depression and, 451
1890s depression and, 598, 599
branch banks, 230
Cleveland and, 599
credit and, 240–242
deregulation of, 950
farmers and, 518
financial crisis of 2008 and, 241
in Great Depression, 674, 675, 680, 683, 686*(t)*
international debt and, 655
mergers in, 658
national system of, 207, 287, 409, 464
in New Deal, 686–687
Panic of 1819 and, 241
Panic of 1837 and, 296–298
state, 241, 286, 287
Wilson and, 610
in World War I, 636
Banneker, Benjamin, 320
Banner, Stuart, 542
Banning, Lance, 206
Bannock Indians, 15
Banza (Mbanza Kongo), 29*(i)*
Baptists
Great Awakening and, 125, 304–305, 341
membership numbers, 533
New Light, 126
number of churches (1700–1780), 125*(f)*
revivalism and, 126–127
in South, 304–305, 337
women as, 325, 337
Barbados
colonization of, 47
disease in, 51
migration to, 50
plantation life in, 54, 86–87
slaves in, 52–53, 71, 86–87, 91
sugar production in, 50, 52–53, 86
Barbary States, 218–219, 219*(i)*
barbed wire, 471–472, 633
Baring, Thomas, 253
Barker, Penelope, 151*(i)*
Barland, David, 320
Barlow, Wilson, Primrose, and West's "Mammoth Minstrels' Colored Masquerade," 319, 319*(i)*
Barnum, P. T., 318, 537–538
barrios, 817, 840
Barrow Plantation, 444*(m)*
Barry, James Buckner, 337
Barry, Leonora, 519–520
barter systems, 674
Barton, Clara, 415
Bartov, Hanoch, 802
BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) system, 849
Baruch, Bernard, 637, 686, 758
baseball, 526, 540–542, 815
basketball, 540
Bates, Daisy, 820*(i)*
Batista, Fulgencio, 775
Battle Hymn (Federal Theatre Project), 701*(i)*
battles. *See specific name of battle*
Bayard, James, 215
Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system, 849
Baylies, Francis, 332
Bay of Pigs invasion (1961), 775, 775*(m)*
Beal, Frances, 835
Beals, Melba Patillo, 797
Beame, Abraham, 887, 890*(i)*
Beard, Ithamar A., 269
Beard, James Henry, 337*(i)*
Bear Flag Republic, 360
Beatles, 861
Beatty, Warren, 903
Beat writers, 790–791
Beaune Altarpiece, The (van der Weyden), 22*(i)*
Beauregard, P. G. T., 401, 404
Beauséjour, Fort, 129
Beaver (ship), 158
Beavers, Louise, 789
Beaver Wars, 58
bebop, 790
Beck, Roy, 954
Becker, Joseph, 313*(i)*
Beckley, John, 223

Beckwith, Abijah, 370
Beecher, Catharine, 291, 296, 326, 327
Beecher, Henry Ward, 298, 440–441
Beecher, Lyman, 308
Beecher-Tilton scandal, 440–441
Beers, David, 797
Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts (Richter), 52
Begin, Menachem, 920
Beijing, U.S. expeditionary force in, 627*(m)*
Belgium
  disintegration of empire, 771
  Nazi invasion of, 715
  in World War I, 633
  in World War II, 735
Bell, Alexander Graham, 504, 538
Bell, John, 390*(i)*, 391*(m)*
Belleau Wood, Battle of (1918), 635*(m)*
Bellini, Gentile, 20*(i)*
Bellow, Saul, 706
Bellows, George, 535, 559*(i)*
Bell Telephone, 501
benevolence of slave owners, 257
Benevolent Empire, 296, 306–309, 325
Benin, 27*(i)*, 28, 88
Bennett, James Gordon, 317
Bennington, Battle of (1777), 174*(m)*, 175
Benton, Thomas Hart, 332
Bering Strait, land bridge across, 8
Berkeley, William, 67, 77
Berkeley (California), Free Speech Movement at, 860
Berkhofer, Robert F., Jr., 18
Berlin
  comparison with Chicago, 573
  partitioning of, 751, 755
Berlin, Irving, 568
Berlin Airlift, 755, 758*(i)*
Berlin Wall, 776, 776*(i)*, 935, 936*(i)*
Bernard, Francis, 146
Bernard, Thomas, 278
Bernstein, Carl, 891
Berrian, William, 316
Bethel Church, 280
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 700, 724
Bethune-Cookman College, 700
Beulah (television show), 789
Bevel, James, 831
Beveridge, Albert J., 623
Beverly of Grasustark (movie), 658*(i)*
BIA. *See* Bureau of Indian Affairs
Bible, 23, 873
Bible Against Slavery, The (Weld), 322
Bible Conferences (Niagara Falls), 533
Bible Society, 305
biblical archaeology, 526
bicameral legislatures, 185
bicycling, 544
Biddle, Nicholas, 287
Bierce, Ambrose, 405
big business, 498–509
  corporate workplace, 503–504
  innovators in enterprise, 498–503
  progressivism and, 586
  shop floor in, 504–509
  Wilson and, 612*(i)*
Big Four, at Versailles, 644, 645*(i)*
big government, New Deal and, 678
Bight of Benin, 28
Big Three (World War II), 732–733, 737, 738*(i)*, 750–752
bilingual education, 957
Bill of Rights, 192*(i)*, 205
bills of credit, 293
bimetallic standard, 469
Bingham, Caleb, 279
Bingham, George Caleb, 166*(i)*, 273*(i)*
Bingham, William, 241
bin Laden, Osama, 920, 942, 962–963, 970
Bird, Caroline, 899
Birmingham (Alabama)
  church bombing in, 830
  civil rights movement in, 825, 828–829
  Freedom Riders in, 825
  KKK gathering in, 670
  racial violence in, 825, 830, 832*(i)*
Birney, James G., 324–325, 355
birth control
  in Great Depression, 675
  guidebooks on, 317
  middle class and, 278
  in New England, 112
  pills for, 902–903
  Sanger and, 579
  stigmatization of, 546–547
birther movement, 971
Birth of a Nation (movie), 612, 668
birthrate. *See also* population
  1860–1980, 793*(f)*
  decline in, 277–278
  in Great Depression, 675
bisexuals. *See* lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons
bison
  decimation of, 354–355, 471, 471*(i)*
  horses for hunting of, 15
  Native Americans and, 352, 353, 354
  prevalence of, 12
Black, Hugo, 693
Black Arts movement, 836
Black Ball Line, 264
Black Belt (Chicago), 672*(i)*
black belt (South), 253, 336*(m)*
Blackboard Jungle (movie), 790
Blackburn, Robin, 92
Black Codes, 435, 447
Black Death, 19
Black Elk (Sioux), 489
black English, 343
blackface, 318
Blackfoot Indians, 354, 481, 702*(i)*
Black Fox, Joe (Oglala Sioux), 485, 485*(i)*
Black Hawk (Oglala Sioux chief), 354
Black Hawk (Sauk and Fox chief), 292, 292*(i)*
Black Hills
  gold discoveries in, 470, 470*(m)*
  Indian resistance in, 486
Black Joke Al-Ma-Nig, 317*(i)*
Black Kettle (Cheyenne chief), 480
blacklist, in Red Scare, 766
Black Lives Matter (BLM), 971
Black Muslims, 835
black nationalism, 673, 835–838
Black Panther Party, 836, 837*(i)*, 866
"Black Panther" Tank Battalion, 810
Black Power movement, 833, 833*(i)*, 836–838
Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America (Carmichael & Hamilton), 833
black Protestantism, 127, 321, 341–343
Black Reconstruction in America (Du Bois), 458
blacks. *See* African Americans; slaves and slavery
Black Star steamship company, 673
Blaine, James G., 589, 589*(m)*, 592
Blair, Francis Preston, 285
Blakes and the Flanagans, The (Sadlier), 382*(i)*
Blanck, Max, 583
Bland, Richard, 145–146
Bland, Thomas, 481–482
Bland-Allison Act of 1878, 469
Bleeding Kansas, 385, 386
Blewett, Mary H., 263
blitzkrieg (lightning war), 710, 715
BLM (Black Lives Matter), 971
Block, Sam, 831*(i)*
blockades
  in American Revolution, 175
  in Berlin, 755
  British, 175, 223
  in Civil War, 401
  in French Revolution, 208
  in World War I, 633
Blodget, Samuel, Jr., 207
blood sports, 317
Bloomer, Amelia Jenks, 329*(i)*
blue-collar workers, 503, 865, 901, 902, 902*(i)*
Blue Ridge Parkway, 706
Blues (Motley), 672*(i)*
blues music, 568
Bly, Nellie (Elizabeth Jane Cochrane), 570
boarding schools, for Native American children, 482–483, 487
board of customs commissioners, 151
Board of Trade (England), 81, 104, 129
Boas, Franz, 672
Bodnar, John, 662

Boeing Aircraft Company, 783, 783*(i)*
Boesky, Ivan, 928
Bolivia, U.S. financial assistance for, 655
Bolshevik Revolution (1917), 635, 653*(i)*
Bolsheviks, fear of, 652–653, 653*(i)*
bombs and bombings
  atomic bomb, 710, 737*(m)*, 737–740, 740*(i)*, 758
  at Birmingham church, 830
  at Haymarket Square, 520, 598
  hydrogen bomb, 758, 770
  of Japan, 736, 737*(m)*
  at *Los Angeles Times* headquarters, 608
  radicalism and, 653
  of USS *Cole*, 962
  in Vietnam War, 854, 871, 872
  World Trade Center (1993), 962
Bonaparte. *See* Napoleon I Bonaparte (France)
Bondra, Virginia J., 729
bonds, 267, 298, 409, 469
Bonner, John Richard, 401*(i)*
Bontecou, Reed, 416
Bonus Army, 682–683
Bonus Bill of 1817, 229, 282–283
Book of Mormon, The (Smith), 314
books. *See* literature; *specific works and authors*
boom and bust cycles, 242, 500
Boone, Daniel, 166, 166*(i)*
Booth, John Wilkes, 427, 434
Booth, Junius Brutus, 317
borders. *See* boundaries; expansion and expansionism
border states
  in Civil War, 402–404, 404*(m)*, 405
  emancipation in, 407
  secession and, 392, 393
Bosnia-Herzegovina, 962
Bosnian Slavs, 633
bosses, political, 572–573, 578
Boston (Massachusetts)
  abolitionists in, 377
  police strike in, 654
  population of, 99, 315
  reform mayors in, 574
  school busing in, 874*(i)*
  transportation in, 561
  urban renewal in, 806
Boston Americans (baseball), 541
Boston Guardian, 607
Boston Manufacturing Company, 249, 250, 262–263
Boston Massacre (1770), 156, 157*(i)*
Boston Port Bill of 1774, 159
Boston Tea Party, 158
Boston Transcript, 262
Boulder Dam (Hoover Dam), 702, 705, 707*(i)*
boundaries
  of Louisiana, 231
  national (1800–1820), 231*(m)*
  New Mexico–Texas dispute over, 375
  of Oregon, 359
  of Texas, 339*(m)*, 358
  Venezuela–British Guiana, 623
  between white settlements and Permanent Indian Territory, 353
bounties, in Civil War, 412
Bourrigaud, René, 863
Bow, Clara, 658
Bowdoin, James, 191
Bowers v. Hardwick (1986), 900
Bowery (New York City), 316, 317
Bowie, Jim, 339
Boxer Rebellion, 627–628
boxing, 317, 540
boycotts
  of British goods, 148, 150, 151–152, 160, 162, 163
  bus, 815, 823–824
  grape, 840, 840*(i)*
  of Summer Olympics (1980), 920
Boyleston, Thomas, 176
Boylston, Nicholas, 132, 132*(i)*
boys. *See* children and adolescents; men
Bozeman Trail, 480, 481
Bracero Program, 725, 807
Braddock, Edward, 130
Bradford, William, 58
Bradley, Joseph P., 457
Bradstreet, John, 154
Brady, Matthew, 406*(i)*
Brady, Tom P., 822
"Brains Trust," 686
Branagan, Thomas, 94
branch banks, 230
Brandeis, Louis, 606, 610, 639
Brandeis brief, 606
Brando, Marlon, 790
Brandy Station, Battle of (1863), 419*(m)*
Brandywine Creek, Battle of (1777), 174
Brant, Joseph (Thayendanegea), 172*(i)*
Brauckmiller, John R., 726*(i)*
Brave and Bold (Alger), 540*(i)*
Braxton, Carter, 187
Brazil
  African slaves in, 86*(f)*
  Cabral in, 34–35
  European map of, 36*(i)*
  Great Depression and, 680
  Portugal and, 34–36, 36*(i)*, 44–45, 71
  slavery in, 35–36
  South Atlantic System in, 86
  sugar industry in, 35, 44–45
Bread Givers (Yezierska), 664–665
break dancing, 902
Breckenridge, Mary Marvin, 727
Breckinridge, John C., 389, 390, 390*(i)*, 391*(m)*
Breese, Sidney, 286
Breintnall, Hannah, 111*(i)*
Bretton Woods system, 782–783, 885
Brevard, Keziah, 391
Brewer, David J., 602*(i)*
breweries, 514*(i)*, 640, 663
Brezhnev, Leonid, 762, 782*(i)*, 871, 920
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Union, 608
Briggs, Charles, 337*(i)*
Briggs, Vernon M., Jr., 955
Brinkley, Alan, 694
Brisbane, Albert, 312
Briscoe v. Bank of Kentucky (1837), 293
Britain. *See* England
British East India Company, 130, 142, 158
British Empire. *See also* Great War for Empire
  in Americas (1763), 146*(m)*
  in Asia and Atlantic, 144*(t)*
  disintegration of, 771
  Second, 251
British Guiana, 623
British North America, 70–104. *See also* colonies and colonization
  diversification of, 70–71
  empire in, 83*(m)*, 146*(m)*
  ethnic diversity in, 70–71, 113, 116*(m)*
  Glorious Revolution in, 80–81
  immigration to, 71, 115–117, 115*(f)*
  land claims (1821), 334*(m)*
  maritime economy in, 99–101
  from mercantilism to imperial dominion, 79–80
  Native Americans in, 82–86
  politics of, 101–104
  Restoration Colonies and imperial expansion in, 77–79
  self-governing colonies and new elites in, 76–77
  slave economy in, 86–97, 88*(m)*
  slavery in, 71
  southern gentry of, 97–98
  timeline for, 72–73
  urban society in, 100–101
Brocke, Frank, 641
Brogan, D. W., 718
Brook Farm settlement, 311, 312
Brooklyn Dodgers, 815
Brooklyn Eagle, 357
Brooks, Preston, 386, 437
brothels, 316, 326, 567, 567*(i)*, 578. *See also* prostitution
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 724, 814
brotherhoods (trade unions), 522–523
Brown, Henry B., 602*(i)*
Brown, Jerry, 880
Brown, John, 385, 389, 701*(i)*
Brown, Joseph, 412
Brown, Linda, 821
Brown, Michael, 971
Brown, Moses, 248
Brown, Susan, 250

Brown Berets, 840
Brown v. Board of Education (1954), 539, 820*(i)*, 821*(m)*, 821–823, 829*(m)*, 872
Browne, Carl, 587*(i)*
Brown Fellowship Society, 347*(i)*
Brownlow, William G., 452–453
Brownson, Orestes, 296
Brown University, 125
Bruce, Blanche K., 447
Bryan, William Jennings
"Cross of Gold" speech, 518*(i)*, 600*(i)*, 601
in election of 1896, 590, 600*(i)*, 601, 601*(m)*
in election of 1900, 603, 620, 626
in election of 1908, 605
on Philippines, 626
Scopes trial and, 666
as secretary of state, 620
Bryant, Anita, 897
bubonic plague, 3, 19
Buchanan, James (1791–1868)
in election of 1852, 378
in election of 1856, 386
as president (1857–1861), 386, 387
secession and, 392
as secretary of state, 332, 356–357, 358, 369
on slavery in territories, 374
Buchanan, Patrick, 952, 955, 959
Buchenwald death camp, 735
Buchwald, Art, 796
Buckley, William F., 916
Bucktails, 277
Buddhists, in Vietnam, 777
budget. *See also* finances; national debt; spending
deficit in federal budget, 695, 924, 924*(f)*
Roosevelt (Franklin) and, 694
surpluses from tariffs, 465*(i)*, 467
Buena Vista, Battle of (1847), 360
buffalo. *See* bison
Buffalo (New York)
growth of, 263–264
Klansmen in, 670*(t)*
specialized role of, 264*(m)*
Buffalo Bill. *See* Cody, William F.
Bulge, Battle of the (1944), 735
Bull Moose Party, 608
Bull Run
First Battle of (1861), 401–402, 403*(m)*
Second Battle of (1862), 403*(m)*, 405 407*(i)*
Bulong Zhongjia (China), 184
Bundy, McGeorge, 776
Bunker, Ellsworth, 870
bureaucracy
corporate, 784
federal, 363, 696, 783, 924
of political parties, 572
tax, 143
Bureau of Corporations, 604, 611*(t)*
Bureau of Indian affairs (BIA)
AIM seizure of, 841, 841*(i)*
corruption in, 478, 483
New Deal and, 701, 702
Bureau of Reclamation, 705
Bureaus of Labor Statistics (states), 592
Burford, Anne Gorsuch, 925
Burger, Warren, 900, 925
Burgoyne, John, 174*(m)*, 174–175, 175*(i)*
burial mounds, 11, 12*(i)*
Burke, Edmund, 102
Burlingame Treaty (1868), 465, 514
Burma, in World War II, 736
Burnett, Peter, 373
Burnside, Ambrose E., 408
Burr, Aaron, 208*(i)*, 214*(m)*, 214–215, 220–221
bus boycotts
in Montgomery, 823–824
in New York, 815
Bush, George H. W. (1924–present)
in election of 1988, 937
in election of 1992, 959, 959*(m)*
foreign policy of, 938–940
Iraq and, 962
national debt under, 924*(f)*
Persian Gulf War and, 939*(i)*, 939–940
Bush, George W. (1946–present)
in election of 2000, 963
in election of 2004, 966–967
Hurricane Katrina and, 967
Iraq War and, 940, 965–966, 967
national debt under, 924*(f)*
September 11 attack (2001) and, 964–965, 965*(i)*
tax cuts by, 963–964, 964*(t)*
Bush doctrine, 965
Bush v. Gore (2000), 963
business. *See also* big business; corporations; entrepreneurs; merchants; trade and commerce
elites in, 267–268
government and, 650, 655–656
horizontal integration in, 500
management revolution in, 499
New Deal and, 690
overseas expansion of, 617
in Progressive Era, 612
tax cuts for, 923
vertical integration in, 499, 500
in World War I, 636–638
business cycles, 242, 695
busing, school, 873–874, 874*(i)*
Butler, Andrew P., 386
Butler, Benjamin, 406
Butler, Pierce, 194
Byrd, Harry F., 822
Byrd, William II, 96, 97–98
Byrnes, James F., 694, 753
cabinet (presidential)
African Americans in, 700
Jackson, 285
Monroe, 281
Roosevelt (Franklin), 582, 686, 697, 700, 715
Tyler, 300
Washington, 204
women in, 697
cable cars, 560
Cabral, Pedro Alvares, 34–35
Caddo Indians, 15
Cahan, Abraham, 532
Cahokia, moundbuilding culture in, 11
Cajuns, 130
calendar, Christian, 22
Calhoun, John C.
Compromise of 1850 and, 375*(i)*
in election of 1824, 281–282, 282*(m)*
in election of 1828, 284
on expansionism, 369
on Fifth Amendment, 387
as secretary of state, 355
on slavery, 257, 374, 387
on unequal operation of national legislation, 286
War of 1812 and, 223
Whigs and, 294, 294*(i)*
California
acquisition of, 332, 369
admission of, 374, 375
affirmative action in, 895, 956
agricultural workers in, 702, 703, 703*(i)*
anti-Asian sentiment in, 667
Bear Flag Republic in, 360
bilingual education in, 957
Chinese Americans in, 704
economy of, 803
foreign-born population in, 952
gold rush in, 363, 366, 370–373, 372*(t)*, 471
Japanese Americans in, 703, 730
land grants in, 373
Mexican immigrants in, 514*(i)*
migration to, 350–352, 351*(m)*
military-industrial complex in, 762*(m)*
Native Americans of, 16, 351, 373–374, 486
population of, 374
Reagan as governor of, 916
in Sunbelt, 803, 804
tax revolt in, 888–889
U.S.-Mexico War and, 358, 360
in World War II, 727
California Crossing, South Platte River (Jackson), 352*(i)*
California Trail, 350, 351*(m)*
California Workingmen's Party, 514
Californios, 352, 358, 373
Calley, William, 871
Calvert, Benedict, 81

Calvert, Cecil, 39*(i)*, 47
Calvin, John, 23, 58, 59
Calvinism
  Huguenots and, 115
  in Netherlands, 42, 43, 58
  in New England, 305
  predestination and, 23, 59, 60, 307
  Puritan conversion to, 23
  in Spanish Netherlands, 42
Cambodia
  communism in, 872
  Japan and, 716
  Vietnam War and, 853*(m)*, 871, 872
Camden, Battle of (1780), 179
camels, 25
Cameron, James, 340*(i)*
Camp, Walter, 542–543
campaigns. *See* elections; political campaigns
Campbell, Archibald, 179
Campbell, Helen, 507, 575
Camp David accords (1978), 920, 939
camp followers, in American Revolution, 173
camping, 544
camp meetings, 303*(i)*, 304
Canada. *See also* New France
  African Americans in, 378
  in American Revolution, 174*(m)*, 175
  boundaries with, 231*(m)*
  British, 130, 144, 334*(m)*
  French-English wars in, 85–86
  Great Depression and, 680
  Native Americans of, 15
  war hawks and, 223
  War of 1812 and, 224, 225*(m)*
canals
  agriculture and, 244–245, 246*(m)*
  in Central America, 630–631
  Chesapeake and Ohio, 246, 246*(m)*
  economy and, 245–246
  Erie, 244–245, 245*(i)*, 246*(m)*, 264
  Michigan and Illinois, 246
  Panama, 465, 630*(i)*, 631
  Pennsylvania, 246, 246*(m)*
  state investments in, 242, 244, 245, 246, 298
  subsidies for, 339, 340
  Suez, 733, 773–774
Canary Islands, 29
Canassatego (Onondaga), 74
Cane Ridge (Kentucky), camp meeting in, 304
Cannon, Martha Hughes, 474
Canton (Guangzhou), 241*(i)*
cap-and-trade legislation, 970
Cape Breton Island, 103*(i)*
Cape Cod (Massachusetts), settlement in, 58
Cape of Good Hope, 29
Cape Verde Islands, 29, 31, 44
capital (money)
  aristocracy of, 262
  industrial, 410
  for railroads, 466
capitalism
  evolution and, 529
  in global economy, 909, 944
  railroads and, 466
  republicanism and, 240
  Roosevelt (Franklin) and, 686, 690, 696
  welfare, 655
Capitalism and Freedom (Friedman), 916
capital punishment, 900
Capitol (U.S.), British burning in War of 1812, 224
Capone, Al, 664
Capra, Frank, 726
Captain Bull (Delaware), 133
caravan trade, in Africa, 25
caravels, 28
carbon emissions, 970
Cárdenas, Lázaro, 695
careers. *See* employment; professions
Caribbean region. *See also specific countries*
  colonies in, 47, 50
  Columbus in, 32–33
  European colonies in, 47
  expansionism and, 378
  immigrants from, 952
  plantation life in, 50–53, 436
  post-Revolutionary War, 183
  Spanish in, 32*(m)*, 32–33
  sugar in, 50, 50*(i)*, 52–53
  U.S. and, 617, 620, 623–625, 631, 631*(m)*, 934*(m)*
Carib peoples, 32
Carlisle School, 543*(i)*
Carlson, Stuart, 947*(i)*
Carmichael, Stokely, 825, 831*(i)*, 833, 835, 836
Carnal Knowledge (movie), 903
Carnegie, Andrew
  anti-imperialism of, 625
  assessment of, 501
  on industrialization, 498
  philanthropy of, 569
  on Social Darwinism, 529
  steel industry and, 496
  on World War I, 633
Carnegie Steel, 501, 543
Carolina Indians, 45*(i)*
Carolinas. *See also* North Carolina; South Carolina
  guerrilla warfare in, 179–182, 182*(m)*
  as Restoration Colonies, 77–78
  slavery in, 254
  in War of the Spanish Succession, 83
Carolos, John, 833*(i)*
carpetbaggers, 447
Carranza, Venustiano, 632
Carretta, Vincent, 90
Carroll, Charles, 93
cars. *See* automobiles and automobile industry
Carson, Rachel, 881, 882
Cartagena (Colombia), 102–103
Carter, Jimmy (1924–present)
  as born-again Christian, 893*(i)*, 905
  economy and, 885, 893
  in election of 1976, 892, 916
  in election of 1980, 921, 921*(m)*
  foreign policy of, 920–921, 931
  on human rights, 917
  Iranian hostage crisis and, 920*(i)*, 920–921
  as president (1977–1981), 892–893, 917, 920–921
Carter, Landon, 127
Carter, Robert (cartoonist), 612*(i)*
Carter, Robert "Councillor," 252
Cartier, Jacques, 53–54
cartography, 31*(m)*
Cartwright, Peter, 217
cash-and-carry policy, 714, 715
cash crops, 46, 47, 473
Cass, Lewis, 370, 374, 378, 391*(m)*
casta system, in Spanish America, 41
Castro, Fidel, 775, 775*(m)*, 807
Castro, Raúl, 775*(m)*
casualties
  Civil War, 402, 404, 405, 413, 416–417, 418, 423, 428
  Korean War, 761*(m)*
  Vietnam War, 862, 872
  World War I, 620, 633, 635, 636, 637, 637*(t)*
  World War II, 710, 719*(f)*, 733, 735, 736, 740, 741
Catawba Indians, 82
Catherine of Aragon (England), 42
Catherine of Braganza, 77
Catholic Church
  anti-Catholicism and, 381, 384
  Canada and, 85
  Counter-Reformation in, 23
  election of 1928 and, 668, 669
  in European society, 21
  immigrants and, 380, 381, 384, 531–532
  in Ireland, 116
  Iroquois and, 58
  James II (England) and, 80
  Marriage Encounter founded by, 903*(i)*, 904
  in Maryland, 47, 81
  membership numbers, 533
  missionary activity of, 54–55, 58, 66, 85
  Protestant challenges to, 41–44
  in Quebec, 159, 159*(m)*
  reconquista and, 32
  in Spanish America, 41
Catholic Herald, 383
Catlin, George, 221*(i)*, 293*(i)*, 353*(i)*

Cato Institute, 916
Catron, John, 324*(i)*
Catskill Mountains, tourism in, 545
Catt, Carrie Chapman, 642–643, 661*(i)*
cattle, 351, 374, 471. *See also* meatpacking industry
caucus, 277
cavalry, in Civil War, 423
Cayuga Indians, 13, 74, 215
CCC. *See* Civilian Conservation Corps
cell phones, 951
cemeteries, 310, 415
Cemetery Ridge, 418, 419*(m)*
censorship, 119, 873
censure, of Jackson, 287, 289
CENTO (Central Treaty Organization), 772*(m)*
Central Africa, 93, 343. *See also specific countries*
Central America. *See also* Latin America; *specific countries*
  canal across, 630–631
  expansionism and, 378, 379
  Reagan and, 931
  U.S. interventions in, 631*(m)*, 631–632, 655
Central Committee of the Associative Unions (France), 328
Central Europe. *See also specific countries*
  European Union and, 950*(m)*
  fall of communism in, 935–936, 937*(m)*
  immigrants from, 662
central government, 192, 408. *See also* Constitution, U.S.; government, U.S.
Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
  bin Laden and, 963
  covert operations by, 772
  Cuba and, 775
  Iran-Contra affair and, 931
  Iran hostage crisis and, 920
  objectives of, 744
  Reagan and, 931
  Vietnam and, 773
Central Labor Union, 574
Central Pacific Railroad, 409, 462, 467*(i)*
Central Park (New York City), 266, 576
Central Powers (World War I), 633, 634, 635, 635*(m)*, 646*(m)*
Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), 772*(m)*
Central Union Telephone Company, 504*(i)*
Chaco Canyon (New Mexico), 16
chain gang, 600
chain migration, 380–381
Chamberlain, Neville, 714
Chamber of Commerce, 656, 697
Chambers, Whitaker, 766
Chambersburg (Pennsylvania), raid on, 423
Champlain, Samuel de, 54
Chancellorsville, Battle of (1863), 418, 419*(m)*
Chandler, Alfred D., Jr., 502
Chandler, Samuel, 112
Channing, William Ellery, 305
Chaplin, Charlie, 658, 658*(i)*
Chaplin, Thomas B., 255
Chaplin, William, 367*(i)*
Charbonneau, Toussaint, 221
charity, in Great Depression, 675, 683
charity girls, 568
Charles I (England, r. 1625–1649), 47, 59, 61, 61*(i)*, 76, 148
Charles II (England, r. 1660–1685), 60, 61, 76, 77, 79, 133
Charles River Bridge Co. v. Warren Bridge Co. (1837), 293
Charleston (South Carolina)
  in American Revolution, 179, 182*(m)*
  free blacks in, 347*(i)*
  population of, 99
  Spanish attack on, 83
Charlie's Angels (television show), 903
Charlotte-Mecklenburg (North Carolina), school busing in, 873
charters
  Bank of North America, 240
  Connecticut, 60, 80, 187
  corporate, 466
  for First Bank of the United States, 207, 241
  Massachusetts, 80–81, 187
  Massachusetts Bay, 58, 79, 80
  for railroads, 409
  Rhode Island, 59, 80
  for Second Bank of the United States, 286, 287
  for state banks, 241
  by states, 242–243, 293
  Virginia, 45, 46, 187
Chase, Salmon P., 374, 390, 406
Château-Thierry, Battle of (1918), 635*(m)*
Chatham, Earl of. *See* Pitt, William
Chattanooga (Tennessee)
  in Civil War, 422, 426*(m)*
  land speculation in, 244
chattel slavery, 38, 256, 257*(i)*
Chauncy, Charles, 124
Chavez, Cesar, 725, 819, 839–840, 840*(i)*, 866
checks and balances, 198
Cheever, John, 706
Cheney, Richard (Dick), 963
Cherokee Indians
  alliances of, 85
  in American Revolution, 172, 178, 178*(m)*, 183
  assimilation of, 289–290
  in Civil War, 403
  land of, 288–291
  removal of, 290, 292
  treaties with, 244
  tribalization of, 82
  in World War II, 720
Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831), 292
Cherry family, 565*(i)*
Chesapeake (ship), 223
Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, 246, 246*(m)*
Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, 539, 551
Chesapeake region. *See also specific colonies, cities, and states*
  Bacon's Rebellion in, 67–68
  colonies of, 45–47, 47*(m)*, 50–51, 77–78
  English settlers in, 86
  families in, 50–51, 98
  indentured servitude in, 50–52
  manumission in, 252–253
  Native Americans of, 12
  plantation life in, 50–51
  population of, 50
  power and race in, 39*(i)*
  slavery in, 53, 91, 98, 252, 254–255, 255*(i)*, 266
  tobacco in, 46, 50, 252
Chesnut, Mary, 424
Chevrolet, 697*(i)*, 788*(i)*
Chew, Benjamin, 210
Cheyenne Indians, 354, 404, 480, 486, 489
Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), 759–760
Chicago (Illinois)
  anti-German sign in, 640*(i)*
  Art Institute of, 672*(i)*
  Black Belt in, 672*(i)*
  comparison with Berlin, 573
  Democratic National Convention in (1968), 864
  department stores in, 537*(i)*
  Fellowship of Reconciliation in, 815
  fire of 1871, 572
  growth of, 263–264
  Haymarket Square bombing in, 520
  housing in, 807, 813
  Hull House in, 578–579, 580*(i)*, 581
  immigrants in, 564, 573
  links to Mississippi River, 246
  McCormick reaper works in, 520
  meatpacking industry in, 409, 499, 580
  race riots in (1919), 654, 654*(i)*
  Siege of Chicago (1968), 864
  skyscrapers in, 561
  specialized role of, 264*(m)*
  world's fair in, 528, 534, 537*(i)*, 567
Chicago Bears, 543
Chicago Daily Tribune, election of 1948 and, 764*(i)*
Chicago school of architecture, 561
Chicano Moratorium Committee, 866
Chicanos/Chicanas
  feminism and, 867
  movement by, 819, 839–840
  nationalism of, 866
Chickasaw Indians, 223, 244, 253, 288, 292, 403
Chicopee (Massachusetts), textile industry in, 249

chiefdoms, of Native Americans, 12–13, 14–15, 17
chief justices. *See also* Supreme Court, U.S.
Burger, 900
Jay, 274
Marshall, 219, 221, 229–230, 229*(i)*
Rehnquist, 925
Taney, 285
Warren, 872–873
Chikagou (Michigamea headman), 85
Child, Lydia Maria, 305
childbearing
in Chesapeake region, 50
in Cold War, 793
in middle class, 546
in New England, 112, 325
on western trails, 350
child care
in New England, 109
republican motherhood and, 325
tax deductions for, 868
for women in workforce, 795
in World War II, 722
child labor
industrialization and, 508–509, 509*(i)*
newsboys and, 570–571
progressivism and, 606
regulation of, 606
working class and, 269
children and adolescents. *See also* childbearing; child care; child labor; education
Black Codes and, 435
in black vs. white families, 344*(i)*, 344–345, 345*(i)*
in cities, 573*(i)*, 575, 576, 580*(i)*
delinquency among, 798
on farms, 546
juvenile courts for, 579
middle-class, 268, 788
naming of slave children, 346
Native American, 482–483, 487
orphans, 50, 312, 344
in patriarchal societies, 19
of peasants, 19–20
post–World War II, 745
public assistance for, 606
as slaves, 250, 256, 266*(i)*, 344*(i)*, 344–345, 345*(i)*, 346
social-welfare programs for, 606, 692
teenage culture, 745, 788, 789*(i)*, 789–791
working-class, 269, 546
Children's Bureau, 606, 611*(t)*
Chilkat Tlingit Indians, 17*(i)*
Chilocco Indian School, 543*(i)*
China
American silver in, 41
Boxers (nationalists) in, 627–628, 630
Burlingame Treaty and, 465
civil war in, 759–760
communism in, 759–760, 760*(i)*
economy in, 940, 945–947, 949
empire of, 184
Japan and, 627, 627*(m)*, 629, 713, 716, 736
Korean War and, 761, 762
missionaries in, 465
Nixon in, 871
open door policy and, 627–630
population in, 41
Portugal and, 30
Revolution of 1911 in, 630
Soviet Union and, 760
spheres of influence in, 627, 627*(m)*
trade with, 241*(i)*
Chinatown (San Francisco), 514, 687*(i)*
China Trade, The (Chinnery), 241*(i)*
Chinese Americans, 704
Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, 515–516, 516*(i)*, 704, 807
Chinese immigrants
California gold rush and, 372
labor of, 465, 467*(i)*, 515, 515*(i)*
in plural society, 953
racism against, 514–516, 516*(i)*
as railroad labor, 465, 467*(i)*
restrictions on, 493, 514–516, 519, 666
Chinese Revolution of 1911, 630
Chinn, Julia, 324*(i)*
Chinn, Mae, 687*(i)*
Chinnery, George, 241*(i)*
Chinook Indians, 16, 17
Chippewa Indians, 215, 485
Chiricahua Apache Indians, 487
Chisholm, Shirley, 852*(i)*, 868, 896
Chittendon, Ebenezer, 108
Chivington, John M., 480, 481
Choctaw Indians, 84, 223, 244, 253, 288, 292, 403, 720
Choice, Not an Echo, A (Schlafly), 915
cholera, 380, 575, 576
Ch'ongch'on, Battle of (1950), 760*(i)*
Christiana (Pennsylvania), antislavery violence in, 377
Christian Broadcasting Network, 917*(i)*
Christianity. *See also* evangelicals and evangelicalism; Great Awakening; revivals and revivalism; *specific denominations*
Enlightenment and, 120
in Europe, 21–22
in Japan, 534
in Kongo, 29*(i)*
muscular, 540
Native Americans and, 217
Pietism and, 118
public life and, 918–919
Quakers and, 78
rational, 120
rise of, 21–22
trade and, 30*(m)*
Chrysler Corporation, 928
churches. *See also* religion and spirituality; *specific churches and denominations*
African American, 280, 305*(i)*, 449, 814
contrast in styles and values between, 126*(i)*
evangelical, 904, 905
growth by denomination (1700–1780), 125*(f)*
women and, 109, 337
Churchill, Winston (1874–1965)
Atlantic Charter and, 716, 732
in Big Three, 732–733
iron curtain speech of, 754
at Tehran conference, 733
on World War II, 710
at Yalta Conference, 738*(i)*, 750–752
Church of England (Anglican Church)
leadership of, 42
in Maryland, 81
in Massachusetts Bay, 79
number of churches (1700–1780), 125*(f)*
Pilgrims and, 58
Puritans and, 59, 61
in South, 126
in Virginia, 47
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. *See* Mormons and Mormonism
CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
Cigar Makers Union, 523
Cincinnati (Ohio)
land speculation in, 244
population of, 315
specialized role of, 264*(m)*
Cincinnati Gazette, 408
CIO. *See* Congress of Industrial Organizations
circumnavigation of globe, by Drake, 43
circus, 318, 537–538
CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States), 936, 937*(m)*
cities and towns. *See also* seaports; suburbs and suburbanization; urban areas; *specific cities and towns*
African Americans in, 565, 654, 804–805
bankruptcies and, 880
as corporate entities, 573
culture in, 315–320, 566–569
decline of, 887–888
disease in, 316, 575–576
entertainment in, 317–320, 526, 566–567
environmentalism in, 577
free blacks in, 320–321
garbage in, 576*(i)*
government in, 572–575
growth of, 262–264, 264*(m)*, 493
immigrants in, 264, 315, 380, 563–566, 807–808
industrialization and, 558, 560–566

LGBT persons in, 730
major cities in 1840, 264*(m)*
migration to, 558, 563, 639
Native American, 11, 12, 13*(i)*, 16, 483
outdoor relief system in, 574
political machines in, 493, 572–575, 578
politics in, 837–838
pollution in, 507
population of, 262, 315, 558, 663
poverty in, 805
private enterprise in, 572
progressivism in, 575
public health reforms in, 573*(i)*, 575–576
racial conflict in, 565, 727, 730
reform mayors in, 574–575
segregation in, 813
sex and sexuality in, 315–316, 568–569
in South, 340–341
suburbs and, 561, 780
transportation in, 560–561
wealthy in, 267
world's largest cities (1800–2000), 562*(t)*
in World War II, 727
citizens and citizenship
for African Americans, 363, 386–387, 435, 654
for Asian Americans, 515, 516, 667, 704
in ceded Spanish territories, 626
education and, 296–297
Fourteenth Amendment on, 436
for immigrants, 954
voting rights and, 440
"City Beautiful" movement, 576
City's Perils, The (Groetzinger), 577
city-states, Italian, 20–21
City upon a Hill, Massachusetts Bay as, 59
civic humanism, 20
civil defense, in Cold War, 749*(i)*
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)
camps of, 688*(m)*
establishment of, 687–688, 693*(t)*
Mexican Americans in, 703
natural environment and, 706
segregation in, 700
women in, 700
civilians. *See also* home front
in Civil War, 414–415, 415*(i)*, 418, 424, 427*(i)*
in Philippine-U.S. conflict, 626
civilization, status of, 484–485, 484*(t)*. *See also specific civilizations*
civil liberties
of Japanese Americans, 732
Roosevelt (Franklin) on, 716
in World War I, 639
civil rights. *See also* civil rights movement
affirmative action and, 894*(i)*, 894–895
anticommunism and, 768–769
in Cold War, 815–817
for freedpeople, 435
for Japanese Americans, 819
Johnson (Lyndon) and, 830, 847
legislation for, 825, 828–831, 834, 846
for Mexican Americans, 817–819, 835, 839–840
New Deal coalition and, 816–817
Popular Front and, 714
rock 'n' roll and, 791
school busing and, 873–874, 874*(i)*
struggle for (1954–1965), 829*(m)*
Truman and, 764, 816–817
in World War II, 723–725, 724*(i)*
Civil Rights Acts
of 1866, 435, 438*(t)*, 825
of 1875, 450, 456, 825
of 1957, 825
of 1964, 450, 745, 830, 847, 849*(t)*, 868
Civil Rights Cases (1883), 456
civil rights movement, 810–842. *See also* African Americans; civil rights
black nationalism and, 835–838
Black Power and, 833, 833*(i)*, 836–838
conflict within, 830
emergence of, 812–823
framework for, 457
Freedom Summer in, 830–831, 860
Niagara Principles and, 607
nonviolent action in, 823–825
origins of, 813–814
police attacks on protesters in, 832*(i)*
post–World War II, 745
protests in, 823–825, 828–834
race and geography in, 826–827
rights liberalism and, 810
strategy and ideology in, 832–833
women in, 831*(i)*
civil service, 589–592, 612. *See also* bureaucracy
Civil Service Commission, 589
Civil War, U.S. (1861–1865). *See also* Confederacy; Union; *specific battles*
in 1861–1862, 400–408, 403*(m)*, 404*(m)*
in 1863, 408–415, 418–419
in 1864–1865, 422–428, 423*(m)*, 426*(m)*
African Americans in, 362, 363, 401*(i)*, 406, 412–414, 413*(i)*, 426–427
border states in, 402–404, 404*(m)*, 405
casualties of, 402, 404, 405, 413, 416–417, 418, 423, 428
civilians in, 414–415, 415*(i)*, 418, 424, 427*(i)*
Crittenden Compromise and, 392
draft in, 408, 411–412, 412*(i)*, 426
early expectations in, 400–401
eastern and western campaigns of, 401–405, 403*(m)*, 404*(m)*
economic and fiscal policies in, 409–410
emancipation and, 362, 363, 406–408
events leading up to, 391–396, 393*(m)*
Fort Sumter attack and, 393, 393*(m)*
Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House, 423*(m)*, 427
Lincoln and, 362, 398, 401–402, 405–406, 428
medicine and nursing in, 414, 416*(i)*, 416–417
mobilization for, 393, 396, 400, 402, 408
Native Americans in, 403, 478–481
in North, 418–419, 419*(m)*
secession and, 391–393, 393*(m)*
Sherman's March, 398, 409*(i)*, 423, 424, 425–426, 426*(m)*
slavery and, 362, 406–408
soldiers in, 401*(i)*, 408, 411–414, 412*(i)*, 413*(i)*, 420–421
war debt in, 429, 429*(f)*
women in, 410, 414–415, 427*(i)*
civil wars
in China, 759–760
in England, 61, 61*(i)*, 76
in Greece, 754, 755
in Russia, 635
in Spain, 714
in Syria, 970
Civil Works Administration (CWA), 687, 693*(t)*, 700
Claflin, Tennessee, 441*(i)*
clan identities, of Native Americans, 15
Clark, George Rogers, 178*(m)*
Clark, Lewis, 256
Clark, William, 221–222, 222*(m)*
class. *See also* elites; middle class; poor people; working class
in Africa, 88
in cities, 564–565
consumer culture and, 537, 538
cotton complex and, 235
industrialization and, 238, 526
Marxist class struggle, 607
Second Party System and, 293–300
in South, 294
classical liberalism, 293, 451, 452, 457, 591–592, 678, 692
Clay, Henry
American System and, 281–282, 355
censure of Jackson by, 287, 289
Compromise of 1850 and, 375, 375*(i)*
in election of 1824, 281–282, 282*(m)*
in election of 1832, 287
in election of 1844, 355
on emancipation, 280
as Mason, 295
Missouri Compromise and, 281
National Republicans and, 232
Second Bank of the United States and, 229, 287
as secretary of state, 282
slavery and, 256
War of 1812 and, 223, 227
Whigs and, 294, 299, 300

Clay, Lucius D., 755
Clayton Antitrust Act of 1914, 610, 611*(t)*
Clean Air Act of 1970, 884
Clean Power Plan, 970
"clear and present danger" test, 639
Cleaver, Eldridge, 866
Clemenceau, Georges, 645, 645*(i)*
Clemens, Samuel Langhorne. *See* Twain, Mark
clergy. *See* missions and missionaries; *specific religions*
Clermont (steamboat), 246
Cleveland (Ohio)
  Cuyahoga River, pollution of, 881, 884*(i)*
  labor strikes in, 574
  oil refining in, 499–500
  reform mayors in, 574
  specialized role of, 264*(m)*
Cleveland, Frances Folsom, 590, 590*(i)*
Cleveland, Grover (1837–1908)
  banking and, 599
  Cuban crisis and, 623
  in election of 1884, 589, 589*(m)*, 592
  in election of 1888, 589*(m)*
  in election of 1892, 593, 601*(m)*
  marriage of, 590, 590*(i)*
  as president (1885–1889), 521–522, 592
  as president (1893–1897), 595, 598–599, 623, 625
  Pullman strike and, 609
Cleveland Plain Dealer, 653*(i)*
climate. *See also* environment
  in American colonization, 52
  changes in, 970
  of Great Plains, 472–473, 474–475
  of Oregon, 350
  of West Africa, 23–24
Clinton, De Witt, 224, 244
Clinton, George, 195
Clinton, Henry, 179
Clinton, Hillary Rodham (1947–present), 960, 967, 972, 972*(i)*
Clinton, James, 178*(m)*
Clinton, William Jefferson (1946–present)
  AFDC and, 692
  on affirmative action, 956
  balanced budget under, 960
  in election of 1992, 959, 959*(m)*
  in election of 1996, 961
  foreign policy of, 961–963, 962*(i)*
  on globalization, 947
  impeachment of, 961
  inaugural address of, 944
  Iraq and, 962
  as president (1992–1999), 960–963
  public policy of, 960
  Supreme Court appointments of, 925*(i)*
  welfare reform and, 960–961, 961*(i)*
clocks, interchangeable parts for, 238
closed-shop agreements, 262
closed shops, 522
clothing and clothing industry
  Bloomer and, 329*(i)*
  flappers and, 651*(i)*, 658
  for mourning, 418
  in New York, 262
  ready-made, 264
  sports and, 544
  of urban youth, 316
  women in, 315
Clyde, Lola Gamble, 641
coal and coal industry
  as energy source, 499
  safety in, 506, 507
  strikes in, 598, 603–604, 608*(i)*, 682
  workers in, 504
coaling stations, 625
coalitions
  conservative, 696
  Democratic, 726
  farmer-labor, 493, 517–518, 520–522
  Jeffersonian, 284
  New Deal, 609, 693, 703, 707, 725, 816–817
  Obama, 971, 972
  Reagan, 922–923
  in World War II, 732–733
coastal trade of slaves, 255
Coast Salish Indians, 16
Cochrane, Elizabeth Jane (Nellie Bly), 570
Code of Laws (Haiti), 436
codes, slave, 53
code talkers, in World War II, 720
Codex Mendoza, 33*(i)*
Cody, William F. (Buffalo Bill), 484, 484*(i)*, 486, 488–489
coeducation, 547, 549
Coercive Acts of 1774, 158–159, 160, 163*(t)*
Cofachiqui, Lady of, 6, 11
coffles, slave trade and, 255
Cohan, George M., 635
coins, Portuguese, 27*(i)*
Colden, Cadwallader, 148
Cold Harbor, Battle of (1864), 422*(i)*, 423, 423*(m)*
Cold War. *See also* Soviet Union
  in 1945–1963, 748–778
  arms race in, 770, 783, 931
  Berlin Wall and, 776, 776*(i)*, 935, 936*(i)*
  civil defense in, 749*(i)*
  civil rights in, 815–817
  colonial independence and, 771–774
  containment strategy in, 754–755, 758–763
  Cuba and, 775*(m)*, 775–776
  defense treaties in, 771, 772*(m)*
  end of, 909, 912, 927, 930–931, 934–936
  in Europe (1955), 753*(m)*
  families in, 792–798
  foreign policy following, 961–963
  global, 756–757
  global leadership and, 745
  interventions during, 745
  Kennedy and, 774–777
  liberalism in, 744, 763–771
  Middle East after, 938
  military-industrial complex in, 748, 762, 762*(m)*, 783–784, 784*(i)*, 936
  multipolar world after, 940
  Nixon and, 780, 871
  nuclear weapons in, 758–759, 759*(t)*, 936
  origins of, 740, 750–754
  overview, 748
  politics in, 763–764, 767–771
  Red Scare during, 765–767
  Truman and, 755, 756
"Cold Water" pledge, 306*(i)*
Cole, Nathan, 122
Cole bombing (2000), 962
Coleman, William, 454–455
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, 310
Colfax (Louisiana), antiblack violence in, 456
collective bargaining, 496, 612, 763, 782, 786, 787
collective security
  Article X of League covenant on, 644, 647
  defense treaties and, 772*(m)*
  League of Nations and, 712
  NATO as, 758, 771
collectivism, Soviet, 712
colleges. *See* higher education
Collet, John, 107*(i)*
Collett, Glenna, 663
Collier, John, 701, 702*(i)*
Collins, Judy, 861
Collins, Samuel W., 260
Colombia, Panama Canal and, 630
Colón, Jésus, 642
Colonel and Mrs. James A. Whiteside, Son Charles and Servants (Cameron), 340*(i)*
colonias (barrios), 817
colonies and colonization. *See also* British North America; royal colonies; settlement; *specific colonies*
  anticolonialism, 771–774
  assemblies in, 101–102
  in Caribbean region, 47, 50
  in Chesapeake region, 45–47, 47*(m)*, 50–51, 77–78
  climate, role in, 52
  English, 45–47, 47*(m)*, 70, 76–81, 78*(t)*
  Eurasian trade and, 143*(m)*
  European colonies in Americas, 40*(f)*
  of free blacks, 280, 388
  German, 645
  Glorious Revolution and, 80–81
  Japan and, 713
  mercantilism and, 79–80, 103–104
  in Middle East, 962
  neo-European, 53–63, 65

in New England, 58–65, 64*(m)*, 76–77
plantation, 44*(m)*, 44–47, 50–53
post–World War I, 620, 645
Protestant Reformation and, 23
Puritans in, 59, 64*(m)*
Quaker, 113–115
rights of colonists, 146
self-government in, 58, 59, 60, 76–77, 102, 104
society and, 3, 274
taxation in, 101, 145, 146–147
trade and commerce in, 79, 143–144
trade deficit in, 132, 132*(f)*
transportation in, 119
of U.S., 617, 626
westward expansion and, 153
women's labor in, 110*(i)*, 110–111, 111*(i)*
World War I and, 633, 647
Colorado
gay rights in, 957–958
mining strikes in, 521*(i)*
Sand Creek massacre in, 404, 480, 481
women's suffrage in, 554*(m)*, 555
Colored Farmers' Alliance, 520
Colored Orphan Asylum, 412
Columbia (South Carolina), Sherman in, 398, 426*(m)*
Columbian Exchange, 3, 36, 40, 41, 42*(m)*
Columbia River region, 349, 350*(m)*, 705
Columbia University, 125
Columbus, Christopher, 2, 6, 31*(m)*, 32–33
Columbus (New Mexico), Villa in, 632
Comanche Feats of Horsemanship (Catlin), 353*(i)*
Comanche Indians, 15, 351*(m)*, 353, 353*(i)*, 354, 356, 357, 486, 720
Combahee River Collective, 867
combine harvesters, 260*(i)*
COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance), 758
"Come Up from the Fields Father" (Whitman), 420
Comfort, Alex, 903
comfort women, 736
comic book industry, 798
coming of age, in postwar period, 796–797
commerce. *See* trade and commerce
Commerce Department, 656
commercial domesticity, 537–538
commercial imperialism, 102
commercialized sex, 316
Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service, 817
Committee on Public Information (CPI), 638–639
committees of correspondence, 158, 159
Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies, 715
Committee to Re-elect the President (CREEP), 891
common law, English, 149, 261
Common Sense (Paine), 167
Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care (Spock), 793
commonwealth, in England, 61, 76, 149
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), 936, 937*(m)*
Commonwealth System, 243, 293
Commonwealth v. Hunt (1842), 262
communal settlements. *See* utopian communities
communications technology, 247–248, 944, 948
Communications Workers of America, 814
communism. *See also* anticommunism; Communist Party; Red Scare
in Cambodia, 872
Carter on, 920
in China, 759–760, 760*(i)*
in Czechoslovakia, 755
in Eastern Europe, 752–753, 754
fall of, 909, 935–936
Nixon on, 748
in Russia, 635
in Vietnam, 773
Communist Party
in 1920s, 653
Popular Front and, 714
Scottsboro case and, 701
communities. *See also* utopian communities
African American, 93, 96–97, 449–450
entrepreneurs and, 242–243
LGBT, 730
slave, 343, 346
community-organizing projects, 836, 837
Community Services Organization (CSO), 819, 840
companionate marriages, 792
competency, 109
competition
in meatpacking industry, 499
in oil industry, 500
in Social Darwinism, 529
in textile industry, 249–250
trusts and, 610
complex marriage, 313, 314
Compromise of 1850
lack of support for, 363
land cessions in, 369*(m)*
slavery and, 374–376, 375*(i)*, 376*(m)*
computer revolution, 783, 930, 932–933, 951. *See also* Internet
Comstock, Anthony, 547, 569
Comstock Act of 1873, 547
Comstock Lode, 404, 469, 470, 470*(m)*
concentration camps
in Cuba, 623
in Holocaust, 735–736
Concord, Battle of (1774), 165
condoms, 546
Conestoga Indians, 133
Coney Island, 566–567, 567*(i)*
confederacies, Native American, 13–14, 15, 216
Confederacy (Civil War). *See also* Civil War, U.S.
collapse of, 426–427
Confiscation Act and, 406
debt of, 429
draft in, 408, 411, 426
economy of, 410
on emancipation, 407
enlistment of black soldiers by, 426–427
financing of war by, 410
food riots in, 410
formation of, 363, 392
goals of, 393–394
government of, 392, 410, 412
as "Lost Cause," 458–459, 551
mobilization for war, 400
public support for, 411
resources of, 410
secession and, 392–393, 393*(m)*
Sherman's March through, 398, 409*(i)*, 423, 424, 425–426, 426*(m)*
soldiers of, 401*(i)*
women in, 410, 415, 427*(i)*
Confederate Congress, 410, 412
Confederate States of America. *See* Confederacy
Confederate Veteran (magazine), 458–459
Confiscation Act of 1861, 406
Congo region, slaves from, 343
Congregationalism
New Lights and, 125
number of churches (1700–1780), 125*(f)*
Puritans and, 59
religious beliefs of, 305
Second Great Awakening and, 305
women members of, 325
Congress, U.S. *See also* Continental Congress; House of Representatives; Senate
censure of Jackson by, 287, 289
in election of 1980, 921
in election of 2010, 969
ex-Confederates in, 435
First, 205
Johnson (Andrew) vs., 435–437
Obama and, 968
political realignment in, 892, 892*(t)*, 971, 971*(t)*
Reconstruction and, 435–439
representation in, 194, 588
slavery in territories and, 374, 387
Versailles treaty and, 645, 647
Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). *See also* AFL-CIO
communism and, 766
Democratic Party and, 697
industrial unionism and, 696
labor canteen sponsored by, 731*(i)*
Mexican Americans in, 725, 818
wage increases and, 787, 818

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 724, 812, 815, 825
Connecticut
absorption of New Haven, 77
charter of, 60, 80, 187
settlement patterns in, 64*(m)*
voting rights in, 275
western land claims of, 187
Connecticut (battleship), 621*(i)*
Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court, A (Twain), 535
Connor, Eugene (**"Bull"**), 828
conquistadors, 11, 32*(m)*, 40. *See also specific individuals*
Conscience of a Conservative, The (Goldwater), 915
conscience Whigs, 368
conscription. *See* draft (military)
conservation
of national monuments, 545
of natural resources, 704
in New Deal, 704, 705
Roosevelt (Theodore) and, 604
conservatives and conservatism
abortion rights and, 957
affirmative action and, 956–957
in election of 1980, 921, 921*(m)*
Goldwater and, 690, 844, 908, 914–915, 915*(i)*
grassroots, 915–916
on New Deal, 690, 692, 707
New Right and, 912, 914–917, 920–921, 957
opposition to liberalism, 844
political power of, 923–927
Reagan and, 690, 744, 912, 914–917, 921–930, 922*(i)*, 938
religious, 916–917, 922, 937
resurgence of, 652, 909
Supreme Court and, 873, 900
Young Americans for Freedom, 860
consolidated government, 283, 295
Constantine (Roman emperor), 21
Constitution, U.S. (1787), 191–199. *See also* amendments; *specific amendments*
checks and balances in, 198
contract clause of, 293
convention for drafting of, 192–195, 196–197
criticisms of, 191
Federalists and Antifederalists on, 195–198
Great Compromise and, 194
on habeas corpus, 402
implementation of, 204–205
Jackson and, 286
Jefferson and, 220
loose interpretation of, 207, 220
Madison and, 192*(i)*
Marshall and, 219, 229–230
Missouri crisis and, 280–281
nationalist interpretation of, 286
necessity of, 193
nullification and, 286
privacy and, 919
ratification of, 195–199, 199*(m)*
slavery and, 194–195, 366, 369, 374
states' rights interpretation of, 286
strict interpretation of, 207, 220
trade and commerce in, 195, 293
constitutional absolutism, 157
Constitutional Convention (1787), 192–195, 196–197, 279
constitutional monarchs, 81
constitutional review, 219
Constitutional Union Party, 390*(i)*
constitutions
Confederate, 392, 412
of Cuba, 626–627
Lecompton, 258, 387
of Reconstruction governments, 437, 447
state, 184–185, 275, 275*(m)*, 279, 293, 339, 437, 447, 599
consumables, taxation of, 142
consumer credit, 658, 660
consumer lending, 674
consumer revolution, 131–132
consumers and consumerism
in 1920s, 617, 657–660
advertisements and, 500*(i)*, 502–503
culture of, 501–503, 526, 536–539, 617, 658–669
debt of, 658, 674
drop in spending in Great Depression, 674
middle class and, 268
Native Americans and, 487*(i)*
post–World War II, 785–789
retail industry and, 500*(i)*, 501–502, 537*(i)*
World War I and, 647
World War II and, 727
containment policy
in Asia, 759–763
defined, 745
domino theory and, 773
Goldwater on, 915
implementation of, 754–755, 758–759
in postcolonial world, 771–777
Continental army
African Americans in, 179
Continental Congress and, 187
formation of, 165
at Valley Forge, 176–177
Washington and, 140, 165, 172, 173
Continental Association, 162
Continental Congress
Articles of Confederation and, 187
finances of, 176
First (1774), 159–162, 165
Second (1775), 165–167, 172, 184
Continentals (paper money), 176, 183
"contrabands," 406, 428
contraception. *See* birth control
contract clause, Taney Court and, 293
Contract with America, 960
Contras (Nicaragua), 931, 934, 935*(i)*
Conversations on Common Things (Dix), 327
conversion. *See also* missions and missionaries
of African Americans, 341–342
to Islam, 28
of Native Americans to Christianity, 61
Protestant Reformation and, 23
reconquista and, 32
revivalism and, 305
convict lease system, 448, 600
Cook, Alice Sterling, 549*(i)*
Cook, James, 348
Cooke, Jay, 409, 450
Coolidge, Calvin (1872–1933)
assumption of presidency, 657
on business, 652
in election of 1924, 657
fishing trips of, 676
Garvey and, 673
on immigration, 666
on strikes, 654
Cooper, Peregrine F., 345*(i)*
Cooper, Thomas, 283
cooperatives
Farmers' Alliance and, 520–522
Knights of Labor on, 519
Copernicus, 119–120
Copley, John Singleton, 132*(i)*, 186*(i)*
copper, 470
Coral Sea, Battle of the (1942), 736, 737*(m)*
Corcoran Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.), 569
CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), 724, 812, 815, 825
corn. *See* maize
Cornish, Samuel D., 321
Cornwallis, Charles, 179, 180–182, 182*(m)*
Coronado Coal Company v. United Mine Workers (1925), 654
corporal punishment, 447
corporations. *See also* business
agriculture and, 476, 702, 703*(i)*
campaign contributions from, 590
consolidation of, 657
downsizing in, 886
Jackson and, 284
managers in, 493, 503, 505
modern, 502
multinational, 261, 613, 909, 949–950
outsourcing by, 950
power of, 603, 656, 657–658, 784–785
profits of, 680
railroads and, 466
regulation of, 467, 593, 604

Roosevelt (Theodore) and, 603–604
salesmen in, 503
television programming sponsored by, 788–789
wageworkers in, 493
wealth of, 467, 505, 657
women in, 503–504
workplace of, 503–504
Corporation Take-Over, The (Hacker), 784–785
Corrigan, Michael A., 531
corrupt bargain, in election of 1824, 282
corruption
in Bureau of Indian Affairs, 478, 483
in democratic politics, 275
in Grant administration, 450, 451*(i)*, 452
in Harding administration, 657
in Nixon administration, 890–892
in Reconstruction governments, 448, 451
in urban governments, 570, 572–574
Cortés, Hernán (1485–1547), 32*(m)*, 33, 40
cortisone, 793
Cosmopolitan (magazine), 569
cosmos, Aztec, 11
Cotton, John, 59
cotton and cotton industry. *See also* textiles and textile industry
British mechanics and, 248–249
in Civil War, 401
elite planters and, 335
exports of, 517
gang-labor system in, 266
in Reconstruction, 442, 444, 445*(i)*
sharecropping in, 444–445, 445*(i)*
slavery and, 235, 253–257, 254*(m)*, 266, 266*(i)*, 346
in South, 253–257, 341
southern migration and, 217–218
technological innovations in, 217–218, 253, 260
trade and, 241
Cotton Belt, 247*(m)*, 257
cotton complex, 235, 239*(i)*, 248–250, 252–257
cotton gin, 218, 235, 239*(i)*, 253, 260
Cotton States Exposition (Atlanta), 548
Coughlin, Charles, 689*(m)*, 690*(i)*, 691
Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON), 758
counterculture, 860–861, 861*(i)*, 900
Counter-Reformation, 23
counterrevolution, in South, 452–453
country clubs, 540
"country markings" on slaves, 93
Country Party (England), 102, 143
County Courier, 329*(i)*
coups
in Egypt, 773
in Guatemala, 772
in Iran, 772
in Nicaragua, 931
courts. *See also* Supreme Court, U.S.
desegregation cases and, 821*(m)*, 821–823
economic development and, 467–468
European Union, 950*(m)*
juvenile, 579
on Mexican American land claims, 467–468
military, 412, 424, 479
supremacy of federal, 378
vice-admiralty, 145–146, 147
cousin marriages, 343
Covenant Chain, 74, 83, 129, 129*(i)*
covenant of grace, 60
covenant of works, 60
coverture, 112, 327, 329, 336
cowboys, 471, 472*(i)*, 488
Cowie, Jefferson, 886
Cowley, Malcolm, 706
Cowpens, Battle of (1781), 180
Cox, James M., 656
Coxey, Jacob S., 587*(i)*, 598, 681
Coxey's Army, 587*(i)*, 598
CPI (Committee on Public Information), 638–639
craftsmen. *See* artisans
Crane, Stephen, 535, 536
Crawford, William H., 281–282, 282*(m)*
credibility gap, in Vietnam War, 855
credit (financial)
banking and, 240–242
bills of, 293
consumer, 658, 660
Hamilton on, 205–207
Panic of 1837 and, 297
for women, 868
Crédit Mobilier scandal, 452
Cree Indians, 54, 354
Creek Indians
in Battle of Tippecanoe, 223
goals of, 84–85
land of, 253, 283, 288, 292
removal of, 290
tribalization of, 82
in War of 1812, 224, 244
in War of the Spanish Succession, 83
Creel, George, 638
CREEP (Committee to Re-elect the President), 891
cricket (sport), 540
"Crime of 1873," 469
criminals, rights of, 873
Crisis, The (journal), 607
Crittenden, John J., 392
Crittenden Compromise, 392
Croatia, 962
Crockett, Davy, 277*(i)*, 339
Cromwell, Oliver, 61, 61*(i)*, 76, 79
crop-lien laws, 444–445
crops. *See also specific crops*
on Atlantic islands, 29
cash crops, 46, 47, 473
of Great Plains, 476
in Mesoamerica, 9–10
specialty, 702
"Cross of Gold" speech (Bryan), 518*(i)*, 600*(i)*, 601
crossover acts, 790*(i)*
crowd actions. *See* protests
Crow Indians, 15, 354, 485, 486
Crusades, 22–23
Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 (London), 261
CSO (Community Services Organization), 819, 840
Cuba
Bay of Pigs invasion of, 775, 775*(m)*
British in, 130
expansionism and, 378–379, 387
independence for, 623, 624, 625, 627
missiles in, 758, 776
Platt Amendment and, 626–627
rebellion in (1895), 623
refugees from, 807
revolution in (1959), 775
in War of 1898, 624, 625
Cuban missile crisis (1962), 758, 776
cubism, 535, 536*(i)*
Cuffee, Paul, 320*(i)*
cult of mourning, 418
cultural imperialism, 533
cultural pluralism, 583, 952–957
culture and cultural development. *See also* art and artists; diversity; Enlightenment; societies; *specific groups*
in 1920s, 661–669, 672–674
African, 24–25
African American, 93, 96–97
in Atlantic region, 71
Cherokee, 289
consumer, 501–503, 526, 536–539, 617, 658–669
counterculture and, 860–861, 861*(i)*, 900
dissenters in, 790–791
entertainment and, 317–320
high culture, 569
of immigrants, 235, 381
LGBT subculture, 569
masculinity in, 526, 536
material success and, 928–929
Mesoamerican, 8, 9–11, 10*(m)*
in Middle Atlantic region, 115–117, 116*(m)*
middle-class, 268–269, 658
Mississippian, 11, 26*(i)*
moundbuilding, 11, 12*(i)*, 13*(i)*
mourning and, 418
Native American, 11–16, 353–354, 481–482, 487–488
planters, 266

culture and cultural (*cont.*)
Second Party System and, 293–300
sexual revolution and, 903
slave, 341–343, 342*(i)*, 346
teenage culture, 745, 788, 789*(i)*, 789–791
urban, 315–320, 566–569
in World War II, 726–727
culture wars, 663–669, 952, 958–959
Cumberland (Maryland), National Road from, 244
Cumberland Gap, 166*(i)*, 217
Cumming, Kate, 414, 417
cuneiform, 526
currency. *See also* paper money
bimetallic standard for, 469
Chinese vs. U.S., 945, 947
in Civil War, 409, 410
colonial, 145, 176, 183
euro, 945
Federal Reserve issuing of, 610
gold standard and supply of, 469
gold standard for, 469
politics and, 518
specie, 286
Currency Act of 1764, 103, 145
currency taxes, 183
curriculum. *See also* education
fundamentalism and, 666
in higher education, 548
Currie, Laughlin, 765
Curry, James, 344
Curtis, Edward S., 481*(i)*, 487*(i)*
Custer, George Armstrong, 486
Cuyahoga River, pollution of, 881, 884*(i)*
Cuzco, as Inca capital, 11
CWA (Civil Works Administration), 687, 693*(t)*, 700
Czechoslovakia
communism in, 755
NATO and, 961
Nazi invasion of, 714, 715
Czolgosz, Leon F., 603

Dachau death camp, 735
Dahomey, 87–88
Dakotas. *See* North Dakota; South Dakota
Dakota Sioux, 478–479, 480*(i)*
Daley, Richard J., 864, 875
dams
Aswan, 774
Boulder (Hoover), 702, 705, 707*(i)*
Grand Coulee, 705–706, 707*(i)*
Tennessee Valley Authority, 705, 706*(m)*
dance
African American, 342*(i)*, 343, 902
in antebellum America, 318*(i)*, 318–319, 319*(i)*
break dancing, 902
Congo dance, 343
juba dancing, 319
Shakers and, 313*(i)*
social identity and, 318–319
dance halls, 567*(i)*, 567–568
Dancers (Davies), 536*(i)*
Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry, The (Tennent), 125
Daniel, Jackson, 407
Daniels, Lige, 598*(i)*
DAR (Daughters of the American Revolution), 551
Darrow, Clarence, 558, 666
Dartmouth (Lord), 162, 165
Dartmouth (ship), 158
Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819), 229*(t)*, 230, 293
Darwin, Charles, 493, 528–529
dating customs, 568
Daughters of Bilitis, 798
Daughters of Liberty, 151
Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 551
Davenport, Charles, 342
Davies, Arthur B., 536*(i)*
Davies, Marion, 658*(i)*
Davies, Samuel, 126
Davis, David, 457
Davis, James H., 594
Davis, Jefferson (1808–1889)
as Confederate president, 392, 400, 410, 419
on emancipation, 407
expansionism and, 369
Fort Sumter attack and, 393
on southern rights, 389
Davis, John W., 657
Davis, Miles, 790
Davis, Robert, 176
Dawes, Henry L., 483
Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, 482, 483, 701
Dawkins, Henry, 121*(i)*
Dawn: A Journal for True American Patriots, 671
daylight saving time, 638
D-Day, 405, 734–735, 735*(i)*
Dean, James, 790
Dearborn Independent (newspaper), 668
Death and Life of Great American Cities, The (Jacobs), 800–801, 827
Death as a Passage to Life (Lippet), 122
death camps, 735, 736
death rates. *See* mortality
debates
Kennedy-Nixon, 774
kitchen debate, 780, 782*(i)*
Lincoln-Douglas, 388–389
Reagan-Carter, 921
Debs, Eugene V., 609, 609*(m)*, 639
debt. *See also* national debt; war debts
agricultural, 473
Chinese ownership of U.S. debt, 947
from Civil War, 467
colonial, 132, 132*(f)*, 134, 162
consumer, 658, 674
international, 655
post–Revolutionary War, 183, 189, 191
in sharecropping, 444–445
state, 293, 451
of working class, 269
debtor nation, U.S. as, 928
Decatur, Stephen, 219
"Declaration for Global Democracy" (Global Exchange), 945
Declaration of Independence (1776), 167–168, 168*(i)*, 185
Declaration of Rights (England, 1689), 80
Declaration of Sentiments, 329
Declaration of the Causes and Necessities of Taking Up Arms, 165
Declaratory Act of 1766, 150
decolonization, Third World and (1943–1990), 838*(m)*
Deep South. *See also* South
African Americans in, 254, 810
secession of, 391–392, 393
Deere, John, 408
defense contractors, 718, 762*(m)*
Defense Department, 783, 932, 951
defense industry
contractors in, 718, 762*(m)*
desegregation of, 814
in Sunbelt, 803, 804
in World War II, 718, 727
"Defense of Fort McHenry" (Key), 228*(i)*
Defense of Marriage Act of 1996, 958, 959
defense of slavery, 257
defense spending. *See also* war debts
in 1940–1965, 762*(f)*
in Cold War, 783
in Korean War, 762
in Reagan administration, 924, 931
in Vietnam War, 855
in World War II, 715
defense treaties, 771, 772*(m)*
deficit in federal budget, 695, 924, 924*(f)*. *See also* national debt
deflation, 498
Degler, Carl N., 694
de Grasse (Admiral), 182*(m)*
deindustrialization, 885–887, 901–902
deism, 120–121
de Kooning, Willem, 706
Delaney, Martin, 320, 433*(i)*
Delaware
in American Revolution, 174
holding companies in, 501
Native Americans in, 82
secession and, 392, 402
trusts in, 604
Delaware (Lenni Lenape) Indians
in American Revolution, 178, 178*(m)*
government of, 13
land cessions by, 215

in Ohio Valley region, 127, 129
Penn and, 78, 79*(i)*
tribalization of, 82
in Wyoming Valley, 133
Delaware River, 13, 172–173
DeLay, Tom, 963
Delmont, Matthew F., 791
de Lôme, Enrique Dupuy, 623–624
democracy
Addams on, 605
in Eastern Europe, 750
Middle East movements for, 970
politics of, 273*(i)*, 275, 339–341
post–World War II, 741
public education and, 296–297
rise of, 274–275
Roosevelt (Franklin) on, 712, 716
in state constitutions, 185
Tocqueville on, 272
voting rights and, 274–275
in Western Europe, 754
Democracy and Social Ethics (Addams), 605
Democracy in America (Tocqueville), 272, 276, 289
Democratic National Committee, Watergate affair and, 891
Democratic National Convention
in 1964, 831, 831*(i)*
in 1968, 844, 864
in 1972, 874–875
Democratic Party. *See also* elections
African Americans and, 609, 700, 815
Civil War and, 418, 424
coalition of, 726
conservatism in, 839
on emancipation, 407
expansionism and, 368
immigrants in, 381, 707
Jacksonian Democrats, 235, 284, 293, 299, 338
Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 385
KKK and, 453
labor and, 295, 697, 707
on Manifest Destiny, 349
New Deal and, 707
New Democrats, 959, 960
Populists and, 600
Reagan Democrats, 922–923
Reconstruction and, 447, 452, 453
reforms of, 493
on slavery in territories, 374
in South, 339–340, 389, 447, 452, 453 457, 599–600
U.S.-Mexico War and, 368
Democratic Republicans, 208
Democratic Revolution, 272, 274
demographic transition, 278
demography. *See* population
demonstrations. *See* protests
Denmark, Nazi invasion of, 715
Dennison, William, 393
departments of government. *See specific name of department*
department stores, 501–502, 526, 537–538, 537*(i)*
depressions (financial). *See also* Great Depression; recessions
of 1837–1843, 298, 299
of 1870s, 450–451, 464, 514, 517, 520
of 1890s, 501, 574, 587*(i)*, 595, 598, 603, 622
casual laborers in, 269
deregulation
Carter and, 893
financial, 950
Reagan and, 924–925
Deroine, Jeanne, 328
desegregation
of armed forces, 760*(i)*, 817
in baseball, 815
court cases for, 821*(m)*, 821–823
of defense industry, 814
in education, 820*(i)*, 821*(m)*, 821–823, 822*(i)*, 829*(m)*
in Little Rock (Arkansas), 814, 822*(i)*, 822–823
of lunch counters, 824
in Reconstruction, 449
in sports, 542
Deseret, 315*(m)*, 387
deskilling of labor, 504–505
de Soto, Hernando, 6, 11, 26
detective fiction, 317
détente, 871, 931
Detroit (Michigan)
growth of, 263–264
housing discrimination in, 813
race riots in, 727, 815, 839
reform mayors in, 574
specialized role of, 264*(m)*
Dewey, George, 624, 625
Dewey, Thomas E., 725–726, 764, 764*(i)*, 764*(m)*, 914
DeWitt, John, 730
Dial, The (journal), 310
Diamond, Jack, 664
diaphragms, 546
Dias, Bartholomeu, 29, 31*(m)*
diaspora, African, 31
Díaz, Porfirio, 631
Díaz del Castillo, Bernal, 11
Dickens, Charles, 319
Dickinson, John, 142, 149, 165, 167
dictatorships, in Central America, 931
Diem, Ngo Dinh, 773, 777, 853
Dien Bien Phu (Vietnam), 773
Dies, Martin, 766
diet. *See* food and nutrition
dime novels, 415*(i)*, 472*(i)*, 488, 541*(i)*
Diné Indians. *See* Navajo Indians
Dinwiddie, Robert, 129
diplomacy. *See also* foreign policy
Adams (John), 183
Adams (John Quincy), 230–232
in American Revolution, 183
Civil War and, 419
colonists-Iroquois, 74
dollar diplomacy, 617, 655–656
with England, 209, 212
Franklin, 183
Jay, 183
of Jefferson, 220
King Cotton, 419
in Middle East, 939
direct primaries, 601
dirty tricks, in Nixon campaign, 891
discrimination. *See also* racism
of African Americans, 252, 321, 413, 509, 538, 539, 636, 639, 819–823
of Asians and Asian Americans, 372, 514–516, 703
in employment, 508–509, 724, 806, 812–813
eugenics and, 529–530
in gold fields, 371–372
in housing, 799, 806, 813, 826
Mexican Americans and, 725
reverse, 894, 956
unskilled labor and, 508–509
women workers and, 508, 509
in World War II, 723–725
disease. *See also* health and health care; *specific diseases*
in Chesapeake region, 50
in cities, 316, 575–576
in Civil War, 414, 416–417
in Columbian Exchange, 3, 41, 42*(m)*
European transmission in Americas, 33–34, 41, 42*(m)*
in gold rush, 373
Native Americans and, 3, 33–34, 41, 45, 57–59, 354, 373, 483
science and, 120
slaves and, 93
venereal, 636*(i)*
in War of 1898, 625
in World War I, 636, 636*(i)*
disfranchisement. *See also* voting and voting rights
of African Americans, 277, 599*(m)*, 599–600, 601, 661–662, 813
of Confederate leaders, 434
of immigrants, 601
Disney, Walt, 804
Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 807
dissent
cultural, 790–791
religious, 124–125
World War I suppression of, 639
District of Columbia. *See* Washington, D.C.

diversity. *See also* culture and cultural development; ethnic diversity; race and racial diversity
in English colonies, 70–71, 113, 116*(m)*
in Middle Atlantic colonies, 113–117
multiculturalism and, 954–957
of Native American societies, 3
in New Netherland, 57
in Pennsylvania, 79
religious, 526, 530–534
of urban electorate, 583
divine-right monarchy, Locke on, 80
divorce, 793, 900
Dix, Dorothea, 326–327
Dixiecrats, 764, 817
Dodge City (Kansas), 471
dollar, U.S., 945, 947
dollar diplomacy, 617, 655–656
domesticity
in Civil War, 415
commercial, 537–538
education and, 326
The Feminine Mystique and, 852
of freedpeople, 443
of middle class, 235, 325, 793, 794, 795*(i)*
temperance movement and, 306*(i)*
of women, 235, 325–326, 793
Domestic Manners of the Americans (Trollope), 272
domestic servants. *See* servants
domestic slavery, gender roles and, 327
domestic slave trade, 254–255, 343
domestic violence, 550
Dominican Republic, 32, 655, 656, 952
Dominion of New England, 79–80, 80*(m)*, 81, 102
domino theory, 773, 858
Donahue, Barney, 517
Doniphan, Alfred A., 358*(m)*
Donnelly, Ignatius, 596
Doors (musical group), 861
Dorr, Retha Childe, 550
Double V campaign, 723–724, 815
doughboys, 636
Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 748
Douglas, Stephen A. (1813–1861)
on Civil War, 393
Compromise of 1850 and, 375, 375*(i)*
debates with Lincoln, 388–389
in election of 1852, 378
in election of 1860, 389, 390, 390*(i)*, 391*(m)*
expansionism of, 369
Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 384–385
popular sovereignty and, 374
Douglas, William O., 693
Douglas Aircraft Company, 721*(i)*, 762*(i)*
Douglass, Frederick (1818–1895)
as abolitionist, 324*(i)*
Back to Africa movement and, 835
on Civil War, 428
on emancipation, 406
at Fifteenth Amendment celebration, 433*(i)*
free soil movement and, 370
Fugitive Slave Act and, 367*(i)*, 377
on life of slaves, 347, 348
as runaway slave, 323
on voting rights, 439–440
Douglass, Margaret, 297
doves (political), in Vietnam War, 862
Dowd, Gregory Evans, 156
dower right, 112
Downing, Alexander, 268*(i)*
downsizing, 886
dowries, 19
Doy, John, 385*(i)*
draft (military)
in American Revolution, 173
in Civil War, 408, 411–412, 412*(i)*, 426
for Vietnam War, 858, 860
in World War I, 635
in World War II, 715
Drake, Francis, 43
Drayton, William Henry, 215
Dred Scott v. Sandford (1856), 371, 386–387, 388
Dreiser, Theodore, 535, 555
Dresden, in World War II, 735, 741
drone strikes, 970
drought, on plains, 489, 704
drugs
miracle drugs, 793
recreational use of, 861
drummers (traveling salesmen), 503
Dry Dock Bank, 298
dry farming, 476
Du Bois, W. E. B.
civil rights strategies of, 607
on election of 1912, 609
in Harlem Renaissance, 672
in Niagara Movement, 607*(i)*
Pan-African Congress organized by, 644
on Reconstruction, 458
on segregation, 810
on Social Darwinism, 530–531
on Wilson, 612
on World War II, 723–724
due process clause, 467, 602
Duer, William, 206
Dukakis, Michael, 937
Dulles, Allen, 772
Dulles, John Foster, 757, 770, 771–772
Dumbarton Oaks conference (1944), 751
dumbbell tenement, 566*(f)*
Dunmore (Earl of), 164*(m)*, 164–165, 166, 179
Dunmore's Proclamation (1775), 180, 252
Dunmore's War, 164*(m)*, 164–165
DuPont, 501, 657
Duquesne, Fort, 129, 130, 164
dust bowl, 489, 704*(m)*, 704–705
Dutch. *See also* Netherlands; New Netherland
Caribbean colonies of, 47
disintegration of empire, 771
land disputes involving, 133
Native Americans and, 15
settlement in North America by, 47*(m)*
in slave trade, 86
Spain and, 42, 55
trade by, 30
Dutch Reformed Church, 125
Dutch Republic (Holland), 42, 43*(i)*, 56
Dutch West India Company, 56, 57, 113
duties. *See* tariffs; taxation
Dylan, Bob, 861
dysentery, 29, 380, 414, 416
Dyson, Michael Eric, 969
Dyson, Will, 645*(i)*

Earhart, Amelia, 663
"Early Culture of Children" (G. M. J.), 345
Earth Day (April 22), 881
earthquake of 1906 (San Francisco), 516, 563*(i)*, 564, 572
"Earthrise" (photo), 882*(i)*
East
agricultural innovation in, 218
Civil War in, 401–402, 403*(m)*
land in, 132–133
War of 1812 in, 224
East Africa. *See also specific countries*
centers of power in, 940
Portugal and, 29
East Asia. *See also specific countries*
economic cooperation in, 949
Four Powers Act and, 656
Great Powers in (1898–1910), 627, 627*(m)*
immigrants from, 952, 953*(f)*
radio transmission in, 659
Eastern Europe
communism in, 752–753, 754
European Union and, 950*(m)*
fall of communism in, 935–936
immigrants from, 510*(m)*, 512, 513, 532, 666
Jews in, 736
NATO in, 961
self-determination in, 750
Eastern Front (World War I), 633, 635
eastern woodlands, peoples of, 9, 11–15
East Florida, 153
East Germany, 752*(i)*, 753, 758, 935, 936*(i)*. *See also* Germany
East Harlem (New York City), 807
East India Company (British), 130, 142, 158
East Indies, 55
Eastland, James O., 810
Eastman, Charles, 488
Eastman Kodak, 501

East St. Louis, race riot in (1917), 653–654
ecology. *See* environment
Economic Growth and Tax Relief Act of 2001, 963–964
economic nationalism, 695
Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, 848, 849*(t)*
Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA), 923
economics
  free-market, 916, 917
  Keynesian, 695
  supply-side, 923–924
  trickle-down, 924
economy. *See also* depressions; market economies; panics (financial); recessions
  in 1920s, 657–660
  in 1970s, 878, 880, 884–887, 888–889
  in American Revolution, 175
  automobile industry and, 659–660
  Bretton Woods system and, 782–783
  of California, 803
  canals and, 245–246
  Carter and, 885, 893
  in China, 940, 945–947, 949
  in Civil War, 408–410
  computer revolution and, 930
  corporate power in, 784–785
  deregulation of, 893
  in election of 1980, 921
  in English colonies, 79
  European Union and, 940
  expansion of, 465–469
  in fascist countries, 712
  financial crisis and (2008), 241, 466, 950, 967
  GI Bill and, 786
  global, 782–783, 909, 944–951
  government role in, 293
  household economy, 108–109
  industrialists and, 501
  in Japan, 928
  materialism in, 928–929
  in Middle Atlantic region, 113–115
  Native American, 8, 10*(m)*, 17
  northern maritime, 99–101
  Obama and, 968
  Panic of 1819 and, 241–242
  Panic of 1837 and, 296–298
  plantation-based, 86–87, 335, 340–341
  post–Civil War, 465–469
  post–World War I, 657–660
  post–World War II, 755, 782–785
  ranching and, 352
  Reagan and, 923–925, 927
  reforms and, 610–612
  republicanism in, 240, 243
  revolution in (1800s), 235
  service economy, 885, 928
  slave economy, 86–97, 88*(m)*
  of South, 340–341, 444–445, 447
  South Atlantic System and, 86–87
  two-income families and, 900
  underground, 347–348
  urban, 99, 267
  Vietnam War and, 855
  in Western Europe, 20–21
  in World War I, 636–638, 652
  in World War II, 617, 717–718
ecumenical movement, 792
Edenton Tea Party, 151*(i)*
Edison, Thomas A. (1847–1931), 503*(i)*, 536–537
Edmonds, Sarah Emma, 415*(i)*
education. *See also* higher education; public education; teachers
  for African Americans, 446, 548, 814, 814*(t)*
  agricultural, 521–522
  bilingual, 957
  business and technical, 548
  busing to schools, 873–874, 874*(i)*
  Catholic, 531, 533
  for children, 279
  citizenship and, 296–297
  curriculum, 548
  desegregation of, 820*(i)*, 821*(m)*, 821–823, 822*(i)*, 829*(m)*
  domesticity and, 326
  elementary, 279
  evolution in, 666
  for free blacks, 321
  for freedpeople, 446, 448, 448*(i)*
  government financing of, 725, 745, 786, 786*(i)*
  Great Awakening and, 125
  Great Society legislation for, 848
  high schools, 268, 448, 547
  in industrial economy, 547–549
  kindergarten, 550
  land sales for, 189
  middle-class, 268
  for Native Americans, 482–483, 487
  nativism in, 667
  reform of, 326
  segregation in, 539, 819
  in South, 296–297, 337, 446, 448, 548
  for veterans, 725, 745, 786, 786*(i)*
  for women, 186, 279, 326, 326*(i)*, 448, 547, 549, 663, 867–868
  working-class, 269
Edwards, Jonathan, 121, 124, 124*(i)*
Edwards, Rebecca, 592
Egypt
  Arab-Israeli conflicts and, 880, 920
  democratic movements in, 970
  role in Middle East, 773–774
Ehrlich, Paul, 883
Eighteenth Amendment, 611*(t)*, 663, 666
eight-hour workday, 612, 637
Einstein, Albert, 738
Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1890–1969)
  Brown decision and, 822
  domino theory and, 858
  Egypt and, 774
  in election of 1952, 767, 770*(i)*, 770–771
  in election of 1956, 770–771
  foreign policy of, 768, 770, 771–774
  interstate highways and, 802
  Korean War and, 762
  as liberal Republican, 914
  on military-industrial complex, 783
  as president (1953–1961), 770–771
  research spending by, 783
  Vietnam and, 773
  in World War II, 734, 735*(i)*
Eisenhower Doctrine, 774
ejidos, in New Mexico, 468
elderly persons
  Democratic Party and, 707
  health insurance for, 848
  pensions for, 612, 655, 690, 692
Eleanor (ship), 158
elections. *See also* voting and voting rights
  1788, 204
  1796, 212–213, 214*(m)*
  1800, 208*(i)*, 214*(m)*, 214–215
  1808, 223
  1818, 229
  1824, 281–282, 282*(m)*, 283*(f)*
  1828, 284*(m)*, 284–285
  1832, 283*(f)*, 287
  1834, 294
  1836, 283*(f)*, 295, 324*(i)*
  1840, 283*(f)*, 299*(i)*, 299–300, 324, 370
  1844, 235, 283*(f)*, 349, 355
  1846, 368
  1848, 369, 370, 391*(m)*
  1852, 378
  1856, 386
  1858, 389
  1860, 389–391, 391*(m)*
  1862, 407
  1863, 419
  1864, 423–424, 435
  1866, 436
  1868, 438–439
  1870, 439
  1872, 451–452, 591
  1874, 453
  1875 (Mississippi), 456
  1876, 456–457
  1878, 519
  1880, 589*(m)*
  1884, 589, 589*(m)*, 591
  1888, 589*(m)*
  1890, 593, 594
  1892, 593, 594, 595*(m)*, 601*(m)*
  1894, 595*(m)*, 599, 601
  1896, 590, 600, 600*(i)*, 601, 601*(m)*
  1900, 603, 620, 626
  1904, 591, 591*(i)*, 604

elections (*cont.*)
1908, 605
1912, 608*(i)*, 608–609, 609*(m)*
1916, 634
1920, 656
1924, 657
1928, 668*(m)*, 668–669
1932, 675, 683
1936, 692–693
1940, 715
1944, 725–726
1946, 763
1948, 763–764, 764*(i)*, 764*(m)*, 817
1950, 748
1952, 767, 770*(i)*, 770–771
1956, 770–771
1960, 774*(i)*, 774–775
1964, 848, 848*(m)*, 915
1968, 862, 864–866, 866*(m)*, 869*(i)*
1972, 874–875, 875*(m)*
1976, 892, 916
1980, 917, 921, 921*(m)*
1982, 927
1984, 913*(i)*, 927
1988, 937
1992, 952, 959, 959*(m)*
1994, 960–961
1996, 961
2000, 963
2004, 966–967
2008, 963, 967, 968, 971
2010, 969
2012, 963
2014, 969
2016, 963, 971, 972, 972*(i)*
direct primaries, 601
in Eastern Europe, 750
federal oversight of, 593
fraud in, 589
popular, 281
in Virginia Plan, 194
electoral commission, for 1876 election, 457
electricity
in cities, 499, 562–563
class status and, 538
dams and, 705, 706*(m)*, 707*(i)*
in factories, 499
Franklin on, 121
mass transit and, 560
at Pan-American Exposition, 527*(i)*
rural, 705
telegraph and, 247
electric lighting, 503*(i)*, 537, 562–563
electronic devices, 951
electronics industries, 803, 804
Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 848, 849*(t)*
elementary schools, 279
elevated railroads (els), 561
elevators, 562
Eliot, Andrew, 120
Eliot, Charles W., 548
Eliot, John, 61
elites
business, 267–268
colonial, 101–102, 274
consumer culture and, 538
corporate, 505
food consumption by, 507
Mexican ranchers, 352
planter, 265, 335–336
post-Revolutionary War, 202
progressivism and, 613
segregation by, 545–546
sports and, 540
urban, 267
Elizabeth I (England, r. 1558–1603), 43*(i)*, 43–44, 45
Elkins Act of 1903, 604, 611*(t)*
Ellington, Edward (Duke), 673
Ellis, Henry, 142
Ellis Island, 506, 511, 563
Ellison, Ralph, 706
Elmer Gantry (Lewis), 663
Elmina slave fort, 31
El Salvador
immigrants from, 952
Reagan and, 931
U.S. financial assistance for, 655
Eltis, David, 92
Ely, Ezra Stiles, 262
emancipation
Civil War and, 362, 363, 406–408
gradual, 250, 252*(m)*, 320
impact of, 412–414
Lincoln and, 362, 363, 406–408
in South, 406, 407, 424–425
in states, 250, 252*(m)*
Emancipation Proclamation, 406–408, 413, 425
embalming, 415
embargo
on arms sales, 714
of Jefferson, 223, 242
oil, 880–881
on wheat shipments to Soviet Russia, 920
Embargo Act of 1807, 223
Emergency Banking Act of 1933, 686, 693*(t)*
Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008, 967–968
Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803–1882)
American Renaissance and, 309–310
individualism of, 310
on industrialization, 238
literary influence of, 310–311
on market society, 311
on slavery, 323
transcendentalism and, 304, 310*(i)*, 310–311
on U.S.-Mexico War, 368
emigration. *See* immigrants and immigration; migrants and migration
empires. *See also* Aztec Empire; British Empire; imperialism
in Americas, 8, 10–11, 32*(m)*
Chinese, 184
colonial, 143*(m)*
cost of, 142–145, 145*(f)*
disintegration of, 771
Inca, 10*(m)*, 10–11, 32*(m)*, 33
Japanese, 716
Ottoman, 28, 31
politics of, 101–104
Roman, 21
U.S., 622–623
West African, 23–25
World War I and, 645, 646*(m)*, 647
employees. *See* labor and laborers
employers, unions and, 261–262, 520, 787
employment. *See also* labor and laborers; professions
American Plan of, 654, 655
corporate, 503–504, 784
discrimination in, 508–509, 724, 806, 812–813
by government (public), 589–592
in military-industrial complex, 783
outsourcing of, 950
workplace conditions, 902
encomiendas, 40
encounter groups, 904
Endangered Species Act of 1973, 884
End Poverty in California (EPIC) movement, 689*(m)*
energy. *See also specific sources of energy*
Carter on, 893
consumption of (1900–2000), 881*(f)*
crisis of 1970s, 880–881
environment and, 943*(i)*
for industry, 238, 499
nuclear, 884
for West, 705–706
Enforcement Laws, 453
engineers, in research laboratories, 503
England (Britain). *See also* British North America; Parliament
Alabama issue and, 419, 464
Central America and, 630
Chesapeake colonies of, 45–47
China and, 627, 627*(m)*
Civil War (U.S.) and, 401, 407, 419
civil war in, 61, 61*(i)*, 76
colonies of, 45–47, 47*(m)*, 70, 76–81, 78*(t)*
common law in, 149
as commonwealth, 61, 76, 149
constitutional monarchy in, 81
consumer revolution in, 132
disintegration of empire, 771
Glorious Revolution in, 80, 80*(m)*, 81*(i)*
gold standard in, 469

Great Depression and, 680
in Great War for Empire, 130–131, 142–145
House of Lords in, 19
immigrants from, 510*(m)*, 511*(f)*
impressment by, 223
independence recognized by, 183
industrial growth in, 131–132, 217, 248
Ireland and, 43
mercantilism in, 43–44, 79
Native Americans and, 15, 129, 129*(i)*, 156
naval blockade of French ports by, 208
New France conquered by, 130, 131*(m)*
New Netherland and, 57, 77, 79
in Ohio River region, 127, 129
Oregon and, 334*(m)*, 349
Pacific Northwest and, 348
Palestine and, 645
population of, 43
post–World War II, 741, 754
Puritans in, 59, 61
rejection of EU membership, 945, 950*(m)*
restoration in, 76, 77
slavery and, 71, 86, 285
South as economic colony of, 341
South Atlantic System and, 87
Spain and, 43, 86
sugar economy and, 99
textile industry and, 43, 248, 249
trans-Appalachian region and, 215
in Triple Entente, 632
Venezuela dispute and, 623
war debt compared with U.S (1830–1900), 429, 429*(f)*
War of 1812 and, 224–229, 225*(m)*
War of Jenkins's Ear and, 102–103
War of the Austrian Succession and, 103
western policy of (1763–1774), 159*(m)*
West Indies and, 83*(m)*, 86–87, 285
in World War I, 633–634, 635, 637
in World War II, 617, 715, 732–733, 734*(m)*
English common law, 149, 261
Enlightenment
in America, 106, 120–121
in Europe, 118, 119–120
evangelicalism and, 122–123
Franklin and, 120*(i)*, 120–121
philanthropy in, 121*(i)*
religious toleration and, 304
Enrollment Act of 1863, 412
entertainment. *See also* leisure; movies and movie industry; radio; television
in cities, 317–320, 526, 566–567
consumer culture and, 537
entitlement programs, 936
entrepreneurs
African American, 449
American industry and, 249
community and, 242–243
in computer industry, 930
culture of, 238
Edison as, 536–537
English industry and, 131
Whigs and, 294
environment. *See also* climate; environmentalism
alteration of, 14
canal building and, 244–245
Columbian Exchange and, 41
energy and, 943*(i)*
of Great Plains, 352–353, 474–477, 704
Great Society legislation on, 848–849
industrialization and, 505–508, 880
mining and, 470, 471*(i)*
New Deal and, 704–706
Nixon and, 881, 882, 884
Reagan and, 883, 925
Roosevelt (Theodore) and, 604
environmentalism, 544–545, 577, 704, 881–884
Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), 881, 884, 924, 925, 970
environmental violence, 882
EPA (Environmental Protection Agency), 881, 884, 924, 925, 970
EPIC (End Poverty in California) movement, 689*(m)*
epidemics. *See* disease
Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974, 868
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 830, 831*(i)*
equality
for African Americans, 812, 814
in Fourteenth Amendment, 432, 812, 820
Jackson on, 284
for Japanese Americans, 819
law and, 819–823
for Mexican Americans, 817–819
Truman on, 816
of whites, 98
for women, 868
Equal Pay Act of 1963, 851
Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 661, 895–896, 896*(m)*, 898–899, 915
Equal Rights Association, 439–440
Equiano, Olaudah (Gustavus Vassa), 90
ERA (Equal Rights Amendment), 661, 895–896, 896*(m)*, 898–899, 915
"Era of Good Feeling," 231, 281
Erie Canal, 245, 245*(i)*, 246*(m)*, 264
Erie Indians, 57
Erie Railroad, 498
erosion, on Great Plains, 476, 704–705
ERTA (Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981), 923
Eskimos, 8
espionage. *See* spies and spying
Espionage Act of 1917, 639
Essay Concerning Human Understanding (Locke), 120
estates, in Hudson River region, 56
Ethics in Government Act of 1978, 891
Ethiopia, Italian invasion of, 713
Ethiopian Regiment, 166, 179, 180
ethnic cleansing, 962
ethnic diversity. *See also specific ethnic groups*
in British North America, 70–71, 113, 116*(m)*
in cities, 563–566
of immigrants, 532
in Middle Atlantic region, 113, 115–117, 116*(m)*
nationalism and, 866
in plural society, 952–957
ethnocultural politics, 300
etiquette, telephone, 538
EU (European Union), 909, 940, 945–947, 950*(m)*
eugenics, 529–530
Eurasian trade system, 30*(m)*, 56*(m)*, 143*(m)*
euro, 945
Europe. *See also specific regions and countries*
American movies in, 659
Cold War in (1955), 753*(m)*
colonial empires of, 143*(m)*
Crusades in, 22–23
diseases from, 33–34, 41, 42*(m)*
division after World War II, 755, 758
Enlightenment in, 118, 119–120
exploration by, 28–36
immigrants from, 510*(m)*, 510–514, 511*(f)*, 662
North American spheres of influence (1754), 128*(m)*
peasant society in, 19–20
Protestant Reformation in, 23
religion in, 21–23
Second Hundred Years' War in, 71
society prior to American contact, 18–23
trading voyages from, 28–30
in World War I, 632–634, 635, 646*(m)*
in World War II, 710, 733*(m)*, 733–736, 734*(m)*
European Parliament, 950*(m)*
European Union (EU), 909, 940, 945–947, 950*(m)*
evangelicals and evangelicalism
in 1970s, 904–906, 905*(i)*
abortion and, 897
black evangelical Protestantism, 321, 341–343
Enlightenment rationalism and, 122–123
evangelical Protestantism, 305–306, 792
Finney and, 305–306

evangelicals (*cont.*)
on Indian removal, 291
missionaries and, 532–533
New Evangelicalism, 904, 905
on slavery, 252, 304–305
in South, 304–305
televangelists and, 792, 905, 917
Whigs and, 294
Evans, Daniel J., 629
Evans, Hiram Wesley, 671
Evans, Sara, 851
Evansville (Indiana), race riot in, 565
Everett, Edward, 294
Evers, Medgar, 829
evolution
Darwin's theory of, 493, 528–529
Scopes trial and, 666
excise taxes, 142, 207, 219
executive branch, 194, 204. *See also specific presidents*
Executive Orders
8802, 724, 814–815
9066, 730
9835, 765
9981, 760*(i)*
Specie Circular, 299
on ten-hour workday, 261
Exodusters, 473
expansion and expansionism
European, 28–36
as foreign policy, 378
of Japan, 713
Manifest Destiny and, 333*(i)*, 348–355
of McKinley, 620
of Polk, 332, 355–359, 366, 368–369, 369*(m)*
of slavery, 363, 366, 392
in South, 335–341
Soviet, 754
by U.S., 137, 235, 363, 623
U.S.-Mexico War and, 332, 356–360, 358*(m)*, 368–369
westward, 152–153, 332, 349–352, 622
Ex Parte Crow Dog (1903), 483
"Expenses of the Campaign" (*Springfield Daily Republican*), 591
exploration. *See also* voyages; *specific explorers*
European, 28–36
of Louisiana Territory, 221
maritime, 28, 29–30, 30*(m)*
Portuguese, 28–31
space, 777, 783
Spanish, 31–34
exports. *See also* trade and commerce
British, 87, 131
colonial, 79, 99, 132, 160
cotton, 253
embargo and, 223
tobacco, 50
transportation for, 245
Exposé on Polygamy: A Lady's Life Among the Mormons (Stenhouse), 474
expressionism, 659
extermination camps, 735, 736
external taxes, 151

factions. *See also* political parties; *specific parties*
Federalist, 208
nationalist, 192
political parties as, 276–277
Republican, 229, 231–232, 281
factories. *See also* industry and industrialization; manufacturing
automation in, 785
closure of, 887
electricity in, 499
labor in, 249–250, 496, 504, 508, 509*(i)*, 564
safety in, 507–508
in South, 340–341
in textile industry, 249–250
in Vietnam, 951*(i)*
women in, 249–250, 263, 415, 504, 951*(i)*
fact worship, 528
Fairbanks, Douglas, 658
Fair Deal, 764–765
Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), 724, 725, 814, 817
Fairfax (Lord), 133
Fair Housing Act of 1968, 799
Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (FLSA), 693*(t)*, 696
Fairley, Henry, 846
Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God, A (Edwards), 124, 124*(i)*
Fall, Albert, 657
Fallen Timbers, Battle of (1794), 216
fall line, industrial towns along, 262
Fallows, James, 858
Falwell, Jerry, 898–899, 905, 905*(i)*, 917, 922
families. *See also* children and adolescents
in 1950s, 780
in 1970s, 900–902
admittance of immigrant family members to U.S., 952
African American, 344*(i)*, 344–345, 345*(i)*, 565*(i)*
black vs. white, 344*(i)*, 344–345, 345*(i)*
in Chesapeake region, 50–51, 98
in Cold War, 792–798
consumer culture and, 658
elite colonial, 102
of freedpeople, 443
on Great Plains, 476*(i)*
income of, 658, 945*(f)*
in industrial era, 546–547
in matriarchal societies, 14
middle-class, 278, 345, 546, 547*(i)*, 780, 781*(i)*, 792–798
in New England, 58
of poor southern whites, 337–338
post–World War II, 745
on relief (1933), 681*(m)*
religion and, 905*(i)*, 905–906
republican, 277–279
sharecropping by, 445*(i)*
single-parent, 900, 901
sizes of, 546
slave, 256, 266*(i)*, 343, 346, 407*(i)*
temperance pledge for, 550*(i)*
two-income families, 900, 901, 901*(f)*
urban elite, 267, 267*(i)*
women and, 794–795
working, 901–902
working-class, 269, 508–509, 509*(i)*
in World War II, 726*(i)*
Family Research Council, 917
family rooms, 788*(i)*
family values
abortion rights and, 957
conflicts over, 957–959
in election of 1988, 937
gay rights and, 957–958
New Right and, 905*(i)*, 906, 957
famine, in Ireland, 315, 380–381, 510
Farewell Address (Washington), 226
Farmer, James, 724, 815, 832–833
Farmers' Alliance, 520–522, 594, 597
Farmers' Holiday Association, 682
farming. *See* agriculture
Farm Security Administration (FSA), 693*(t)*
Farragut, David G., 405
Far West. *See* West
Fascinating Womanhood (Andelin), 905
fascism, 617, 712–713, 714
fast food, 802, 803, 804*(i)*
Father Knows Best (television show), 789
Fatherland, advertisement in, 640
fathers, duties of, 112. *See also* families
Faust, Drew Gilpin, 411
FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation), 653, 666, 836, 942
FDA (Food and Drug Administration), 580
FDIC (Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation), 686
Feast of the Dead (Huron Indians), 58*(i)*
Federal Art Project, 679*(i)*, 706
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 653, 666, 836, 942
Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), 686
Federal Elections Bill of 1890 (Lodge Bill), 593
Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), 681*(m)*, 687, 693*(t)*
federal government. *See* government, U.S.
Federal Housing Act of 1934, 688

Federal Housing Administration (FHA), 688, 799, 800, 813, 826–827
Federalist, The, 198, 284
Federalists
  Bank of the United States and, 241
  Constitution and, 195, 198, 204–205
  courts and, 219
  in election of 1788, 204
  in election of 1796, 213, 214*(m)*
  in election of 1800, 214*(m)*, 214–215
  end of, 229, 281, 294
  factions of, 208
  Jefferson and, 219
  legacy of, 229–232
  Marshall and, 229–230
  Naturalization, Alien, and Sedition Acts by, 214
  property rights and, 229, 229*(t)*
  secessionism and, 220
  War of 1812 and, 224, 226–228
Federal Music Project, 706
Federal Republic of Germany. *See* West Germany
Federal Reserve Act of 1913, 610, 611*(t)*
Federal Reserve Board, 610, 687, 690, 694, 707, 927
Federal Theatre Project (FTP), 701*(i)*, 706
Federal Trade Commission (FTC), 610
Federal Writers' Project (FWP), 698, 706
Feke, Robert, 120*(i)*
Fell, Margaret, 78
Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), 815, 823
Female Anti-Slavery Society, 322
Female Charitable Society, 278, 305
Female Moral Reform Society, 326
Feminine Mystique, The (Friedan), 794*(i)*, 796, 851, 852
feminism
  in 1960s, 850–853, 867–868
  in 1970s, 895
  abortion rights and, 867, 957
  black and Chicana, 867
  Carter and, 893
  defined, 555
  labor and, 851–852
  origins of, 851
  sexual revolution and, 902
FEPC (Fair Employment Practices Committee), 724, 725, 814, 817
FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration), 681*(m)*, 687, 693*(t)*
Ferdinand, Franz (Austria), 633
Ferdinand II of Aragon (Spain, r. 1474–1516), 6, 31–32
Ferguson (Missouri), protests in (2014), 971
Fermi, Enrico, 738
Ferraro, Geraldine, 927
Fetterman, William, 480
Fetterman massacre (1866), 480
FHA (Federal Housing Administration), 688, 799, 800, 813, 826–827
fiction (literature), 316–317
fictive kinship, 344, 346
Field, Stephen J., 602*(i)*
Fifteenth Amendment, 432, 433*(i)*, 438*(t)*, 439–440, 457, 812
Fifth Amendment, 387
"Fifty-four forty or fight!," 355, 359
Filene, William, 538
filibuster, 891–892
filibustering expeditions, 378, 379
Filipino Americans, 704
Fillmore, Millard (1800–1874), 375, 386
films. *See* movies and movie industry
"final solution," in World War II, 735–736
finances. *See also* banks and banking; budget; currency; national debt
  in American Revolution, 176
  in British consumer revolution, 132
  in Civil War, 409–410
  deregulation of, 950
  federal funding and, 521
  of federal government, 467
  Great War for Empire and impact on, 142–145
  Hamilton on, 205–207
  Jefferson and, 219–220
  in New York City, 887, 890*(i)*
  post–Revolutionary War, 188–189, 191
  for railroads, 466
  of Second Bank of the United States, 286–287
  in U.S.-Mexico War, 359
  in World War I, 637
  in World War II, 717–718
financial aristocracy, 428
financial crisis (2008), 241, 466, 950, 967
financial depressions. *See* depressions (financial)
financial panics. *See* panics (financial)
Finney, Charles Grandison, 305–306, 310, 313
Finney, Lydia, 305, 326
fire-eaters (secessionists), 375, 389, 391
fires, for forest management, 12, 14
fireside chats, 684, 685, 686
First, Second and Last Scenes of Mortality, The (Punderson), 109*(i)*
First Amendment, 214, 450
First Bank of the United States, 207, 241
First Congress, 205
First Continental Congress (1774), 159–162, 165
First French Republic (1792–1804), 208, 209
First Great Awakening, 124–127
First National Wildlife Refuge of 1903, 611*(t)*
First New Deal (1933–1935), 686–691, 688*(m)*
First Party System (1794–1815), 212, 229, 294
First World War. *See* World War I
fiscal policy. *See* finances
Fish, Nathaniel, 65
Fisher and Brother (publishing firm), 317*(i)*
fishing and fishing industry
  in maritime economy, 99
  by Native Americans, 10*(m)*, 16, 45*(i)*
  regulation of, 478
  U.S. rights to, 183
Fisk University, 446, 449*(i)*
Fithian, Philip, 112
Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 673
Fitzpatrick, Benjamin, 335, 336
Five Forks, Battle of (1865), 423*(m)*
Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie (Tusser), 110
Five Nations (Iroquois), 13–14, 57–58
flappers, 651*(i)*, 658
Flash (journal), 316
Flathead Indians, 485
Fleming, Alexander, 636*(i)*
Fletcher, Tom, 847*(i)*
Fletcher v. Peck (1810), 229*(t)*, 230
Florida
  ancient peoples in, 9*(m)*, 11
  British in, 130, 146*(m)*
  cession to U.S., 231
  East and West, 153
  election of 2000 and, 963
  English-Creek expedition against, 83
  foreign-born population in, 952
  Franciscans in, 84
  growth of, 805*(m)*
  Native Americans in, 288, 292
  Reconstruction in, 456
  Republican government in, 456
  secession of, 392
  slavery and, 254, 254*(m)*
  Spain and, 33, 183, 231
  in Sunbelt, 803, 804
  war hawks and, 223
flower children, 861
Floyd, John B., 389
FLSA (Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938), 693*(t)*, 696
flu. *See* influenza
flying shuttle, 248
Focus on the Family, 917
folk music, 860–861
Folsom, Frances, 590, 590*(i)*
Food Administration, 638, 656
Food and Drug Administration (FDA), 580
food and nutrition. *See also* agriculture; crops
  in Columbian Exchange, 3, 41, 42*(m)*
  of elite, 507
  fast food and, 802, 803, 804*(i)*
  Native American, 217
  poverty and, 506–507

food and nutrition (*cont.*)
rationing in World War II, 727
regulation of, 580
riots in Confederacy, 410
in West Africa, 25
of working class, 506–507
football, American, 542–543, 543*(i)*
FOR (Fellowship of Reconciliation), 815, 823
Force Bill of 1833, 286
Ford, Gerald R. (1913–2006)
assumption of presidency, 891
economy and, 885
New York City financial crisis and, 887, 890*(i)*
Ford, Henry, 504, 633, 655, 668
Ford Motor Company, 501, 659, 682, 718, 928
foreclosure, in Great Depression, 678, 694
Foreign Affairs (magazine), 754
foreign aid
post–World War II, 755
to repressive regimes, 920
to Vietnam, 773
Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, 891
foreign investments, 469
Foreign Miner's Tax, 372
foreign policy. *See also* containment policy
Bush (G. H. W.), 938–940
Carter, 920–921, 931
Clinton, 961–963, 962*(i)*
Eisenhower, 768, 770, 771–774
expansionist, 378, 713
Goldwater, 848
Kennedy, 774–777
Munich analogy in, 762–763
Nixon, 870–872, 891, 930–931
Reagan, 912, 930–931, 934–936
Roosevelt (Theodore), 627–632
Taft, 630
Wilson, 620, 631–632
foreign trade. *See* trade and commerce
forests
national, 544, 545*(m)*
Native American management of, 12, 14
reserves, 604
Forman, Stanley, 874*(i)*
Forrest, Nathan Bedford, 413, 452, 453
Fort Ancient culture, 12*(i)*
Fort Donelson, Battle of (1862), 404, 404*(m)*
Fort Finney, Treaty of (1786), 215
Fort Harmar agreement (1789), 216
Fort Henry, Battle of (1862), 404, 404*(m)*
Fort McIntosh, Treaty of (1785), 215
Fort Pillow, slaughter of black troops at (1864), 413, 452
forts. *See also specific forts*
Dutch, 55, 56
French, 127, 129
in Ohio River region, 127, 129
in Permanent Indian Territory, 353
Fort Stanwix, Treaty of (1784), 215
Fortune magazine, 780
Fort Wagner attack (1863), 413
forty-niners, 371–373
fossil fuels, 499, 500*(i)*
Four Freedoms speech (Roosevelt), 716
Fourier, Charles, 312
Fourierist socialism, 312–313
"Four Indian Kings," 82*(i)*, 84–85
Four-Minute Men, 639
Four Powers Act of 1922, 656
Fourteen Points, 616, 643, 644, 645
Fourteenth Amendment
on citizenship, 436
Confederate debt and, 429
due process clause of, 467, 602
equal protection in, 432, 812, 820
as framework for civil rights movement, 457
provisions of, 438*(t)*
Reconstruction and, 437
Supreme Court on, 456, 467
women's suffrage and, 440, 440*(i)*
Fox, George, 78
Fox, Henry, 298
Fox Indians, 244, 292, 293*(i)*
Frame of Government (Pennsylvania), 78
France. *See also* New France
in American Revolution, 171*(i)*, 175, 177–178, 181–182, 182*(m)*, 183
British acquisitions in Canada from, 83*(m)*, 85–86
Caribbean colonies of, 47, 50*(i)*
China and, 627, 627*(m)*
Civil War (U.S.) and, 401
D-Day in, 405, 734–735, 735*(i)*
disintegration of empire, 771
Great Depression and, 680
in Great War for Empire, 130
Haitian Revolution and, 212
Huguenots from, 55, 115
Indochina and, 645, 748
Mexico and, 465
Native Americans and, 130
neutrality policy toward, 208
New England attacks on settlements of, 85
in Ohio River region, 127, 129
parlements in, 19
post–Revolutionary War peace with Britain, 183
republicanism in, 170
settlement in North America by, 47*(m)*
Treaty of Alliance with, 171*(i)*, 177, 183
in Triple Entente, 632
Vietnam and, 773
War of the Austrian Succession and, 103
women's rights in, 328
in World War I, 633, 635, 637
in World War II, 73, 710, 715, 733, 733*(m)*, 734*(m)*
franchise. *See* voting and voting rights
Franciscan missionaries, 66, 84, 351
Franco, Francisco, 712
Frankfurter, Felix, 693
Frankie Cleveland Clubs, 590
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 573*(i)*
Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790)
at Albany Congress, 129, 159
Autobiography, 120, 122–123
on Constitution, 195
diplomacy following American Revolution, 183
Enlightenment and, 120*(i)*, 120–121
French alliance and, 177
on German migrants, 117
on government, 192
inventions by, 121
lightning investigations by, 63
on mercantilist system, 152
on parliamentary supremacy, 156
Paxton Boys and, 133
Poor Richard's Almanack and, 121
on slavery, 149–150
success of, 242
on taxation, 147, 151, 160
Franklin, state of, 189
Franklin Institute (Philadelphia), 260
Franks, Dora, 396
Frazier-Lemke Act of 1934, 690
Freake, Elizabeth, 65*(i)*
Fredericksburg, Battle of (1862), 403*(m)*, 408, 418
Free African Societies, 321
free blacks. *See also* African Americans
citizenship and, 386–387
colonization of, 280, 388
Fugitive Slave Act and, 377
institutions of, 321
in North, 252, 320–321
as Patriots, 252
population of, 320, 347*(i)*
in South, 320
Freed, Alan, 790
Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, 451
Freedmen's aid societies, 414
Freedmen's Bureau, 435, 442, 446, 447, 450
Freedom, When? (Farmer), 832–833
"Freedom and Slavery" (*Staunton Spectator*), 259
Freedom of Information Act of 1974, 891
Freedom Rides, 825
freedoms
in Bill of Rights, 205
for freedpeople, 441–450, 453, 457
press, 214
religion, 205
for slaves, 53, 149–150

speech, 205, 214
in U.S. and Africa, 818
Freedom's Journal (newspaper), 321
Freedom Summer (1964), 830–831, 860
freedpeople
Black Codes and, 435
civil rights for, 435
education for, 446, 448, 448*(i)*
freedoms for, 441–450, 453, 457
institutions of, 446, 448, 449–450
landownership and, 426, 441–442, 457
propaganda against, 452
as sharecroppers, 444–445, 445*(i)*
in South, 432
violence against, 435*(i)*, 435–436, 453, 454–455
voting rights for, 439
wage labor and, 442–445
women's work and, 443
freeholds and freeholders
in New England, 108, 112–113
plantations as, 50
society of, 112–113
in South, 126, 336–337
free labor vs. slave labor, 258–259
free love, 440, 441*(i)*
free-market economics, 916, 917
Freemasons, 279, 295
Free Presbyterian Church, 305
Free Public School Act of 1834 (Pennsylvania), 296
free silver policy, 599, 601
free soil movement, 370
Free Soil Party, 370, 374, 378, 385
Free Speech Movement, 860
free states
Maine as, 281
map of, 281*(m)*
free trade, 283, 783, 944, 949
free will, 305
Frelinghuysen, Theodore Jacob, 121
Frémont, John C., 358, 358*(m)*, 360, 386, 406
French and Indian War (1754–1763), 103*(i)*, 127, 129–130. *See also* Great War for Empire
French Canadian immigrants, 262, 512
French Republic, First (1792–1804), 208, 209
French Revolution (1789–1799), 208–209, 212, 240
French West Indies, 79, 130, 213
friars. *See* missions and missionaries
Frick, Henry Clay, 496
Friedan, Betty, 794*(i)*, 796, 851, 852, 852*(i)*, 867, 868
Friedman, Milton, 916
Friends of the Everglades, 881
"From Protest to Politics" (Rustin), 832
frontier
camp meetings on, 304
life on, 112
Lord Dunmore's War and, 164
Turner's thesis on, 489
warfare along, 67
front porch campaigns, 590, 591
Fruits of Philosophy, The (Knowlton), 317
FSA (Farm Security Administration), 693*(t)*
FTC (Federal Trade Commission), 610
FTP (Federal Theatre Project), 701*(i)*, 706
fuel. *See* energy; oil and oil industry
Fuel Administration, 638
fugitive clause, in Constitution, 195
Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, 367*(i)*, 375, 377–378
Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, 320
fugitive slaves. *See* runaway slaves
Fulani peoples, 28
Fulbright, J. William, 855
Fuller, Margaret, 264, 310, 311*(i)*, 329
Fuller, Melville W., 602*(i)*
Fulton, Robert, 246
Funabashi, Yoichi, 929
fundamentalists
on abortion rights, 897, 957
Islamic State, 971
Muslim, 962
Protestant, 533–534
school curricula and, 666
funeral practices, 415
Furman v. Georgia (1972), 900
fur trade
Astor and, 240, 242
beavers in, 55*(i)*
Dutch and, 56
Native Americans and, 354
in New France, 54
in West, 348
FWP (Federal Writers' Project), 698, 706

Gabriel's Rebellion (1800), 347
Gachradodon (Cayuga), 74
Gadsden, James, 378
Gadsden Purchase (1853), 369*(m)*, 378
Gagarin, Yuri, 777
Gage, Thomas, 147, 148, 152, 162, 164, 165
gag rule, 324
Galbraith, John Kenneth, 785
Gale, Thomas, 335
Gallagher, Gary W., 411
Gallatin, Albert, 219–220, 227–228
Galloway, Joseph, 159, 161
Gálvez, Bernardo de, 180–181
Gama, Vasco da, 29–30, 34
Gambia, 93
Gambia River region, 24, 25
game laws, impact on subsistence hunting, 546
Gandhi, Mohandas (Mahatma), 754, 815, 823, 840*(i)*
gang-labor system, 266, 346, 442
gangrene, 417
Gans, Herbert J., 801
Gardner, Alexander, 406*(i)*
Garfield, James A. (1831–1881), 516*(i)*, 589, 589*(m)*
Garland, Hamlin, 535
Garnet, Henry Highland, 323
Garretson, Freeborn, 280
Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879), 322, 323, 324, 324*(i)*, 370, 383
Garsed, Richard, 260
Garvey, Marcus, 654, 669*(i)*, 673*(i)*, 673–674, 813, 835
gaslights, 562
gasoline
energy crisis (1973) and, 880–881
price, 800, 880
taxes, 660
Gaspée affair (1772), 158, 163*(t)*
Gassaway, Robert, 170
Gast, John, 333*(i)*, 392*(i)*
Gates, Bill, 930
Gates, Horatio, 174*(m)*, 175, 175*(i)*, 179
gatherers. *See* hunters and gatherers
GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), 783, 948
Gavin, David, 335
Gavitt's Original Ethiopian Serenaders, 319
gays. *See* lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons
Gaza Strip, 939
Gazette of the United States, 214
GDP. *See* gross domestic product
Gedou Miao (China), 184
gender and gender issues. *See also* men; sex and sexuality; women
abolitionists and, 324, 327–329
in Cold War, 792
domestic slavery and gender roles, 327
employment and, 879*(i)*
evangelical Christians and, 905
mothers' pensions and, 606
in Native American society, 12
in New England, 58
Noyes on, 313–314
Puritans and, 60
religion and, 325–326
sex roles and, 900–901
slavery and, 88–89
telephone use and, 538
General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), 783, 948
General Assembly (Pennsylvania), 296
General Assembly (UN), 751, 773, 774
General Courts, in New England, 65
General Dynamics, 762*(i)*, 783, 784*(i)*
General Electric, 501, 655, 657, 658, 659, 784*(i)*
General Federation of Women's Clubs, 550
Generall Historie of Virginia (Smith), 48, 49
General Mining Act of 1872, 470
General Motors, 697*(i)*, 718, 787, 902

General Union for Promoting the Observance of the Christian Sabbath, 306
Geneva, Calvinist community in, 23, 58
Geneva Accords (1954), 773
Genius of Universal Emancipation (newspaper), 322
Genoa
  Columbus and, 32
  trade by, 20, 28–29
genocide
  ethnic cleansing, 962
  "final solution," in World War II, 735–736
gentility, 98
gentleman's agreement (1907), 666
gentry, southern, 97–98
geological surveys, 470, 476
George, Henry, 517, 590–591
George I (England, r. 1714–1727), 102, 116
George II (England, r. 1727–1760), 102, 116
George III (England, r. 1760–1820)
  American Revolution and, 178
  on Boston Tea Party, 158
  colonial appeals to, 165
  condemnation of Patriots, 157
  Declaration of Independence and, 168*(i)*
  dismissal of Grenville by, 150
  Henry on, 148
  Olive Branch Petition to, 167
George Whitefield Preaching (Collet), 107*(i)*
Georgia
  in American Revolution, 179, 182*(m)*
  Cherokees in, 288–291, 292
  cotton in, 217–218
  Creek lands in, 283, 288
  Democratic Party in, 453
  migration to, 217
  secession of, 392
  Sherman's march through, 398, 423, 424, 425–426, 426*(m)*
  slavery in, 253, 254*(m)*
  southern rights convention and, 375
  subsidizing of, 102
Gerard, James W., 640–641
Germain, George (Lord), 173–174
German Americans
  in Civil War, 405
  prohibition and, 663
  in World War I, 633, 639, 640–641
German Democratic Republic. *See* East Germany
German immigrants
  abolitionism and, 384
  alcohol use and, 381
  anarchism and, 520
  breweries owned by, 514*(i)*
  Catholicism of, 381, 384
  in cities, 264, 563
  in Civil War, 412
  culture of, 235
  destinations of, 510, 511*(f)*
  in Midwest, 246
  in Pennsylvania, 78–79, 115, 116
  skills of, 511
  surge of, 381*(f)*
German Reformed Church, 125, 125*(f)*
German (Hessian) soldiers, in American Revolution, 172
Germany. *See also* Nazi Germany
  China and, 627, 627*(m)*
  division of, 751, 752*(i)*, 753
  East, 752*(i)*, 753, 758, 935, 936*(i)*
  exclusion from World War I peace conference, 645
  reparations following World War I, 645, 680
  in Triple Alliance, 632
  War of the Austrian Succession and, 103
  West, 752*(i)*, 753, 755, 758
  in World War I, 633–634, 635, 637
Geronimo (Apache chief), 487
Gershoni, Raphael, 512
Gettysburg, Battle of (1863), 418–419, 419*(m)*, 426*(m)*
Gettysburg Address, 418–419, 421
Ghana, 25, 838*(m)*
Ghent, Treaty of (1814), 228, 231
ghettos, 813
Ghost Dance movement, 488
Giamatti, A. Bartlett, 918–919
Giannini, Amadeo Peter, 564
Gibbons v. Ogden (1824), 229*(t)*, 230, 246–247
GI Bill. *See* Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944
Gibraltar, 86, 183
Gibson, Charles, 544
Gibson Girl, 544
Giddings, Paula, 851
Gilbert Islands, 737*(m)*
Gilded Age, 428, 589, 592
Gilded Age, The (Twain), 589, 592
Gingrich, Newt, 960
Ginsberg, Allen, 790–791
Ginsburg, Ruth Bader, 925*(i)*
girls. *See* children and adolescents; women
Girl Scouts, 729*(i)*
glasnost (openness), 935
glass ceiling, 794*(i)*
Glass-Steagall Act of 1933, 686, 693*(t)*
Gleason, Jackie, 789
global economy
  Bretton Woods system and, 782–783
  capitalism in, 909, 944
  collapse of (2008), 950, 967
  international exchange in, 948–950
  rise of European Union and China in, 945–947
  technological revolutions and, 950–951
Global Exchange, 945
globalization
  of Cold War, 756–757
  of economy, 782–783, 909, 944–951
  proponents and discontents, 946–947
  terrorism and, 942
  of trade, 537, 647, 944–945, 948–950, 949*(f)*
Glorieta Pass, Battle of (1862), 404, 404*(m)*
Glorious Revolution (1688–1689), 80, 80*(m)*, 81*(i)*
Godey, Louis A., 318, 318*(i)*
Godey's Lady's Book (magazine), 316, 318, 318*(i)*
Godkin, Edwin L., 452
gold. *See also* gold standard; wealth
  in Africa, 24*(m)*, 25, 27*(i)*
  in Americas, 3, 40, 41, 42
  Black Hills discoveries of, 470, 470*(m)*
  in California, 363, 366, 370–373, 372*(t)*, 471
  as specie, 286
Goldbeck, Eugene O., 667*(i)*
Gold Coast (Africa), 25, 88, 93, 838*(m)*
gold digger, defined, 568
Golden Hind (ship), 43
gold rush
  in California (1849–1857), 363, 366, 370–373, 372*(t)*, 471
  Native Americans and, 373–374
  in Victoria (Australia), 372, 372*(t)*
gold standard
  Bryan and, 601
  Cleveland and, 599, 600
  conversion to, 469
  departure from, 885
  free silver vs., 599
  Great Depression and, 680, 681, 686–687
Goldwater, Barry
  conservatism of, 690, 844, 908, 914–915, 915*(i)*
  on containment policy, 915
  in election of 1964, 848, 848*(m)*, 915–916
  New Right and, 914–915
Goliad (Texas), 338, 339
Gomez, Charlotte, 378
Gompers, Samuel, 522*(i)*, 522–523, 607, 626
González, Henry, 840
Gooch, William, 117, 126
Good Neighbor policy, 656
Good Times (television show), 902, 902*(i)*
Gorbachev, Mikhail, 930, 935*(i)*, 935–936
Gordon (slave), 256*(i)*
Gordy, Berry, 790*(i)*
Gore, Albert A. (1948–present), 959, 963
Gorras Blancas, 594
"Gospel of Wealth, The" (Carnegie), 498, 501
Gotzion, Evelyn, 722

government. *See also* government, U.S.; political parties
central, 192, 408
Cherokee, 289
Confederate, 392, 410, 412
consolidated, 283, 295
economic development and, 242–243
in Italian city-states, 20–21
limited, 652, 657
middle classes in, 185*(f)*
mixed, 185
Native American, 11, 12–15, 701–702
in New England, 58, 59, 60, 65
progressivism and, 605
Reagan on, 912, 923
Reconstruction, 437, 441, 445–448
representative, 102
self-government, 58, 59, 60, 76–77, 102, 104
urban, 572–575
of Virginia, 46–47
government, U.S. *See also* Congress, U.S.; government spending
agricultural funding by, 521–522
Articles of Confederation, 187–189
authority of, 195
banking and, 207, 287, 409
business and, 650, 655–656
economic role of, 293, 409
expansion of, 692
funding through tariffs and taxes, 467, 610
Hamilton on, 205–207, 208*(i)*
industry and, 249, 464
Jefferson on, 208, 208*(i)*
nationalist faction and, 192
post–Revolutionary War, 187–189
railroads and, 517
slavery and, 279
supremacy of, 193
in World War I, 636
government spending. *See also* defense spending; finances; national debt
in Civil War, 409, 462
deficit spending, 695
on education, 725, 745, 786, 786*(i)*
military and civilian, 783
New Deal and, 694–695
for public works, 681
in Reagan administration, 923, 925
in World War II, 717–718, 718*(f)*
Grace Baptist mission, 578
gradual emancipation, 250, 252*(m)*, 320
Graham, Billy, 792, 792*(i)*, 795*(i)*, 904
Granada, Spanish conquest of, 32
Grand Alliance, in World War II, 751, 752*(i)*
Grand Canyon, 476, 545, 604
Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (Moran), 477*(i)*
Grand Coulee Dam, 705–706, 707*(i)*
grandfather clause, 599
Grange, 517–518
Granger laws, 519
Grant, Charlie, 541
Grant, Jehu (slave), 181
Grant, Sarah, 256
Grant, Ulysses S. (1822–1885)
in Civil War, 402, 404–405, 408, 413–414, 418, 422*(i)*, 422–423, 423*(m)*
corruption in administration of, 450, 451*(i)*, 452
in election of 1868, 438–439
in election of 1872, 451–452, 591
Indian policy of, 481–482
Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House to, 427
as president (1869–1877), 450, 452, 453
Reconstruction and, 438, 453
as secretary of war, 437–438
U.S.-Mexico War and, 358
grants, to Spanish conquistadors, 40
Granville (Lord), 133
grape boycott, 840, 840*(i)*
Grapes of Wrath, The (Steinbeck), 705
grassroots conservatives, 915–916
Gray, Horace, 602*(i)*
Great American Desert, 338, 472
Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company (A&P), 501
Great Awakening
First, 124–127
in North, 124–125, 305–306
print revolution and, 124, 124*(i)*
Second, 296, 303*(i)*, 304–309, 341
in South, 126–127, 304–305
Great Basin, Native Americans in, 15–16
Great Britain. *See* England
Great Compromise, 194
Great Depression, 678–707. *See also* New Deal
causes of, 617, 674, 681
early responses to, 680–683
families on relief in (1933), 681*(m)*
impact of, 694
onset of, 674–676, 675*(f)*
protests in, 682–683, 689*(m)*
relief programs in, 681*(m)*, 683, 684, 687–689
unemployment in, 674, 675, 675*(f)*, 680, 683, 694
in West, 702–704
women in, 675
Greater Antilles, 47
Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, 716
Great Lakes region
agriculture in, 244, 245, 246
canals to, 245, 246, 246*(m)*
cities in, 264*(m)*
free soil movement in, 370
Native Americans of, 15, 17, 244
New France and, 54, 55
post-Revolutionary War, 183
Great Migration, by African Americans, 565, 639*(i)*, 639, 642, 653, 816*(m)*
Great Plains. *See also* Plains Indians
climate of, 472–473, 474–475
dust bowl of, 489, 704*(m)*, 704–705
ecology of, 352–353
environment of, 352–353, 474–477, 704
homesteaders on, 472–477
immigrants on, 472, 473
marketing of, 472
railroads and, 472
trade and commerce on, 353
wagon trains on, 350, 352*(i)*
western trails across, 350, 351*(m)*
wheat on, 473
"great postal campaign," of abolitionists, 322
Great Railroad Strike (1877), 517
Great Recession (2007–2009), 967
Great Salt Lake, 315*(m)*, 315
Great Serpent Mound, 12*(i)*
Great Smoky Mountains National Park, 706
Great Society
assessment of, 850
civil rights and, 847
driving force for, 745
foundations of, 846
initiatives of, 848–850, 849*(t)*
legislation of, 707, 745, 846, 847*(i)*, 847–850, 849*(t)*, 952
poverty and, 847*(i)*, 847–848
social-welfare programs and, 707
Great Wagon Road, 119
Great War. *See* World War I
Great War for Empire (1756–1763), 70, 71, 127, 130–131, 142–145
Great War on White Slavery, The (American Purity Foundation), 578*(i)*
"Great West, The" (promotional poster), 463*(i)*
Great White Fleet, 621*(i)*
Greece
civil war in, 754, 755
immigrants from, 512
Truman Doctrine and, 755
Greeley, Horace, 258–259, 385, 407, 451–452
Green, Duff, 284
Greenback-Labor Party, 518–519
greenbacks, 409, 469
Green Bay Packers, 543
Green Berets, 777
Greenberg, Amy S., 349
Green Corn Ceremony, 17
Greene, Nathanael, 179, 180
greenhouse gas emissions, 970
Greensboro (North Carolina), lunch counter sit-in at, 824
Greensted, William, 38

Greenville, Treaty of (1795), 216
Greenwich Village, sexual rebellion in, 555
Greenwood-Lee family, 101*(i)*
Gregg, William, 341
Gregg v. Georgia (1976), 900
Grenville, George, 145–146, 147–148, 150, 150*(i)*
Griffith, E. H., 636*(i)*
Griffiths, Martha, 868
Grimes County (Texas), African Americans in, 600
Grimké, Angelina, 322, 327
Grimké, Sarah, 322, 327
Griswold v. Connecticut (1965), 795, 897
Groetzinger, Leona Prall, 577
gross domestic product (GDP)
in 1930–1972, 785*(f)*
of China, 945
decline in, 885, 889*(f)*
in Great Depression, 680
gross federal debt as percentage of, 964*(f)*
military spending in, 783
national debt and, 429, 429*(f)*
post–World War II, 783
in Reagan administration, 925
social spending in relation to (1913), 613
worldwide (1938–1945), 719*(f)*
Group of Eight (G8), 948–949
Group of Seven (G7), 948
group portraits, 101*(i)*
Groves, Leslie R., Jr., 738
Grubman, Alex, 512
Grund, Francis, 238
Guadalcanal Diary (movie), 726
Guadalupe Hidalgo, Treaty of (1848), 369, 369*(m)*, 373
Guadeloupe, 47, 130
Guam, 625, 626, 736
Guanajuato mine, 40
Guanche peoples, 29
Guantánamo Bay (Cuba), 627
Guatemala
ancient peoples of, 8
CIA-organized coup in, 772
immigrants from, 952
Reagan and, 931
guerrilla warfare
in American Revolution, 179–182
in Civil War, 415, 422
in Kansas, 385
by Seminoles, 292
in Vietnam, 777
in Vietnam War, 853*(m)*
in War of 1898, 623
guilds, 21
Guilford Court House, Battle of (1781), 180
Guiteau, Charles, 589
Gulf of Mexico region, Civil War in, 404*(m)*, 405
Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (1964), 854
Gulf War. *See* Persian Gulf War
Gullah dialect, 343
gunboats, in Civil War, 404*(i)*
Guthrie, Woody, 706
Guyse, John, 124*(i)*
Gypsies, in World War II, 713, 735

habeas corpus, 402, 412, 424
haciendas, 41
Hacker, Andrew, 784–785
Haida Indians, 16
Haile Selassie (Ethiopia), 713
Haiti
Columbus on, 32
L'Ouverture in, 212, 212*(i)*
Napoleon and, 220
rural labor code in, 436
slave revolt in, 212, 213, 279
U.S. intervention in, 655, 656
Haitian Revolution, 212, 213
Haldimand, Frederick, 158
Halifax (Lord), 129, 142
Hall, Basil, 272
Hall, John H., 260
Hall, Prince, 279
Hallowing King (Creek chief), 215
Hamburg, in World War II, 735, 741
Hamer, Fannie Lou, 831, 831*(i)*
Hamilton, Alexander
Constitutional Convention and, 192
death of, 220
in election of 1800, 215
Federalists and, 198, 208
financial program of, 205–207, 207*(f)*
government as viewed by, 205–207, 208*(i)*
political consequences of economic system of, 206
reports issued by, 205–207
as secretary of treasury, 204, 205, 206
Hamilton, Alice, 579
Hamilton, Charles, 833
Hamilton, James, Jr., 288
Hamilton Manufacturing Company, 269
Hammond, James Henry, 257, 258, 259, 335, 337, 340
Hampton Institute, 446, 578
Hancock, John, 145, 146, 148, 198
Hancock, Winfield Scott, 516*(i)*, 589*(m)*
Handlin, Oscar, 662
Handsome Lake (Seneca prophet), 217
Handy, W. C., 568
Hanna, Mark, 590, 601
Han peoples (China), 184
Hansberry, Lorraine, 826
Hanseatic League, 21
Hanson, Ole, 652–653
Harding, Chester, 229*(i)*
Harding, Warren G. (1865–1923), 656–657
hard war philosophy, 422, 423
Harlan, John Marshall, I, 602*(i)*
Harlan County (Kentucky), coal strike in, 682
Harlem Renaissance, 669, 669*(i)*, 669*(m)*, 672*(i)*, 672–674
Harper, Frances E. W., 552–553
Harpers Ferry (Virginia), Brown's raid on, 389
Harper's Weekly, 256*(i)*, 383*(i)*, 439*(i)*, 505*(i)*
Harrington, Michael, 785, 805
Harris, Anna, 256
Harris, David, 426
Harris, Emory, 831*(i)*
Harris, Isaac, 583
Harris, Jim, 410
Harris, William, 66, 395
Harrison, Benjamin (1833–1901)
in election of 1888, 589, 589*(m)*
in election of 1892, 601*(m)*
front porch campaign of, 590
as president (1889–1893), 593
Harrison, William Henry (1773–1841)
in Battle of Tippecanoe, 223, 299
death of, 300
in election of 1836, 295
in election of 1840, 283*(f)*, 299*(i)*, 299–300, 370
in War of 1812, 224, 299
Hart-Celler Act of 1965, 952
Hartford Convention, 226–227
Harvard Business School, 503
Harvard University, 548, 549*(i)*
Harvey, Donna Jean, 722–723
Hasegawa, Tsuyoshi, 739
Hastie, William, 820, 821
Hat Act of 1732, 103
Hatch Act of 1887, 521–522, 611*(t)*
Hatcher, Richard, 837, 838
hate strikes, 815
Hausa peoples, 28, 93
Havana, 42, 83
Hawaii
annexation of, 465, 620, 625
Pearl Harbor attack and, 717, 717*(i)*
sugar plantations on, 624
Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen (Liliuokalani), 625*(i)*
hawks (political)
on Soviet Union, 920
in Vietnam War, 862
war hawks, 129, 223–224
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 311
Hay, John, 627, 628, 953
Hayden, Ferdinand, 477*(i)*
Hayden, Tom, 855, 860, 862
Hayes, Rutherford B. (1822–1893), 456–457, 483, 589
Haymarket Square bombing (1886), 520, 598
Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901), 630

Haywood, William "Big Bill," 607
headright system, 50
Head Start program, 848
health and health care. *See also* disease
  for baby boomers, 793
  in Civil War, 414, 416*(i)*, 416–417
  Clinton on, 960
  federal legislation for, 661
  industrial hazards, 505–508
  miracle drugs, 793
  Obama and, 968
  public health movement, 573*(i)*, 575–576
  for same-sex couples, 957
  in South, 448
  state boards of health, 573*(i)*
  for women, 895
health insurance
  Kennedy on, 846
  in labor contracts, 787
  Medicaid, 707, 848, 849*(t)*, 850, 897
  Medicare, 707, 793, 848, 849*(t)*, 850
  national, 612, 692, 765, 848
  for workers, 655
Hearst, William Randolph, 569, 570, 623
Heaton, Hannah, 109, 124
heavy industry, 928
Hedlund family, 547*(i)*
Hefner, Hugh, 798
Heinemann, Otto K. E., 673
Heinz Company, 502
Henderson, Richard, 166*(i)*
Hendrix, Rozette, 553
Henri, Robert, 535, 536
Henry, Patrick
  on Constitution, 197–198
  on George III, 148
  on Hamilton's financial plan, 205
  nonattendance at Constitutional Convention, 192
  on parliamentary supremacy, 156
  support for revolution from, 165, 166
Henry of Portugal (1394–1460), 28–29
Henry Street Settlement, 579
Henry VIII (England, r. 1509–1547), 42–43
Hepburn Act of 1906, 604, 611*(t)*
Herblock, 757*(i)*
heredity and success, 530–531
"Heredity and the Public Schools" (Du Bois), 530–531
heresy, 22, 32
Heritage Foundation, 916
Herndon, Alonzo F., 607*(i)*
Herndon, Norris B., 607*(i)*
Hersh, Seymour, 871
Hessian soldiers, in American Revolution, 172
Heterodoxy Club, 555
Hexamer, C. J., 640
Heyrick, Elizabeth Coltman, 322
Hezbollah, 931
Hiawatha (Mohawk), 13–14
Hicks, Edward, 79*(i)*
Hicks, Mary A., 344
Hicks, Thomas, 311*(i)*
Hidatsa Indians, 15, 221
Hiell, John, 166
hierarchical societies, 19
hierarchy of Catholic Church, 21
Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 413
high culture, 569
higher education
  for African Americans, 446, 814, 814*(t)*
  football in, 542–543, 543*(i)*
  in Great Awakening, 125
  in industrial economy, 548–549
  land-grant colleges, 470
  student activism in, 855, 860–861
  for veterans, 725, 745, 786, 786*(i)*
  women in, 326, 549, 549*(i)*, 663, 867–868
Higher Education Act of 1965, 848, 849*(t)*
high school. *See also* education
  coeducational, 547
  girls in, 448
  for middle class, 268
highways. *See* roads and highways
Hill, Fanny Christina, 723
Hill, Herbert, 827
Hill, John William, 245*(i)*
Hillsborough (Lord), 152
Hinderaker, Eric, 156
Hine, Lewis Wickes, 506, 506*(i)*, 509*(i)*, 571, 571*(i)*, 606
Hints and Helps in Our Temperance Work (Willard), 552
hippies, 860
Hirabayashi, Gordon, 731–732
Hirabayashi v. United States (1943), 732, 819
Hirai, Kinzo, 534
Hirohito (Japan), 716
Hiroshima, atomic bombing of, 710, 737*(m)*, 738–740, 740*(i)*, 741
Hispanics. *See* Latinos/Latinas; *specific groups*
Hispaniola, 32, 33, 34
Hiss, Alger, 766
Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945). *See also* Nazi Germany; World War II
  anti-Semitism of, 713
  authoritarianism of, 712
  Holocaust and, 735–736, 741
  objectives of, 713
  suicide of, 735
HIV/AIDS, 926*(i)*, 926–927
Hoar, George F., 625
Hobbes, Thomas, 81*(i)*
Ho Chi Minh, 645, 748, 773, 777
Ho Chi Minh City, 872
Ho Chi Minh Trail, 853*(m)*
Hoffman, Abbie, 864
Hoffman, Michael, 293
Hohokam peoples, 16
HOLC (Home Owners Loan Corporation), 688
holding companies, 501
Holland. *See also* Dutch
  Calvinism in, 43, 58
  Dutch Republic as, 42, 43*(i)*, 56
  England and, 79
Holland Land Company, 218
Hollywood, 650, 658*(i)*, 658–659. *See also* movies and movie industry
Hollywood Ten, 766
Holmes, Eleanor, 831*(i)*
Holmes, Isaac, 343
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr., 603, 639
Holocaust, 735–736, 741
Holyoke, Mary Vial, 110
home front. *See also* civilians
  in World War I, 636–643, 647
  in World War II, 726–732, 728*(i)*, 729*(i)*
Home Insurance Building (Chicago), 561
homelessness, 574, 682*(i)*
Home Missionary Society, 305
Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC), 688
"Home Protection" (Willard), 552
Homer, Winslow, 544*(i)*
home rule, for South, 456
Homestead Act of 1862, 220, 370, 409, 470
Homestead lockout, 496, 598
homesteads, 218, 472–477
homophiles, 798, 868
Homo sapiens, African origins of, 23
homosexuality. *See* lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons
Hone, Philip (1780–1851), 243, 288–289
Honeymooners, The (television show), 789
Hong Kong, in World War II, 736, 737*(m)*
Hood, John Bell, 424, 426*(m)*
Hooker, Joseph ("Fighting Joe"), 408
Hoover, Herbert (1874–1964)
  Bonus Army and, 683
  in election of 1928, 668*(m)*, 668–669
  in election of 1932, 683
  Food Administration and, 638
  Great Depression and, 678, 680–683
  on NRA, 690
  as secretary of commerce, 656
Hoover, J. Edgar, 653, 666, 937
Hoover Dam (Boulder Dam), 702, 705, 707*(i)*
Hoovervilles, 682, 682*(i)*
Hopewell culture, 11
Hopi Indians, 16
Hopkins, Harry, 687, 692
Hopkins, Stephen, 145
horizontal integration, 500
horses, 15, 25*(i)*, 353, 353*(i)*
Horseshoe Bend, Battle of (1814), 224, 225*(m)*, 244
Horsman, Reginald, 349

hospitals
reform of, 327
in South, 447–448
Hospital Sketches (Alcott), 420–421
hostage crisis, in Iran, 920*(i)*, 920–921
House Divided speech (Lincoln), 388
household economy, 108–109
household mode of production, 112–113
Household Sewing Machine Co., 590*(i)*
House of Burgesses, 38, 46–47, 53, 67, 91
House of Commons (England), 102
House of Lords (England), 19
House of Representatives
in election of 1824, 282
in elections of 1892 and 1894, 595*(m)*
gag rule adopted by, 324
impeachment by, 438
representation in, 194, 588
Whigs and, 294
House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), 766, 768–769, 817, 891
housing
codes for, 566
colonial, 110*(i)*, 111*(i)*
discrimination in, 799, 806, 813, 826
electricity in, 499, 538
home ownership growth, 782, 786
Hoovervilles, 682, 682*(i)*
mass production of, 799
middle-class, 268, 268*(i)*, 787–788
mortgages for, 688, 799
in New Deal, 688–689
postwar boom in, 799–804
reforms and, 566, 566*(f)*
restrictive covenants in, 799
for sharecroppers, 444*(m)*
slave quarters, 346*(i)*
slums, 805
sod houses, 476*(i)*
subsidies for, 745
suburban, 660, 745, 799–808
tenements, 565–566, 566*(f)*, 575
of urban elite, 267*(i)*, 268
of wealthy, 561
working-class, 269, 565–566
Housing Act of 1934, 688
Housing and Urban Development Department (HUD), 849, 849*(t)*
housing bubble, in 1920s, 688
housing projects, 806–807
Houston, Charles Hamilton, 820, 821
Houston, Sam, 338, 339, 392
Houston (Texas), 338*(i)*
Howard, Oliver O., 442
Howe, Frederic C., 558
Howe, William, 141*(i)*, 172, 173, 174, 174*(m)*, 175
Howells, William Dean, 535
"Howl" (Ginsberg), 790–791
How the Other Half Lives (Riis), 575
How to Make Money Although a Woman (guidebook), 549
HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee), 766, 768–769, 817, 891
Hubbard, Elbert, 242
HUD (Housing and Urban Development Department), 849, 849*(t)*
Hudson, Henry, 55–56
Hudson Bay region, British acquisition of, 85–86
Hudson River region
in American Revolution, 172
Erie Canal and, 244–245
estates in, 56
land disputes in, 133
manors in, 113
Native Americans of, 13
Hudson's Bay Company, 348, 349, 354
Huerta, Dolores, 725, 819, 840, 840*(i)*
Hughes, Charles Evans, 634
Hughes, Langston, 669, 720, 814
Hughes, Robert P., 629
Huguenots, 55, 115
huiguan (Chinese district associations), 704
Hull House, 578–579, 580*(i)*, 581
human development theory (Morgan), 484–485, 484*(t)*
humanism, civic, 20
human rights, Carter on, 917
Human Rights Campaign, 957
human sacrifice, 11
Humphrey, Hubert H.
civil rights and, 816
in election of 1948, 764
in election of 1964, 848, 865–866
in election of 1968, 864, 866*(m)*
Hundred Days legislation, 684–689
Hundred Years' War, Second, 71, 82
Hungarian immigrants, 492
Hungary
NATO and, 961
revolution in, 770
self-determination and democratic elections for, 750
Hunt, E. Howard, 891
Hunter, Robert, 605–606
Hunter, Tera W., 443
hunters and gatherers, 8, 9, 10*(m)*, 15, 16
hunting
of bison, 354–355, 471
game laws for, 546
by Native Americans, 352, 353
Huntington, Henry, 561
Hunton, Addie, 661–662
Huron Indians, 54, 57, 58*(i)*
Hurricane Katrina, 967
Hurston, Zora Neale, 672, 706
Hussein (king of Jordan), 774
Hussein, Saddam, 920, 939–940, 962, 965, 966
Huston, John, 706
Hutchinson, Anne, 60
Hutchinson, Thomas, 148, 157, 158, 162
Hutchinson Family Singers, 318
hydraulic mining, 471*(i)*
hydrogen bombs, 758, 770

Iacocca, Lee, 928
IAT (Indians of All Tribes), 841, 841*(i)*
IBM (International Business Machines), 783, 930
Ibn Battuta, 31
Ibo peoples, 93
ICC (Interstate Commerce Commission), 522, 604
Ice Age, 8, 9*(m)*
iceboxes, 268
Ickes, Harold, 686, 698, 704, 705
Idaho
migration to, 350
statehood for, 588
women's suffrage in, 554*(m)*, 555
identity
African American, 93, 96–97
social identity in antebellum America, 318–319
white, 98
ideology
anti-Western, 940
of individualism, 302
labor, 262
Marxist, 607, 622
of mercantilism, 242
political, 208–209
of resistance, 149
"If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins" speech (King), 832
"I Have a Dream" speech (King), 830
illegal immigrants, 516, 952, 953*(f)*, 954, 955
Illinois
migration to, 216, 217
Northwest Ordinance and, 189
settlement of, 244, 246
voting rights in, 275
Illinois Central Railroad, 505–506
Illinois confederacy, 85
Illustrated Newspaper, 313*(i)*
Il Progresso Italo-Americano (newspaper), 564
imams, 28
IMF (International Monetary Fund), 783, 948
immigrants and immigration. *See also* migrants and migration; *specific immigrant groups*
in 1920–2000, 953*(f)*
British mechanics, 248–249
Catholic, 380, 381, 384, 531–532
in cities, 264, 315, 380, 563–566, 807–808
citizenship for, 954

in Civil War, 412
Constitution and, 195
culture of, 235
defenses and criticisms of, 954–955
destinations of (1881–1915), 511*(f)*
on Great Plains, 472, 473
Great Society legislation on, 850
hostility toward, 380*(i)*, 381, 384
illegal, 516, 952, 953*(f)*, 954, 955
industrialization and, 492, 509–516
in Middle Atlantic region, 115–117, 115*(f)*
nativism and, 381, 384, 666–667
new immigration, 510*(m)*
to North American colonies, 71, 115–117, 115*(f)*
political machines and, 493, 573
politics and, 381, 384
in population, 509, 952–954, 953*(i)*, 953*(f)*
religion and, 531–532
restrictions on, 493, 514–516, 530, 666–667, 703–704
sources of European immigration (1871–1910), 510*(m)*
in South, 341
surge of (1854–1855), 381*(f)*
temperance and, 381, 550
in textile industry, 262
transatlantic voyage by, 511
voting rights for, 601
World War I and, 633, 639
Immigration Act of 1965, 849*(t)*, 850
Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, 952, 953*(f)*
Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, 954
immunizations, 526, 793
impeachment
Clinton, 961
Johnson (Andrew), 437–438
Nixon and, 891
imperialism. *See also* empires
American exceptionalism and, 622
anti-imperialism, 625–626, 628–629
commercial, 102
cultural, 533
defined, 620
racism and, 623
U.S., 620, 622–623
imports. *See also* tariffs; trade and commerce
of British goods, 132*(f)*
duties on, 151
fees on, 464
New York City and, 264
southern objections to tariffs on, 249, 283
impressment, 223
inauguration and inaugural address
Clinton, 944
Jefferson, 215
Kennedy, 777, 846
Lincoln, 392, 428
Obama, 968*(i)*
Reagan, 927
Roosevelt (Franklin), 678, 693, 785
Wilson, 610
Inca Empire, 10*(m)*, 10–11, 32*(m)*, 33
incandescent bulbs, 537
incest taboos, 343
Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl (Jacobs), 256, 327
income. *See also* wages
in 1970–2004, 945*(f)*
in Great Depression, 674
increase in, 240, 268
inequality in, 780, 785
middle-class, 780
for miners, 470
Native American, 701
per capita, 240, 268, 340, 498, 657
two-income families, 900, 901, 901*(f)*
income tax
of 1894, 611*(t)*
progressive, 610
Supreme Court on, 602, 602*(i)*
indentured servants
advertisements for, 94
in Chesapeake region, 50–52
criminals as, 143
in Middle Atlantic region, 115
propertyless children as, 109
redemptioner system and, 116
slaves vs., 94–95
treatment of, 238
independence. *See also* American Revolution
in Africa, 838*(m)*
colonial revolts and, 771–774
for Cuba, 623, 624, 625, 627
Declaration of Independence, 167–168, 168*(i)*, 185
for Mexico, 332, 360*(i)*
Paine on, 167
for Panama, 630
for Philippines, 627, 704
of Texas, 338–339, 339*(m)*
in Third World, 838*(m)*
for Vietnam, 773
Independence (Missouri), 350
Independent Treasury Act of 1840, 299
India
British in, 43, 77, 130
immigrants from, 953
independence movement in, 741, 754
Portugal and, 29, 30
textile production and consumption in, 251, 251*(t)*
trade with, 241*(i)*
in World War II, 736
Indiana
Klanswomen in, 671
migration to, 216, 217
Northwest Ordinance and, 189
settlement of, 244, 246
voting rights in, 275
"Indian Country," 351*(m)*
Indian New Deal, 701–702, 702*(i)*
Indian Ocean region
Dutch and, 55
Portugal and, 31
Indian policy. *See also* reservations
of Adams (John Quincy), 283
assimilation, 216–217, 482, 483
of Grant, 481–482
motivations for, 482
removal as, 235, 288–292, 291*(m)*, 353, 489
severalty, 483
Indian Removal Act of 1830, 235, 290, 291*(m)*, 291–292, 292*(i)*, 293*(i)*
Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, 701–702, 702*(i)*
Indian Rights Association, 481, 483
Indians. *See* Native Americans
"Indians Giving a Talk to Colonel Bouquet" (West), 154*(i)*
Indians of All Tribes (IAT), 841, 841*(i)*
Indian Territory, 291*(m)*, 291–292, 353, 403, 486
Indies. *See also* West Indies
Columbus and, 32
East, 55
origins of term, 33
individualism
of Emerson, 310
ideology of, 302
laissez faire, 617
liberal, 696
in literature, 311
as middle-class ethos, 310
Indochina, 645, 716, 748
Indonesia, 30, 950
industrialists, assessment of, 501
industrial machines, 131, 238, 248–249
Industrial Removal Office (IRO), 512
Industrial Revolution
in Britain, 131, 217, 248
social classes and cultures in, 265–269
in U.S., 238, 248–250, 261, 294
industrial statesmen, 501
industrial unionism, 696. *See also* labor unions
Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), 607, 639, 653
industry and industrialization. *See also* factories; Industrial Revolution; manufacturing; military-industrial complex; *specific industries*
in 1920s, 657–658
Carnegie on, 498
in Civil War, 409, 415

industry (*cont.*)
class and, 238, 526
deindustrialization and, 885–887
English, 131–132
in Great Depression, 682
health hazard and pollution, 505–508
heavy industry, 928
immigrant labor and, 492, 509–516
labor and labor unions, 261–262, 503 509, 786–787
in late nineteenth century, 604
mass production and, 260, 504–505
in New Deal, 687
in New South, 508, 508*(m)*
scientific management and, 505
social changes due to, 265–269, 517
steam power in, 248
tariffs and, 464, 467
technology and, 238, 248–249, 258–261
trade associations and, 656
urbanization and, 560–566
in U.S., 363, 492
Wilson on, 610
women and, 546–547
world economy and, 498
in World War I, 636–638, 639
in World War II, 727
infant mortality, 19–20, 576, 661
inflation
in 1960–2000, 885*(f)*
in 1970s, 880, 881
in American Revolution, 183
in Civil War, 410
post–World War II, 785
in Spain, 41
tax revolt and, 888
wages and, 901
Influence of Sea Power upon History, The (Mahan), 623
influenza
in Columbian Exchange, 3, 41
Native American outbreaks of, 33
pandemic of (1918–1919), 636
information, movement of, 119
Ingersoll, Jared, 148, 160–161
"In God We Trust," on coins, 792
inheritance
of property, 109, 112
taxes on, 610, 923
Tocqueville on, 276
In His Steps (Sheldon), 533
injunctions, against workers, 602*(i)*
Inkton'mi (Assiniboine cultural hero), 354
inland system of slave trade, 255, 255*(i)*
Inman, Samuel Guy, 655–656
inner light, Quaker belief in, 78
inoculation, 120
Inquisition, Spanish, 32
In re Debs (1894), 602*(i)*
In re Jacobs (1882), 602
installment plans, 658
Institutes of the Christian Religion (Calvin), 23
institutional racism, 806
institutions
of African Americans, 446, 448
of free blacks, 321
immigrant, 564
for needy, 305, 306
reform of public institutions, 327
instruments, musical, 93, 96
Insular Cases (1901), 626
insurance, regulation of, 519. *See also* health insurance
insurgents, 605, 608
integrated circuits, 932
integration. *See* assimilation; desegregation
intellectual thought. *See also* education; Enlightenment; ideology; literature
in 1920s, 669, 672
Darwin's theory of evolution and, 493
fact worship in, 528
in Harlem Renaissance, 669, 672
on imperialism, 622
on industrialization, 517
New Deal liberalism, 692
rational thought and, 106, 120
on Reconstruction, 458–459
scientific revolution and, 119–120
Social Darwinism and, 529, 530–531, 623
transcendentalism and, 235, 304, 310–311
"Intemperance Is the Sin of Our Land" (Beecher), 308
interchangeable parts, 238, 260
intercontinental ballistic missiles, 770
interest rates, 687, 694
Interior Department, 924
internal improvements
Jackson and, 285, 292
in South, 340
tariffs for financing of, 282
internal taxes, 151
International Council of Women of the Darker Races, 656
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 783, 948
Internet
globalization and, 944, 951
percentage of Americans using, 933*(i)*
interracial marriage, 529–530
interregional transportation, 244–248, 246*(m)*
interstate commerce, 195, 246–247, 522, 602*(i)*
Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, 522, 592, 604, 611*(t)*
Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), 522, 604
interstate highway system, 801–802, 803*(m)*
interventions
in Caribbean region, 631, 631*(m)*
in Central America, 631*(m)*, 631–632, 655
in Cold War, 745, 772
in World War II, 715
In the Mountains (Homer), 544*(i)*
Intolerable Acts, Coercive Acts as, 159
intrastate commerce, 690
Inuit peoples, 8
inventions. *See also* technology; *specific inventions*
barbed wire, 471–472
of Edison, 503*(i)*
by Franklin, 121
investments
in canals, 242, 244, 245, 246, 298
financial deregulation and, 950
in mining, 470
postwar economic boom and, 785
private, 680
in railroads, 298
Reaganomics and, 923
in stock market, 674
Iowa, settlement of, 244, 246
iPhone, global supply chain for, 946*(f)*
Iran
alliances involving, 771
hostage crisis in, 920*(i)*, 920–921
Iraq and, 920, 939
oil and oil industry in, 754, 771
revolution in, 772, 893
shah of, 772, 920
Soviet Union and, 754
Iran-Contra affair, 931, 934, 935*(i)*
Iranian Revolution (1979), 772, 893
Iran-Iraq War (1980–1988), 920, 939
Iraq
alliances involving, 771
archaeological explorations in, 526
Clinton and, 962
invasion under Bush (G. W.) administration, 940, 965–966, 967
Iran and, 920, 939
U.S.-sponsored overthrow of government (1953), 962
Iraq War (2003–2011), 940, 965–966, 967, 970
Ireland
English rule over, 43
famine in, 315, 380–381, 510
Scots-Irish settlers from, 115, 116–117
Ireland, John, 531
Irish immigrants
alcohol use and, 381
Catholicism of, 381
in cities, 264, 380, 563
in Civil War, 412
culture of, 235
Erie Canal and, 244
hardships of, 382–383
labor of, 380, 381

motivations of, 510
slavery supported by, 384
surge of, 381*(f)*, 382
violence against, 380*(i)*
women, 381, 512
World War I and, 633
IRO (Industrial Removal Office), 512
Iron Act of 1750, 103
ironclads, in Civil War, 419
iron curtain, 754
ironworkers, 504, 505*(i)*
Ironworkers — Noontime (Anschutz), 505*(i)*
Iroquois Confederacy, 13–14, 78, 129, 129*(i)*
Iroquois Indians
in American Revolution, 172, 174, 178*(m)*, 183
culture of, 11–12
economic activity of, 10*(m)*
Five Nations of, 13–14
"Four Indian Kings" of, 82*(i)*, 84–85
government of, 13–14
Lancaster meetings with, 74
land cessions by, 215
neutrality of, 82–83
in Ohio Valley region, 127, 129
rise of, 57–58
Six Nations of, 84, 154
trade with, 54, 56
wars of, 57–58
irreconcilables, Versailles treaty and, 645
irrigation systems
on Great Plains, 476
Mormon, 315, 476
Native American, 16
in West, 476–477, 706
Irvine, E. S., 255
Isabella I of Castile (Spain, r. 1474–1504), 6, 31–32
Islam and Muslims
in Africa, 25, 28, 88, 341
anti-Western ideology of, 940
conversion to, 28
Crusades against, 22
movement along trade routes, 24*(m)*
radical, 942, 962
Shiite, 920, 931, 939, 966
Spain and, 32
Sunni, 920, 966, 971
Islamic State, 971
Ismail, Mawlay (Morocco, r. 1672–1727), 89
isolationism, 617, 712, 713–714, 715, 914
Israel
Arab conflicts with, 773, 880, 939
Camp David accords and, 920, 939
creation of state of, 773
Six-Day War and, 880, 962
U.S. support for, 962
Yom Kippur War and, 880, 962
Israelite, The, 317
Isthmus of Darien (Panama), 33
Italy
city-states of, 20–21
Ethiopia invasion by, 713
fascism in, 712
immigrants from, 510, 510*(m)*, 511*(f)*, 512, 564
merchant houses in, 23
Mussolini in, 712, 713, 734
trade in, 20–21, 28–29
in Triple Alliance, 632
in World War II, 733*(m)*, 734
Iverson, Alfred, 337
Iwo Jima, Battle of (1945), 720, 736, 737*(m)*
IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), 607, 639, 653

Jackson, Andrew (1767–1845)
on abolitionism, 324
Bank War and, 286–287
censure of, 287, 289
character and goals of, 288–289
in election of 1824, 281–282, 282*(m)*
in election of 1828, 283*(f)*, 284*(m)*, 284–285
in election of 1832, 283*(f)*, 287
impact of, 292–293
Indian removal and, 235, 288–292, 291*(m)*, 292*(i)*, 293*(i)*, 353
Jacksonian Democrats and, 235, 284, 293
Jeffersonian Republicans and, 232
as Mason, 295
national debt under, 429
nullification and, 286
Panic of 1837 and, 299
political cartoon of, 287*(i)*
as president (1829–1837), 285–293
tariffs and, 284, 285–286
in War of 1812, 224, 225*(m)*, 228–229, 288
Whigs and, 294
Jackson, Howell, 602*(i)*
Jackson, Jesse, 875, 937
Jackson, Patrick Tracy, 249
Jackson, Rebecca Cox, 302, 304, 312
Jackson, Thomas F., 828
Jackson, Thomas J. (Stonewall), 402, 403*(m)*, 405
Jackson, William Henry, 352*(i)*, 477*(i)*
Jacksonian Democrats, 235, 284, 293, 299, 338
Jackson State College, killings at, 871
JACL (Japanese American Citizens League), 817*(i)*, 819
Jacobins (France), 209
Jacobs, Harriet, 256, 327, 406
Jacobs, Jane, 800–801, 827
Jacobs, Margaret D., 482
Jacobs, Meg, 886
Jamaica, 47, 50, 71, 87, 97
James, William, 626
James I (England, r. 1603–1625), 45, 46, 58
James II (r. 1685–1688), 77, 79–80, 80*(m)*, 81, 81*(i)*
Jamestown settlement, 45–46, 70
Japan
atomic bomb and, 710, 737*(m)*, 737–740, 740*(i)*
China and, 627, 627*(m)*, 629, 713, 716, 736
Christianity in, 534
colonization by, 713
currency of, 945
economy in, 928
immigrants from, 515–516, 666, 703
Indochina and, 716
Korea and, 629, 630, 716, 736
MacArthur in, 759
missionaries in, 532*(i)*
Pearl Harbor attack by, 717, 717*(i)*
in Sino-Japanese War, 627
Tojo in, 712, 716–717
trade with, 378, 379*(i)*, 465
U.S. relationship with, 929
Vietnam and, 716, 773
World War I peace conference and, 644
in World War II, 710, 716–717, 736–737
"Japan and America: Global Partners" (Funabashi), 929
Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), 817*(i)*, 819
Japanese Americans
in armed forces, 731
civil rights for, 819
denial of citizenship and land rights for, 667, 703
World War II removal and internment of, 617, 730–732, 731*(m)*, 732*(i)*
Jarvis, Howard, 888–889
Jay, John
as chief justice of Supreme Court, 274
diplomacy following American Revolution, 183
in election of 1800, 214*(m)*
as Federalist, 198
on government, 192
treaty with Britain negotiated by, 209, 212, 216
on voting rights, 274
Jay's Treaty (1795), 209, 212, 216
Jazz Age, 673
jazz music, 651*(i)*, 659, 672*(i)*, 672–673, 790
Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826)
on Adams (John Quincy), 282
agrarianism of, 208, 385
Declaration of Independence and, 167–168, 168*(i)*
as deist, 121
in election of 1796, 213, 214*(m)*
in election of 1800, 214*(m)*, 214–215
embargo by, 223, 242

Jefferson, Thomas (*cont.*)
Enlightenment and, 121
government as viewed by, 208, 208*(i)*
on Haitian Revolution, 212
on Hamilton's national bank, 207
land ordinances written by, 189
Louisiana Purchase and, 220, 222*(m)*
on manufacturing, 250
on Missouri crisis, 281
as president (1801–1809), 218–222
republicanism and, 202, 284
as secretary of state, 204
as slave owner, 253
as vice president, 213
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and, 214, 286
West and, 220–222
Jeffersonian Republicans, 222, 229, 232, 241
Jeffersons, The (television show), 902
Jenkins, Jeremiah, 398
Jenkins, Robert, 102
Jenney, William Le Baron, 561
Jensen, Merrill, 193
Jerome, Chauncey, 238
Jesuits
Five Nations and, 58
formation of, 23
Illinois Indians and, 85
network of missions built by, 66
in New France, 54–55
Jesus Christ, 21–22. *See also* Christianity; *specific denominations*
Jewish Daily Forward (newspaper), 564
Jewish Heroine, The (Wise), 317
Jewish immigrants, 512–513, 514, 531, 564, 564*(m)*
Jews and Judaism. *See also* anti-Semitism
Crusades impacting, 22
Hitler and, 713
Holocaust and, 735–736, 741
Israel and, 773
literature and, 316
in Lower East Side (New York City), 564*(m)*
in movie industry, 658
Orthodox, 532
in Palestine, 645
Reform, 532
as refugees, 736, 807
religious practices of, 532
restrictive covenants for, 799
Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), 759–760
jihad (holy war), 962
Jim Crow laws, 539, 612, 720, 724*(i)*, 812–813, 813*(i)*
João I (Kongo), 29*(i)*
João III (Portugal), 35
Job Corps, 848
jobs. *See* employment; professions
Jobs, Steve, 930, 933
John Birch Society, 915
John Marshall (Harding), 229*(i)*
John Paul II (pope), 935
Johnson, Andrew (1808–1875)
amnesty plan of, 432, 434, 442
assumption of presidency following Lincoln's death, 434–435
Congress vs., 435–437
in election of 1864, 424, 435
Fourteenth Amendment and, 436
impeachment of, 437–438
Reconstruction plan of, 432, 442
Johnson, Eastman, 407*(i)*
Johnson, Henry, 279
Johnson, Herbert, 698*(i)*
Johnson, Hiram, 645
Johnson, Lyndon B. (1908–1973)
affirmative action and, 894
assumption of presidency, 830, 847
civil rights and, 830, 847
in election of 1960, 774–775
in election of 1964, 848, 848*(m)*, 916
Great Society of, 707, 745, 846, 847*(i)*, 847–850, 849*(t)*
race riots and, 839
urban vs. suburban society under, 805
Vietnam War and, 853–855, 854*(f)*, 858
War on Poverty, 836, 848, 850*(f)*
Johnson, Manning, 768–769
Johnson, Paul E., 263, 307
Johnson, Richard Mentor, 324*(i)*
Johnson, Tom, 574
Johnson, Virginia, 903
Johnson, William, 154
Johnston, Albert Sidney, 404
Johnston, Eric, 784
Johnston, Joseph E., 409*(i)*, 423
Johnston, Joshua, 320
joint-stock corporations, 45, 59
Jones, Charles C., 341
Jones, David, 154–155
Jones, Jacqueline, 443
Jones, Nathaniel, 170
Jones Act of 1916, 627
Jones and Laughlin Steel Company, 560, 564
Joplin, Scott, 567
Jordan, in Arab-Israeli conflicts, 880
Joseph (Nez Perce chief), 478, 483
Joseph N. Teal (ship), 720*(i)*
journalism. *See also* newspapers
muckrakers in, 569, 572
sensational, 317, 569
yellow, 569, 623
Journal of Commerce, 306
Journey of Reconciliation, 815
Joy of Sex, The (Comfort), 903
juba dancing, 319
Jubilee Singers (Fisk University), 449*(i)*
Judaism. *See* Jews and Judaism
judicial branch. *See also* courts; Supreme Court, U.S.
authority of, 229–230, 229*(t)*
Brown decision and, 872
Federalists on, 205
Jefferson and, 219
Reagan appointments to, 925*(i)*, 925–926
in Virginia Plan, 194
Judiciary Act of 1789, 205, 219
Judiciary Act of 1801, 219
jujitsu, 540
Jungle, The (Sinclair), 580
jury service, "full and equal" access to, 450
Justice Act of 1774, 159
Justice Department
antiradicalism division of, 653
antitrust laws and, 604
Standard Oil and, 604
in World War I, 639
juvenile court system, 579
juvenile delinquency, 798

Kagan, Elena, 925*(i)*, 970
Kaiser, Henry J., 718, 720*(i)*, 726*(i)*
Kaiser Corporation, 727
Kamehameha dynasty (Hawaii), 625*(i)*
kamikaze missions, 736
Kanagawa, Treaty of (1854), 378
Kansas
abolitionism vs. proslavery sentiments in, 385, 385*(i)*
Bleeding Kansas, 385, 386
guerrilla war in, 385
Indian Territory in, 291, 291*(m)*
Lecompton constitution and, 258, 387
Populist Party in, 594
statehood for, 387
Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, 363, 376*(m)*, 384–385, 386
Kant, Immanuel, 310
Käsebier, Gertrude, 485, 485*(i)*
Kaskaskia Indians, 85
Katmai national monument (Alaska), 545
Katrina, Hurricane, 967
Kearney, Dennis, 514
Kearney, Stephen, 358*(m)*
Keaweaheulu (Hawaii), 625*(i)*
Keen, William Williams, 417
Kefauver, Estes, 798
Kelley, Florence, 579, 580
Kemp, Jack, 923
Kendall, Amos, 285
Kennan, George F., 754, 758, 936
Kennedy, Anthony, 919, 925, 959
Kennedy, Edward (Ted), 921
Kennedy, Jacqueline, 846
Kennedy, John Fitzgerald (1917–1963)
assassination of, 830, 846–847
civil rights and, 825
Cuba and, 775, 775*(m)*, 776

in election of 1960, 774*(i)*, 774–775
foreign policy of, 774–777
on immigration, 954
inaugural address of, 777, 846
liberalism and, 846
Peace Corps and, 777
space exploration and, 777
Vietnam and, 777, 853
Kennedy, John Pendleton, 344*(i)*
Kennedy, Robert F.
assassination of, 863 864, 864*(i)*
as attorney general, 775
Chavez and, 840
in election of 1968, 862
Freedom Riders and, 825
on King's assassination, 862–863
Kennesaw Mountain, Battle of (1864), 423
Kent (Connecticut), 132–133
Kent, James, 368
Kent State University, killings at, 871
Kentucky
in American Revolution, 172
claims to, 164–165
migration to, 216, 217
post–Revolutionary War, 187, 189
secession and, 392, 402
settlement of, 166–167
statehood granted to, 216
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 214, 286
Kenya, embassy bombing in, 962
Kerner, Otto, 827, 839
Kerner Commission, 805, 827, 839
kerosene, 499–500, 500*(i)*
Kerouac, Jack, 791
Kerry, John, 967
Key, Elizabeth, 38, 53
Key, Francis Scott, 228*(i)*
Keynes, John Maynard, 692, 694–695
Keynesian economics, 695
Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin (Stowe), 377
Khmer Rouge, 872
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 920, 921, 939
Khrushchev, Nikita S., 762, 770, 775, 776, 780, 782*(i)*
Kikongo language, 93
Killbuck, John, Jr., 155
Kim Il Sung, 760
kin-based groups, Native American, 15–16, 17
Kincaid site (Mississippian town), 13*(i)*
kindergarten, 550
King, Boston (slave), 181
King, Constance, 687*(i)*
King, Coretta Scott, 811*(i)*, 824
King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929–1968)
assassination of, 839, 862–863
in Birmingham, 825, 828–829
civil rights legislation and, 846
on Ghana independence, 818
historical perspectives on, 828
"If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins" speech of, 832
"I Have a Dream" speech of, 830
Montgomery Bus Boycott and, 823–824
philosophy of, 823, 824*(i)*
riots following death of, 839
in Selma march, 811*(i)*, 831, 834
King Cotton, 401, 419, 427
King's Mountain, Battle of (1780), 179
Kinsey, Alfred, 795*(i)*, 795–798, 902
kinship, slave, 93, 344, 346
Kiowa Indians, 354, 356, 483, 486
Kipling, Rudyard, 515*(i)*
Kissinger, Henry, 871, 872, 917
Kitchen Ball at White Sulphur Springs Virginia (Mayr), 342*(i)*
Kitchen Cabinet (Jackson), 285
kitchen debate, 780, 782*(i)*
KKK. *See* Ku Klux Klan
Klein, S., 513
Klondike, gold rush in, 471
Knickerbocker Trust Company, 610
Knight, Sarah Kemble, 119
Knights of Labor, 519*(i)*, 519–520, 521, 522, 586, 594
Knights of the White Camelia, 453
Knights Templar, 22
Knowlton, Charles, 317
Know-Nothing and American Crusader, The (pamphlet), 383
Know-Nothing Party, 363, 384, 386
Knox, Frank, 715
Knox, Henry, 191, 204, 215
Kohn, Ludwig, 416, 416*(i)*
Kongo, Kingdom of, 6, 26, 28, 29*(i)*, 93, 97
Koontz, Elizabeth Duncan, 899
Koop, C. Everett, 927
Korea
immigrants from, 515–516
Japan and, 629, 630, 716, 736
Korean War (1950 -1953)
armed forces in, 744, 760*(i)*
casualties of, 761*(m)*
China and, 761, 762
consequences of, 762
election of 1952 and, 771
GI Bill following, 786
as police action, 761, 761*(m)*
Soviet Union and, 760
Truman and, 760*(i)*, 760 -762
Korematsu v. United States (1944), 732, 819
Kosovo, 962
Kozachenko, Kathy, 899
Krimmel, John Lewis, 211*(i)*
Kroc, Ray, 803
Ku Klux Klan (KKK)
American Protective Association and, 533
Brown decision and, 822
formation of, 453
founders of, 413
Freedom Riders and, 825
masks used by, 453*(i)*
membership in, 670–671
poem read at meeting of, 670
resurgence of, 612, 617, 668
testimony on violence of, 454–455
wedding in, 670*(i)*
Ku Klux Klan Act of 1871, 438*(t)*
Kupperman, Karen, 52
Kursk, Battle of (1943), 733
Kuwait, Iraqi invasion of, 939, 965
Kwa language, 93
Kyoto Protocol, 970

labor and laborers. *See also* child labor; indentured servants; labor unions; slaves and slavery; strikes; wages; wageworkers; women in workforce
African, 52–53
African American, 565, 653, 812–813
agricultural, 702, 703, 725
alliances with farmers, 493, 517–518, 520 522
autonomy of, 504
Bacon's Rebellion and, 68
benefits for, 612, 655
blue-collar, 503, 901, 902, 902*(i)*
Bracero Program and, 725, 807
collective bargaining rights for, 612
corporate, 503
in depression of 1890s, 574
deskilling of, 504–505
in factories, 249–250, 496, 504, 508, 509*(i)*, 564
in families, 901 -902
feminism and, 851–852
free vs. slave, 258–259
gang-labor system, 266, 346, 442
in Great Depression, 682
ideology of, 262
immigrants and, 380, 381, 465, 467*(i)*, 492, 509–516, 515, 515*(i)*
industrialization and, 261–262, 503–509
Japanese American, 731
labor-management accords, 787
Mexican American, 817–819
migrant, 702, 703, 840
Native American, 40
in New Deal, 687–688, 691–692, 696–697
organization of, 516–523
outsourcing of, 950
for Panama Canal, 630*(i)*, 631
of peasants, 19
in Pennsylvania, 115
pink-collar, 493, 901
politics and, 295 298, 493, 516–517, 518–519, 521, 697
populism and, 595
progressivism and, 607–608

labor and laborers (*cont.*)
protection laws for, 580
reforms, 581, 606–607
resistance to Benevolent Empire, 307–309
safety of, 505–508, 924
scientific management and, 505
in seaport cities, 100–101
skilled, 305–306, 496, 504, 511, 519, 522–523
songs about, 902
in South, 337, 341
Taft and, 611
task system of, 346
in textile industry, 249–250
unskilled, 269, 505, 508–509
in urban society, 269
white-collar, 268, 503, 784
Wilson and, 612, 612*(i)*
workmen's compensation measures for, 606, 612
in World War I, 637–638, 639, 642, 652
in World War II, 721–725
labor contracts, for freedpeople, 435
Labor Department, 606, 611*(t)*, 894, 924
labor-management accords, 787
labor movements. *See* labor unions
labor theory of value, 262
labor unions. *See also* strikes; *specific unions*
African American, 523, 724, 814
antiunionism, 697, 787
Cold War liberalism and, 763
collective bargaining and, 496, 612, 763, 782, 786, 787
decline of, 654–655, 887
deindustrialization and, 887
emergence of, 261–262, 493, 517–519
employers and, 261–262, 520
membership in, 652
Mexican Americans and, 725
middle-class expansion and, 786–787
for migrant workers, 840
New Deal and, 691, 696–697, 697*(i)*
Panic of 1837 and, 298
post–World War I, 652
radicalism and, 517, 607–608
Red Scare and, 766
strength of (1900–2015), 787*(f)*
trade unions, 516, 522–523, 697*(i)*, 786–787
women and, 519–520, 523, 581
in World War II, 724, 725
La Causa, 840
Lacey Act of 1900, 544–545
Ladies Circular (Beecher & Sigourney), 291
Ladies' Home Journal (magazine), 503, 794
Lafayette (Marquis de), 179, 181, 182*(m)*
La Follette, Robert M.
in election of 1924, 657
progressivism of, 605*(i)*
Versailles treaty and, 645
Wisconsin Idea of, 605
on World War I, 633
"Lager Uber Alles" cartoon, 640, 640*(i)*
LaHaye, Beverly, 905
laissez faire, 293, 299, 451, 464, 592, 617, 692
Lake Champlain, Battle at (1814), 225*(m)*, 228
Lake Erie, 224, 244, 245
Lake George, Battle of, 129*(i)*
Lakota Sioux, 354, 486
Lamarck, Jean Baptiste, 529
Lancaster (Pennsylvania), 74, 99
Lancaster Turnpike Company, 243
land. *See also* property and property rights
for cattle ranching, 471
conflicts and westward expansion (1750–1775), 133*(m)*
in East, 132–133
for freedpeople, 426, 441–442, 457
in Greater Mississippi River basin, 244
Homestead Act and, 220, 370, 409, 470
immigrant ownership of, 667, 703
Mexican American claims to, 467–468
Mexican cession (1848), 366, 369*(m)*, 369–370
Native American, 133, 187, 189, 215–217, 283, 288–291, 483, 486
in Northwest Territory, 190*(m)*, 218
in Oregon, 369
in Pennsylvania, 113, 115
post–Revolutionary War cessions, 215, 216*(m)*
public, 544, 604
in South, 217–218
speculation of, 132, 187, 189, 244
state claims to western lands, 187, 188*(m)*
taxation of, 133, 142
western sales of (1830–1839 and 1850–1862), 247*(m)*
westward migration for, 244
land bridge, from Siberia to Alaska, 8, 9*(m)*
Land Claims Commission, 373
land-grant colleges, 470
land grants
in California, 373
for railroads, 466
in Texas, 338, 339
landlords
in New York, 113
in tenant farming, 337
Land of Little Rain (Austin), 544
Landon, Alfred M., 693
land ordinances, of 1780s, 189
Landsmark, Ted, 874*(i)*
Lane, William Henry, 319
Lange, Dorothea, 705, 705*(i)*
language
Aztec, 33*(i)*
Cherokee, 289
of eastern woodlands Indians, 11
on Great Plains, 473
Gullah dialect, 343
multiculturalism and, 957
slang, 651*(i)*
Yiddish, 512, 532, 564
Lansing, John, 194
Laos
Japan and, 716
Vietnam War and, 853*(m)*
La Raza Unida (The United Race), 840
Larcom, Lucy, 250
Larkin, Thomas Oliver, 352, 358
La Salle, Robert de, 55
Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 34–35
Las Hijas (The Daughters), 840
lateen sails, 28
Lathrop, Julia, 579
Latin America. *See also* Central America; South America; *specific locations*
immigrants from, 662, 667, 952, 953*(i)*, 953*(f)*
independence movements in, 771
military expeditions into, 366
radio transmission in, 659
trade with, 465
U.S. and, 630–632, 655–656, 931, 934*(m)*
Latinos/Latinas. *See also specific groups*
as cowboys, 471, 472*(i)*
feminism and, 867
population in U.S. (2000), 956*(m)*
on Supreme Court, 970
La Touche, John, 696
Laud, William, 59, 61
Laverne and Shirley (television show), 902
law and order campaign, 865, 872–874
"The Law of Life" (London), 535
Lawrence (Kansas), 385, 415
Lawrence, Amos, 385
Lawrence, Jacob, 669
Lawrence v. Texas (2003), 900, 919, 959
laws. *See also specific laws*
antidiscrimination, 819–823
civil rights, 825, 828–831, 834
in Constitution, 195
English common law, 149, 261
environmental, 884
equality and, 819–823
equal rights for women in, 868
eugenics, 529
in Great Society, 707, 745, 846, 847*(i)*, 847–850, 849*(t)*, 952
in Hundred Days, 684–689
in Kennedy administration, 846
national, 194
New Deal, 686–696, 693*(t)*, 707
personal liberty, 377
Reconstruction, 437, 438*(t)*, 439*(i)*
slave, 53
supremacy of national laws, 229–230, 229*(t)*

lawyers, in South, 336
LBO (leveraged buyout), 928
leadership, global, 745
League of Nations, 643, 645, 647, 656, 712, 713
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), 725
League of Women Voters, 661*(i)*
learning. *See* education; intellectual thought
Lease, Mary E., 586, 594
Leave It to Beaver (television show), 789
Leaves of Grass (Whitman), 311
Lebanon
  Hezbollah in, 931
  Israeli invasion of, 939
  pro-American government in, 774
  U.S. troops in, 939
lebensraum (living space), 713
Lecompton (Kansas), proslavery legislature in, 385
Lecompton constitution, 258, 387
lectures, in lyceum movement, 310
Lee, Charles, 192
Lee, Richard Henry, 167, 252
Lee, Robert E.
  in Civil War, 402, 403*(m)*, 405, 413, 418, 422*(i)*, 422–423, 423*(m)*
  monument to, 458*(i)*
  recommendation for Union army by Scott, 393
  surrender at Appomattox Court House, 423*(m)*, 427
Lee, William, 171*(i)*
Leech, John, 329*(i)*
left (political)
  New Deal and, 690–691
  New Left and, 860
legal realism, 603
Legal Tender Act of 1862, 409
legislation. *See* laws
legislatures. *See also* assemblies; Congress, U.S.
  bicameral, 185
  Lecompton, 386
  state, 242–243, 275, 327, 339
  territorial, 189
  unicameral, 185, 194
Leisler, Jacob, 81
leisure
  athletic fitness and, 539–540
  automobiles and, 660
  electric lighting and, 562–563
  labor unions and, 787
  parks for, 576, 706
  urban, 566–569
  workers and, 308, 540, 566
Lemon, George W., 416
Lend-Lease Act of 1941, 716
Lenin, Vladimir, 635
Leningrad, in World War II, 732, 733*(m)*
Lenni Lenape Indians. *See* Delaware Indians
Leonardo da Vinci, 20
lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons
  in armed forces, 730, 970
  as elected officials, 898–899
  HIV/AIDS and, 926–927
  homophile movement and, 798, 868
  Kinsey on, 798
  New York City Gay Pride parade, 926*(i)*
  radicalism and, 555
  rights for, 730, 868*(i)*, 868–869, 897, 957–958
  Stonewall riot and, 868, 868*(i)*
  subculture of, 569
  Supreme Court and, 900
  in urban areas, 316, 569
  in World War II, 730, 735
Leslie, Frank, 313*(i)*
Lesser Antilles, 42, 47
"Letter from Birmingham Jail" (King), 828–829
"Letter from a Teacher" (Beecher), 296
Letterman, Jonathan, 417
Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania (Dickinson), 149
"Letter to John Slidell" (Buchanan), 356–357
"Letter to Louis de Kergorlay" (Tocqueville), 276
"Letter to Robert Winthrop" (Sumner), 357
"Letter to Sir Thomas Dale" (Rolfe), 48–49
"Letter to the Convention of the Women of America" (Roland & Deroine), 328
"Letter to the *Staunton Spectator*" (Stuart), 394
leveraged buyout (LBO), 928
Leviathan (Hobbes), 81*(i)*
Levitt, William J., 799, 800, 805
Levittowners, The (Gans), 801
Levittowns, 799, 801, 803
Lewinsky, Monica, 961
Lewis, John (civil rights activist), 825, 830, 835, 838*(m)*
Lewis, John L., 696
Lewis, Meriwether, 221–222, 222*(m)*
Lewis, Sinclair, 663, 664
Lexington, Battle of (1774), 165
Leyte Gulf, Battle of (1944), 736, 737*(m)*
LGBT persons. *See* lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons
Libby, Owen, 199*(m)*
liberal arts curriculum, 548
liberal Republicans, 451–452, 592, 914
liberals and liberalism
  in 1960s, 844, 846–853
  age of, 744, 745
  classical, 293, 451, 452, 457, 591–592, 678, 692
  Cold War, 744, 763–771
  electoral shift to, 971
  New Deal, 678, 692, 696
  post–World War II, 744, 745
  rights liberalism, 745, 810, 834
  social-welfare, 293, 686, 696, 707, 744, 936
  undermining support for, 917
Liberator, The, 322, 344
Liberia, African American settlement in, 280
liberties. *See* civil liberties; freedoms; rights
liberty bonds, 638*(i)*
Liberty Lobby, 915
Liberty Party, 324, 355
Liberty Ships, 718, 720*(i)*
libraries, public, 569
Libya, democratic movements in, 970
Licensing Act (England), 119
Liddy, G. Gordon, 891
Lieber, Francis, 413–414
Lieber Code, 413–414, 422
liederkranz (singing societies), 641
lien, sharecropping and, 444–445
Life and Adventures of Nat Love, The (Love), 488
Life magazine, 651*(i)*, 707*(i)*, 726*(i)*, 782, 785–786, 800, 815, 871
Life of Andrew Jackson, The (Parton), 288
Life of George Washington, The (Weems), 279
Life of Riley, The (television show), 789
lifestyle. *See also* culture; societies
  of bachelors, 568, 798
  in consumer revolution of 1700s, 132
  frontier, 112
  in gold rush, 371
  in Great Depression, 674–676, 676*(i)*
  of immigrants, 514
  in Jim Crow, 812–813
  peasant, 19–20
  slave, 346–348
  suburban, 780
  television and, 788–789
  of textile workers, 249–250
  urban, 268
  wealth and celebrity, 928–929
  World War II home front, 726–732
Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous (television show), 928–929
lighting, electric, 503*(i)*, 538, 562–563
Lilienthal, David E., 699
Liliuokalani (Hawaii), 625, 625*(i)*
Lily, The (newspaper), 329*(i)*
Lincoln, Abraham (1809–1865)
  on African American soldiers, 413
  assassination of, 427, 434
  character of, 388*(i)*
  Civil War and, 362, 398, 401–402, 405–406, 428
  on Crittenden Compromise, 392
  Dakota Sioux uprising and, 479

Lincoln, Abraham (*cont.*)
debates with Douglas, 388–389
in election of 1860, 390*(i)*, 390–391, 391*(m)*
in election of 1864, 423–424
emancipation and, 362, 363, 406–408
Fort Sumter attack and, 393
German immigrants and, 384
Gettysburg Address by, 418–419, 421
habeas corpus suspensions by, 402, 412, 424
House Divided speech by, 388
inaugural address of, 392, 428
political career of, 388–389
on Reconstruction, 434
secession crisis and, 286, 363
on slavery, 366, 388, 392
on social mobility, 385
on temperance, 308–309
on territorial integrity of Union, 401
U.S.-Mexico War and, 366
Lincoln, Mary Todd, 388
Lincoln-Douglas debates, 388–389
Lindbergh, Charles, 714, 714*(i)*, 715
Lippet, Sarah, 122
Lippmann, Walter, 613
liquor. *See* alcohol and alcoholism
Lisbon, African slaves in, 31
literacy
democracy and, 296–297
of slaves, 297
in South, 296, 297, 447
as voting requirement, 439, 599, 601, 834
of women, 186
literacy tests, 439, 599, 601, 834
literature. *See also specific works and authors*
in 1920s, 664–665, 669, 672
Beat writers, 790–791
for boys, 540*(i)*
dime novels, 415*(i)*, 472*(i)*, 488, 541*(i)*
guidebooks for women, 549
in Harlem Renaissance, 669
modernism in, 535
popular fiction, 316–317
realism in, 493, 535
on rural and small-town America, 664–665
transcendentalist, 310–311
Little Big Horn, Battle of (1876), 486–487
Little Ice Age, 14
Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Business Men (Hubbard), 242
Little Plume (Piegan), 487*(i)*
Little Rock (Arkansas), school integration in, 814, 822*(i)*, 822–823
"Little Rock Nine," 797, 820*(i)*
Little Turtle (Miami chief), 216
Little Women (Alcott), 506
livestock, 15, 41, 351, 374, 471–472
Livingston, Robert, 220
Lloyd George, David, 645, 645*(i)*
loans
in American Revolution, 176, 177
banking and, 240, 241
by Bank of the United States, 207
consumer, 658, 660
to foreign countries, 655
lobbying, 606, 656, 657, 892
Lochner v. New York (1905), 602, 603, 606
Locke, Alain, 669
Locke, John, 80, 120, 149
Lockheed, 762*(i)*, 783
locomotives, 465. *See also* railroads
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 593, 624, 647
Lodge Bill of 1890 (Federal Elections Bill), 593
Logan, Adella Hunt, 554
log cabin campaign (1840), 299*(i)*, 299–300
logging, 604
London, Jack, 535, 536
Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock (1903), 483
Long, Huey, 689*(m)*, 690–691, 693
Long, Stephen H., 338
Long Beach (California), amusement park in, 567*(i)*
Long Drive, 471
longhorn cattle, 471
"long hot summers," urban violence and, 838–839
longhouses, 16
Long Island, Battle of (1776), 172, 175
Long Telegram (Kennan), 754
loose constructionism, 207, 220
Lopez, Duarte, 6, 26, 28, 29*(i)*
Lord Dunmore's War, 164*(m)*, 164–165
Lord Proprietor, in Maryland, 77
Lords of Trade, 79, 80, 81
Lordstown (Ohio), strike in (1972), 902
Los Alamos (New Mexico), atomic bomb in, 738
Los Angeles (California)
growth of, 561, 663, 805*(m)*
Nazi fringe group in, 668
neighborhoods in, 564–565
population of, 663
racial conflict in, 727, 730, 839
suburbanization in, 660
zoot-suit riots in, 730, 730*(i)*
Los Angeles Times, explosion at, 608
"Lost Cause," Confederacy as, 458–459, 551
lost colony of Roanoke, 45
Louisbourg, Fort, 103, 103*(i)*, 130
Louisiana. *See also* New Orleans
boundaries of, 231
Civil War in, 418
emancipation in, 425
migration to, 217
naming of, 55
Napoleon and, 220
plantation agriculture in, 253, 254*(m)*, 255
racial violence in, 456
Reconstruction in, 456
Republican government in, 456
secession of, 392
slavery in, 374, 407
voting rights in, 599
Louisiana Purchase (1803), 220, 222*(m)*, 231*(m)*, 281, 281*(m)*, 374
Louisville (Kentucky), 244, 264*(m)*
Louis XIV (France, r. 1643–1714), 55, 79
Louis XVI (France, r. 1774–1792), 177, 179, 209
L'Ouverture, Toussaint, 212, 212*(i)*
Love Boat, The (television show), 903
Lovejoy, Elijah P., 323
Low, Thomas, 279
Lowell, Francis Cabot, 249
Lowell, Josephine Shaw, 580
Lowell (Massachusetts), textile industry in, 249, 250, 263
lower house. *See* House of Representatives
Lower South. *See also* South
migration from, 246
secession of, 393*(m)*
slaves in, 246, 252*(m)*, 255*(m)*
Loyalists
in American Revolution, 172, 173*(m)*
defined, 163
imprisonment of, 170
in New England, 165
post–Revolutionary War, 186–187
in South, 166
loyalty oaths, 432, 434, 766
Loyalty-Security Program, 765–766
LSD, 861
Lucas, Eliza, 110
Luce, Henry, 782, 908
Ludlow strike (1914), 608*(i)*
LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens), 725
lumber and lumber industry, 99
lunch counter sit-ins, 824
Lusitania (ship), 634
Luther, Martin, 23, 42, 125
Lutheran churches, 125, 125*(f)*
Luxembourg, Nazi invasion of, 715
lyceum movement, 310
Lynch, James, 449
lynchings
of German Americans, 640
legislation regarding, 700
in Red Summer, 654
in South, 598*(i)*, 600
Wells on, 551, 551*(i)*, 554
Lynd, Robert and Helen, 665

MacAllister, Alexander, 106
MacArthur, Arthur, 628
MacArthur, Douglas
Bonus Army and, 683
in Japan, 759

in Korean War, 761
in World War II, 736
machine guns, 633
machines. *See* industrial machines; political machines
machine tools, 260
Macintosh computer, 930
MacKay, Aeneas, 155
Macon, Nathaniel, 280
Macy's Department Store, 501–502
Madeira Islands, 28, 29, 31, 44
Madero, Francisco, 631
Madison, James (1751–1836)
amendments submitted by, 205.
Bonus Bill vetoed by, 282–283
at Constitutional Convention, 192
in election of 1808, 223
Enlightenment and, 121
Federalist and, 198, 284
on Hamilton's financial plan, 205–206, 207
legacy of, 192*(i)*
Marbury v. Madison (1803), 219, 229, 229*(t)*
as president (1809–1817), 218
on slavery, 150, 195
support for revolution from, 166
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions and, 214, 286
Virginia Plan of, 193–194
magazines, 316, 503, 569. *See also specific magazines*
Maggie: Girl of the Streets (Crane), 535
Magna Carta (England), 149
Magnetic Telegraph Company, 247
Mahan, Alfred, 623
Maier and Zoblein Brewery, 514*(i)*
mail
abolitionist, 324
obscene material in, 547
postal system formation and, 246
Sabbath and delivery of, 308
Mailer, Norman, 774
mail-order companies, 502, 546
Maine
British colonization in, 45
in Massachusetts, 80
national parks in, 544
Native American attacks in, 85
prohibition in, 307
settlement of, 218
statehood for, 280, 281
Maine (battleship), 623, 624
Main Street (Lewis), 663, 664
Main-Travelled Roads (Garland), 535
maize (corn), 9–10, 12, 15, 16, 41, 112
Making of New World Slavery, The (Blackburn), 92
malaria, 25, 29, 50, 414, 625
Malaya, in World War II, 736
Malcolm X, 835*(i)*, 835–836
MALDEF (Mexican American Legal Defense Fund), 840
Mali Empire, 25, 25*(i)*, 31
malls, shopping, 660, 802–803
Mamantouensa (Kaskaskia headman), 85
management, scientific, 505
management revolution, 499, 503
managers, in corporations, 493, 503, 505
Manassas. *See* Bull Run
Manchuria, 629, 630, 713, 737*(m)*
Mandan Indians, 15, 221, 221*(i)*, 353
mandates
in Palestine, 645, 773
post–World War I, 645, 646*(m)*
Mande language, 25, 28, 93
Mangum, W. P., 295
Manhattan Island, 56, 57*(i)*
Manhattan Project, 737–738, 765
Manifest Destiny, 333*(i)*, 348–355, 356
"Manifest Destiny" (O'Sullivan), 356
Manifesto of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation (NLF), 858
Manila Bay, in War of 1898, 624
Mann, Horace, 326
Mann Act of 1910, 578, 611*(t)*
manorial systems, 77
manors, in Hudson River region, 113
Mansa Musa, 25
Mansfield, James, 150
Manuel I (Portugal), 36*(i)*
manufacturing. *See also* factories; industry and industrialization
automation in, 785
colonial, 103
defense, 804
in England, 131, 249
Hamilton's report on, 207
innovation in, 238, 260–261
international competition in, 928
in Midwest, 264
in New Deal, 687
outsourcing of, 950
productivity in, 657
tariff protection of, 464, 467
technology for, 131, 260–261
urbanization and, 560
manumission, 252–253
Manzanar relocation camp, 732*(i)*
Mao Zedong (**Mao Tse-tung**), 759–760, 760*(i)*
MAPA (Mexican American Political Association), 840
Marbury v. Madison (1803), 219, 229–230, 229*(t)*
March on Washington movement, 724, 814, 830
March to the Sea (Civil War), 425–426, 426*(m)*
Marcy, William L., 285, 378, 379
Mariana Islands, 625, 737*(m)*
Marianna Mine disaster (1908), 497*(i)*
Marias River massacre (1870), 481
Marietta (Georgia), 446*(i)*
marijuana, 861
Marines, U.S. *See also* armed forces; military
in Haiti, 655
in Hawaii, 625
in World War II, 736
Marion, Francis, 179, 179*(i)*
maritime economy, 99–101
maritime exploration. *See* exploration
maritime trade, 56*(m)*, 143*(m)*
market economies, 19, 242, 317, 327. *See also* economy
Market Revolution, 242–248, 263, 308
markets and market society
domestic, 464
foreign, 784
global, 622
teenagers, 789
transcendentalism and, 311
utopian communities and, 312
Marlin, Barnet, 512
Maroon communities, 97
Marquette, Jacques, 55
marriage
in Africa, 89
age at, 546, 793
arranged, 112
companionate, 792
complex, 313, 314
cousin marriages, 343
in Great Depression, 675
interracial, 529–530
in KKK, 670*(i)*
middle-class, 268, 278, 904
in New England, 108, 112
in patriarchal societies, 19
polygamy, 315, 387, 473, 474–475
Quaker, 117, 278*(i)*
rights of women and, 327–328, 336–337
for same-sex couples, 957, 958
slave, 256, 343, 346
Marriage Encounter, 903*(i)*, 904
marriage portion, 108, 109
married women's property laws, 327–328
Marshall, George C., 738, 739, 755
Marshall, John
Burr trial and, 221
Cherokee nation and, 292
as chief justice of Supreme Court, 219, 221, 229–230, 229*(i)*
Constitution and, 219, 229–230
interstate commerce and, 246–247
Jackson's appointment of successor to, 292
principles of, 229–230
Marshall, Thurgood, 819, 820*(i)*, 820–821
Marshall Islands, 737*(m)*
Marshall Plan, 755
Martellus, Henricus, 31*(m)*

Martí, José, 567
martial arts, 540
Martin, Del, 798
Martin, Josiah, 166
Martin, Luther, 196
Martin, Susanna, 62–63
Martin, Trayvon, 971
Martineau, Harriet, 272
Martinique, 47, 50, 130
Marx, Karl, 296
Marxist ideology, 607, 622
Maryland
  Catholic Church in, 47, 81
  Civil War and, 402, 403*(m)*, 405
  emancipation in, 424
  Glorious Revolution and, 81
  government in, 76–77
  Protestantism in, 81
  secession and, 392, 402
  slavery in, 38, 91, 252, 254, 407
  teamsters in, 99
  voting rights in, 274–275
Mary Stuart (England, r. 1688–1694), 80, 80*(m)*, 81, 81*(i)*
masculinity, 526, 536, 539–540
Mason, George, 96, 195
Masons, 279, 295
Massachusetts
  abolition petitions in, 150
  armed resistance in, 165
  assemblies in, 101
  charter of, 80–81, 187
  constitutional ratification in, 197
  constitution in, 186, 191
  education in, 326
  Native American attacks in, 85
  as royal colony, 80–81
  self-government in, 81
  settlement patterns in, 64*(m)*
  slavery abolished in, 252
  textile industry in, 249–250
  Townshend Act condemned in, 151
  voting rights in, 275
  western land claims of, 187
  women's rights in, 186
Massachusetts Bay Colony
  charters of, 58, 79, 80
  as City upon a Hill, 59
  as royal colony, 77
  violation of Navigation Acts by, 79
  witchcraft accusations in, 62–63
Massachusetts Government Act of 1774, 159
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 951
massacres
  Bad Axe, 292
  Boston, 156, 157*(i)*
  Fetterman, 480
  Marias River, 481
  My Lai, 871
  Nanjing, 716, 736
  Pottawatomie, 385
  Rock Springs, 514
  Rosewood, 654
  Sand Creek, 404, 480, 481
  Wounded Knee, 488, 841, 841*(i)*
mass consumption, 745
Masses, The (magazine), 608*(i)*
massive retaliation policy, 770
mass-market newspapers, 569–571
mass media, 569–571, 650, 785. *See also specific media*
mass production, 260, 504–505, 537, 799
mass transit, 560–561
master race, Hitler on, 713
Masters, William, 903
Mata, Petra, 946
materialism, culture of success and, 928–929
maternalism, 550
mathematics, 120
Mather, Cotton (1663–1728), 60, 62–63, 109, 120
Matoaka. *See* Pocahontas
matriarchal societies, 14
Mattachine Society, 798
Matthews, Victoria Earle, 551
Maxim, Hiram, 633
Maximilian (emperor), 465
Mayas, 32*(m)*, 33
Mayflower (ship), 58
Mayflower Compact, 58
Mayhew, Jonathan, 61
Mayo, Joseph, 252
Mayor of New York v. Miln (1837), 293
mayors
  African American, 837, 838
  reform-minded, 574–575
Mayr, Christian, 342*(i)*
Mbanza Kongo (Banza), 29*(i)*
McCain, John, 968
McCall's magazine, 787
McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, 807
McCarthy, Eugene, 862
McCarthy, Joseph, 766–767, 767*(i)*, 817
McCarthy, Margaret, 382–383
McClellan, George B.
  in Civil War, 402, 405, 478
  in election of 1864, 424
McClure's magazine, 569, 572
McCormick, Cyrus, 260*(i)*, 264, 408
McCormick reaper works, strike against, 520
McCulloch v. Maryland (1819), 229, 229*(t)*, 230
McDonald, Forrest, 206
McDonald's restaurants, 803, 804*(i)*, 950
McDonnell Douglas, 784*(i)*
McDougall, Alexander, 148
McDowell, Irvin, 401–402
McGovern, George S., 875, 875*(m)*
McHenry, Fort, 228*(i)*
McKane, John, 572*(i)*
McKay, Claude, 669
McKee, Ray, 636*(i)*
McKinley, Archibald, 401*(i)*
McKinley, William (1843–1901)
  assassination of, 603
  Cuban crisis and, 623
  in election of 1896, 590, 595*(m)*, 600*(i)*, 601, 601*(m)*
  in election of 1900, 603, 620, 626
  expansionism of, 620, 625
  Philippines and, 625, 628
  War of 1898 and, 623–624
McKissick, Floyd, 836
McLaurin v. Oklahoma (1950), 821
McNamara, John J., 608
McNamara, Robert, 775, 854
McNeel Marble Co., 458
Meade, George G., 418, 419*(m)*
"Mealtime, New York Tenement" (Hine), 506*(i)*
measles, 33, 41, 414, 483
meatpacking industry
  Civil War and, 409
  exposure of, 580
  foreign production and, 658
  industrialization and, 499
mechanics
  emigration from Britain, 248–249
  technology and, 258, 260
Mechanics Institute, 435*(i)*
mechanization
  consequences of, 785
  mass production and, 260, 504–505
  in textile industry, 260, 262
media. *See also specific media*
  mass, 569–571, 650, 785
  morality and, 798
Medicaid, 707, 848, 849*(t)*, 850, 897, 964
Medical Care Act of 1965, 849*(t)*
Medicare
  baby boomers and, 793
  Great Society legislation and, 707, 848, 849*(t)*, 850
  Reagan and, 923
medicine. *See* health and health care
Mediterranean region
  in 15th century, 24*(m)*
  trade in, 20, 30*(m)*
Meese, Edwin, 925
Mein Kampf (Hitler), 713
Mellencamp, John Cougar, 902
Mellon, Andrew W., 681
melting pot, 956. *See also* diversity
Melville, Herman, 311
Memphis (Tennessee)
  Civil War in, 404*(m)*
  racial violence in, 432, 551
  yellow fever epidemic in, 576
men. *See also* gender and gender issues; marriage

in corporations, 503
as immigrants, 512, 515
masculinity and, 526, 536, 539–540
Native American, 12, 14, 17
in patriarchal societies, 19
Quaker, 78
sexuality and, 569
universal suffrage for, 439
voting rights for white men, 101, 274–275, 275*(m)*, 293, 339
workday of, 606
Mencken, H. L., 666
Mendez v. Westminster School District (1947), 819
Mennonites, 116
mentally ill, hospitals for, 327
mercantilism
American System and, 281
in colonies, 79–80, 103–104
in England, 43–44, 79
ideology of, 242
neomercantilism, 240
protection of, 102–103
state, 242–243
merchants
African American, 320*(i)*
English, 79
Italian, 20, 22
post–Revolutionary War, 240
power of (1750), 100*(m)*
in sharecropping, 444–445
urban, 99
in Western Europe, 20
mergers
corporate power and, 501, 657–658
horizontal integration and, 500
Merriwell, Frank (fictional character), 541*(i)*
Mesa Verde national park, 604
Mesoamerica
agriculture in, 9–10
cities of, 11
empires of, 10–11
geographic characteristics of, 8
population losses in, 33–34
Spanish in, 40–41
mestizos, 41, 351
Metacom (King Philip), and Metacom's War, 65–66
Methodism
African Americans and, 280, 343
membership numbers, 533
missionaries and, 349
Second Great Awakening and, 304–305, 341
on slavery, 252
in South, 304–305, 337
Wesley as founder of, 124
women and, 325, 337
Métis (mixed-race peoples), 55
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 658
Metropolitan Area Redevelopment and Demonstration Cities Acts of 1966, 849*(t)*
Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York City), 569
Metropolitan Opera, 569
metropolitan regions. *See* cities and towns; urban areas
Meuse-Argonne campaign (1918), 635*(m)*
Mexican American Legal Defense Fund (MALDEF), 840
Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), 840
Mexican Americans
Bracero Program and, 725, 807
California land grants for, 373
civil rights for, 817–819, 835, 839–840
deportation of, 617
discrimination against, 725
as Gorras Blancas, 594
middle-class, 819
nationalism of, 866
New Deal and, 703, 703*(i)*
southwestern land claims of, 467–468
World War I and, 642
World War II and, 720, 725, 818–819
Mexican Central Railroad, 468
Mexican cession (1848), 366, 369*(m)*, 369–370
Mexican immigrants
in agricultural labor force, 703, 703*(i)*
in California, 514*(i)*
deportation of, 703
migration to U.S., 667, 667*(i)*, 952
in World War I, 642
Mexican Revolution, U.S. intervention in, 631–632
Mexican War. *See* U.S.-Mexico War
Mexico. *See also* Aztec Empire; Mesoamerica
agriculture in, 9–10
boundaries with, 231*(m)*
California and, 350–352
claims in North America (1821), 334*(m)*
economic nationalism in, 695
independence from France, 465
land cessions from, 366, 369*(m)*, 369–370
migration of ancient peoples to, 8, 9, 9*(m)*
Native Americans in, 41
railroads in, 468, 468*(m)*
remittance flow to, 953
silver in, 40
Spanish conquest of, 33
tax revenues and expenses in, 359
Texas and, 338–339
U.S. expansionism and, 356–357
U.S. intervention in, 631–632
war for independence (1820–1821), 332, 360*(i)*
Wilson and, 631–632
Zimmermann telegram and, 634
Mexico City
1968 protests in, 863
Black Power salute at Olympics, 833*(i)*
seizure of, 358*(m)*, 360
MFDP (Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party), 831
Miami (Florida), Cuban population in, 807
Miami Indians, 216, 244
"Miao albums" (China), 184
Michelangelo, 20
Michigamea Indians, 85
Michigan
Northwest Ordinance and, 189
settlement of, 244, 246
Michigan and Illinois Canal, 246
Micmac Indians, 10*(m)*, 54
microprocessors, 930, 932
Microsoft Corporation, 930
Middle Atlantic region. *See also specific colonies, cities, and states*
agriculture in, 113, 218
diversity in, 113–117
economy in, 113–115
exports from, 99
immigrants in, 115–117, 115*(f)*
Native Americans of, 13, 113, 114–115
politics in, 117
religion in, 113, 115–117, 116*(m)*, 118
society in, 113–117
Middlebury Female Seminary, 326
middle class, 780–808
African American, 565*(i)*, 806, 814
automobiles for, 788
children in, 268, 788
civil service laws and, 590
culture of, 268–269, 658
deindustrialization and, 887
domesticity of, 235, 325, 793, 794, 795*(i)*
entertainment for, 566
families in, 278, 345, 546, 547*(i)*, 780, 781*(i)*, 792–798
GI Bill and, 786
in government, 185*(f)*
Great Depression and, 674
growth of, 268–269
housing of, 268, 268*(i)*, 787–788
individualism of, 310
industrialization and, 505
intellectual development of, 268–269
marriage and, 268, 278, 904
mass consumption and, 745
Mexican American, 819
morality of, 268–269, 795–798
political parties and, 276
post–World War II, 745
reforms by, 302, 574
religion and, 792
Republican Party and, 385
in South, 335

middle class (*cont.*)
in temperance movement, 550
trade unions and, 786–787
in urban areas, 316
use of term, 536
women in, 268, 325, 326, 538, 546, 550, 745, 794 :795
Middle colonies. *See* Middle Atlantic region
Middle East. *See also specific countries*
Arab-Israeli conflict in, 880
Bush (G. H. W.) and, 938–940
Clinton and, 962–963
colonialism in, 962
Eisenhower and, 774
independence movements in, 771
Obama and, 970–971
oil in, 880
post–Cold War, 938
rising conflict in, 909
U.S. involvement in (1979–2010), 966*(m)*
U.S. Navy in, 219*(i)*
in World War I, 633, 646*(m)*
middle managers, 503
middlemen, corporate, 517, 518, 520
Middle Passage, 89*(i)*, 89–91
Middletown (Lynd & Lynd), 665
middling planters, 266, 335, 336
Midnight Cowboy (movie), 903
Midway Island, Battle of (1942), 736, 737*(m)*
Midwest
canals in, 246, 246*(m)*
coeducation in, 549
deindustrialization in, 886, 888*(m)*
Great Depression in, 681*(m)*
growth of, 244–245, 247*(m)*, 263–264
manufacturing in, 264
resistance to Fugitive Slave Act in, 377
urban areas in, 558
utopian experiments in, 312, 312*(m)*
voting rights in, 275
Whigs in, 295
migrant labor, 702, 703, 840
Migrant Mother (Lange), 705*(i)*
migrants and migration. *See also* colonies and colonization; immigrants and immigration
African American, 473, 565, 639*(i)*, 639, 642, 653, 816*(m)*
of ancient peoples to Americas, 8–9, 9*(m)*
chain migration, 380–381
to cities from rural areas, 558, 563, 639
in Columbian Exchange, 3
cotton and, 217–218
dust bowl and, 704*(m)*, 705
of European peasants, 19
forced migration of slaves (1790–1860), 255*(f)*
to Great Plains, 473
to New England, 58
to New France, 55
Puritan, 59
southern, 217–218
of Spaniards to Americas, 43
to suburbs, 799
to trans-Appalachian west, 216, 217–218, 246
transatlantic (1500–1760), 114, 114*(f)*
to West Indies, 50–51
westward, 216, 217–218, 243–244, 349–352, 351*(m)*, 704*(m)*
in World War II, 727, 730
militancy
of African Americans, 723–724
labor, 607–608
military. *See also* armed forces; defense spending; Navy, U.S.; veterans
bases, 804
cemeteries for, 415
German, 713
Special Forces in, 777
standing armies, 173
U.S. interventions and, 655, 656
In U.S.-Mexico War, 359–360
military dictatorships, in Central America, 931
military districts, in South, 437, 437*(m)*
military draft. *See* draft (military)
military-industrial complex
in Cold War, 748, 762, 762*(m)*, 783–784, 784*(i)*, 936
Eisenhower on, 783
employment in, 783
Sunbelt suburbanization and, 804
in World War II, 718
Military Reconstruction Act. *See* Reconstruction Act of 1867
military spending. *See* defense spending
Militia Act of 1862, 412
Milk, Harvey, 897*(i)*, 897–898
Miller, Arthur, 706
Miller, Lewis, 255*(i)*
Miller v. California (1972), 873
Millett, Kate, 867
Milliken v. Bradley (1974), 873
millionaires, 240, 242, 569
mills, water, 131
Milosevic, Slobodan, 962
Milwaukee Journal-Sentinel, 947
mines and mining. *See also* coal and coal industry
camps, 371, 372, 470, 473
disasters in, 497*(i)*
forty-niners and, 371–373
hydraulic, 471*(i)*
safety in, 506
in Spanish America, 40
strikes against, 521*(i)*, 598, 603–604, 608*(i)*
in West, 470*(m)*, 470–471, 489
workers in, 504, 509
Minié, Claude-Étienne, 416
minie ball wounds, 416, 416*(i)*
minimum wage, 606, 700, 770
Minimum Wage Act of 1966, 849*(t)*
Mink, Patsy, 868, 896
Minneapolis Star Journal, 728*(i)*
Minnesota
Dakota Sioux in, 478–479, 480*(i)*
immigrants in, 473
potato farmers in, 676*(i)*
settlement of, 244
Minor, Virginia, 440
Minor v. Happersett (1875), 440
minorities. *See* ethnic diversity; race and racial diversity; *specific groups*
minstrel shows, 317*(i)*, 318–320, 319*(i)*
Mintz, Steven, 307
Minutemen, 165
miracle drugs, 793
Miranda, Francisco de, 170
Miranda v. Arizona (1966), 873
miscegenation, 424
missiles, 758, 770, 776
missions and missionaries
in California, 351
in China, 465
Franciscan, 66, 84, 351
Jesuit, 54–55, 58, 66, 85
Methodist, 349
Native Americans and, 217, 487
in Oregon, 349
Protestant, 532*(i)*, 532–533
Puritan, 60–61
urban, 578
women as, 533
Mississippi
Civil War in, 418
Democratic Party in, 456
Freedom Summer in, 830–831, 860
migration to, 217, 218
Native Americans in, 288
paramilitary groups in, 453, 456
plantation agriculture in, 253, 254*(m)*
secession of, 391–392
southern rights convention and, 375
voting rights in, 599
Mississippian culture, 11, 26*(i)*
Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), 831
Mississippi River region
in Civil War, 404*(i)*, 404*(m)*, 404–405, 418
exploration of, 221, 222*(m)*
Native Americans of, 9, 11
New France and, 55
post–Revolutionary War, 183
shipping on, 246
trade in, 220
transportation to and from, 244
in War of 1812, 228
westward movement and, 244

Mississippi State College for Women, 549
Mississippi Territory, 189
Missouri
  Civil War in, 404*(m)*, 405
  crisis over statehood for (1819–1821), 280–281, 281*(m)*, 348
  emancipation in, 424
  plantation agriculture in, 253
  secession and, 392
  settlement of, 244
  slavery and, 281, 406, 407
  statehood granted to, 246
Missouri Compromise (1820–1821), 281, 281*(m)*, 374, 376*(m)*, 384, 387
Missouri Indians, 85
Missouri Pacific Railroad, 471
mita system, 40
Mittelberger, Gottlieb, 117
mixed government, 185
"Mixed Multitude, A": The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania (Schwartz), 118
mixed races
  African American–white, 320
  African-Indian, 41, 292
  assimilation of, 369
  Spanish-African, 41
  Spanish-Indian, 41, 351
  white-Indian, 55, 289
Miyatake, Toyo, 732*(i)*
MNCs (multinational corporations), 261, 613, 909, 949–950
Mobile (Alabama), segregation in, 813*(i)*
Mobile Register, 410
mobility. *See* social mobility
mobilization
  for Civil War, 393, 396, 400, 402, 408
  in Cold War, 783
  for World War I, 636–638
  for World War II, 718, 720–721, 728*(i)*, 728–729, 729*(i)*
Mobilization to End the War (1967), 860
Moby-Dick (Melville), 311
Moctezuma (Aztec ruler), 33
"model cities" programs, 849*(t)*
modernism
  consumer culture and, 617
  literary, 535
  in movies, 659
  in painting, 535, 536*(i)*
modern republicanism, 767–768
Modoc Indians, 486
Mogollon peoples, 16
Mohawk Indians, 13, 57, 58, 66, 82, 85, 215
Mohegan Indians, 15, 60, 66
Moïse, Penina, 316
molasses, 79, 103–104, 145
Molasses Act of 1733, 103–104, 145
Moley, Raymond, 686
moll. *See* prostitution
monarchs and monarchies, 19, 81. *See also specific monarchs*
Mondale, Walter, 892, 927
monetary policy. *See* finances
money. *See* currency; paper money
"monkey trial" (Scopes trial), 666
monopolies
  baseball as, 542
  Brandeis on, 610
  railroads and, 604
  Supreme Court on, 604
  in transportation industry, 243, 246–247
  trusts as, 501
monotheism, 24
Monroe, James (1758–1831)
  cabinet members under, 281
  as diplomat, 220
  as president (1817–1825), 218, 231–232
  vice president under, 306
Monroe, John T., 435*(i)*
Monroe Doctrine (1823), 231, 623, 631, 934*(m)*
Montagnais peoples, 54
Montana
  migration to, 350
  statehood for, 588
Monterey (California), 352, 360
Monterrey, Battle of, 359, 360*(i)*
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de, 149, 197, 198
Montgomery (Alabama)
  bus boycott in, 823–824
  Confederacy proclaimed in, 392
  Freedom Riders in, 825
  Selma march to, 811*(i)*, 829*(m)*, 831, 834
Montgomery, James R., 420
Montgomery Bus Boycott, 823–824
Montgomery Ward, 502
Montserrat, 47, 86
monuments, conservation of, 545
Moody, Anne, 825
Moody, Dwight L., 534
Moody, Paul, 249
Moore, Gordon, 932
Moore, Samuel L., 335
Moore, Stephen, 955
Moore's Creek Bridge, Battle of (1776), 166
moral free agency, 305
morality
  election of 1988 and, 937
  Finney and, 305
  media and, 798
  middle-class, 268–269, 795–798
  political parties and, 295
  Religious Right on, 917
Moral Majority, 905*(i)*, 917, 918–919, 922
moral reform, 326–327
moral suasion, 308, 324
Moran, Thomas, 477*(i)*
Morgan, Daniel, 179–180
Morgan, John Pierpont, 501, 600, 610
Morgan, Lewis Henry, 484–485, 484*(t)*
Morgan, William, 295
Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., 686, 736
Morledge, C. G., 481*(i)*
Mormons and Mormonism
  communities founded by, 235, 312*(m)*
  origins of, 314
  polygamy among, 315, 387, 473, 474–475
  trek of (1830–1848), 315*(m)*
  women and, 473, 474–475
Mormon Trail, 315*(m)*, 351*(m)*
Mormon War, 387
Morocco, French-German conflict over, 632
Morrill Act of 1862, 470
Morris, Gouverneur, 194, 229
Morris, Robert, 176, 188, 192
Morris, Samuel, 126
Morris, Thomas, 284, 368
Morristown (New Jersey), 174*(m)*
Morse, Samuel F. B., 247
mortality
  in cities, 315
  in Civil War, 414
  infant, 19–20, 576, 661
  in Puritan society, 109*(i)*
  on westward migrations, 350
mortgages, 688, 799
Morton, Thomas, 14
Moscone, George, 899
Moscow, in World War II, 732
Moses, Robert, 831
Mossadegh, Muhammad, 772
motherhood. *See also* families
  advice manuals for, 345
  career vs., 794*(i)*, 794–795
  republican, 277–278
  slave, 344
  workday and, 606
Mother's Magazine, 325
mothers' pensions, 606
Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA), 903
Motley, Archibald, 672*(i)*
Motown, 790*(i)*, 791, 836
Mott, Lucretia, 322, 328
moundbuilding cultures, 11, 12*(i)*, 13*(i)*
Mt. Olympus (Washington), 604
Mount, William Sidney, 318
Mount Auburn Cemetery, 310
Mount Shiloh Baptist Church, 126*(i)*
Mourning Dove (Salish Indian), 482–483
mourning wars, 18
movement. *See* immigrants and immigration; migrants and migration
movies and movie industry
  in 1920s, 658–659
  emergence of, 617
  in Europe, 659
  foreign relations and, 659
  Hollywood, 650, 658*(i)*, 658–659

movies and movie industry (*cont.*)
nickelodeons and, 566
ratings system in, 903
Red Scare and, 766
sexuality in, 903
teenage culture and, 789–790
in World War II, 726–727
Mozambique, 838*(m)*, 931
MPAA (Motion Picture Association of America), 903
Ms. magazine, 868
MS-DOS operating system, 930
muckrakers, 569, 572
Mugwumps, 592
Muhammad (prophet), 22
Muhammad, Elijah, 835
Muir, John, 544, 604
mulattos, 41, 292
Mulders, Joseph, 95
Muller v. Oregon (1908), 606
multiculturalism, 954–957. *See also* diversity; ethnic diversity; race and racial diversity
multinational corporations (MNCs), 261, 613, 909, 949–950
multipolar world, 940, 945
mumps, 414
Munch, Edvard, 659
Munich Conference (1938), 714–715, 762
municipal governments, 572–575
Munnikhuysen, John Anthony, 255
Munn v. Illinois (1877), 467
Munsee Indians, 13, 56, 216
"Murders in the Rue Morgue, The" (Poe), 317
Murphy, Edward, Jr., 572*(i)*
Murray, Judith Sargent, 186, 186*(i)*
Murray, Philip, 787
Murrow, Edward R., 727, 735*(i)*
Musa, Mansa, 25
museums, 318, 569
music
African and African American, 93, 96, 343, 567–568, 790, 902
antislavery, 318
bebop, 790
blues, 568
cultural dissent and, 790
folk, 860–861
jazz, 651*(i)*, 659, 672*(i)*, 672–673, 790
ragtime, 567, 568
rap, 902
rhythm and blues, 790
rock 'n' roll music, 790, 791
songs about workers, 902
soul music, 836
muskets, 260
Muskogean-speaking societies, 82
Muslims. *See* Islam and Muslims
Mussolini, Benito, 712, 713, 734
mutual aid societies, 564
mutual-benefit organizations, 262, 321, 564
Myers, Warner, 269
My Lai massacre (1968), 871
mystery fiction, 317
myths
religious, 21
western, 472*(i)*, 488–489

N. W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory, 571
NAACP. *See* National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NACW (National Association of Colored Women), 551, 661, 700
Nader, Ralph, 882
NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), 909, 949
Nagasaki, atomic bombing of, 710, 737*(m)*, 738–740
Nahuatl language, 33*(i)*
NAM (National Association of Manufacturers), 656, 690
naming of slave children, 346
Nanjing, Japanese massacre in, 716, 736
Napoleon Bonaparte (France)
British triumph over, 227–228
commerce and wars of, 240, 241
English wars and, 82
Louisiana Purchase and, 220
seizure of American merchant ships by, 223
Napoleonic Wars (1793–1815), 240, 241
Narragansett Indians, 14–15, 59, 60, 66
"Narrative of James Curry, a Fugitive Slave" (*Liberator*), 344
NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), 777
Nash, Diane, 825
Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railroad, 340*(i)*
Nasser, Gamal Abdel, 773–774
Nast, Thomas (1840–1902), 439*(i)*
Natchez Indians, 85
Nation, The (magazine), 452
National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 805, 827
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), 777
National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), 554, 642–643, 661*(i)*
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
anticommunism and, 766, 817
Brown v. Board of Education and, 820*(i)*, 821–823, 829*(m)*
creation of, 531, 607, 607*(i)*, 813
growth of, 724
on segregation of armed forces, 720
National Association of Colored Women (NACW), 551, 661, 700
National Association of Manufacturers, 697
National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), 656, 690, 697
National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, 555
National Audubon Society, 545
National Banking Acts (1863 & 1864), 409
national banking system, 207, 287, 409, 464
National Baptist Church (NBC), 554
National Baptist Convention, 449
National Black Antiwar Antidraft League, 866
National Black Feminist Organization, 867
National Black Political Agenda, 838
National Black Political Convention (1972), 838
National Child Labor Committee, 509*(i)*, 571, 606
National Congress of American Indians, 841
National Congress of Mothers, 551
National Consumers' League (NCL), 580, 606
National Council of Churches, 904
national debt
in Bush (G. H. W.) administration, 924*(f)*
in Bush (G. W.) administration, 924*(f)*, 964
Clinton and, 960
in Constitution, 195
Gallatin on, 219–220
Great War for Empire and impact on, 142
Hamilton on, 205, 207
as percentage of gross domestic product, 964*(f)*
in Reagan administration, 924, 924*(f)*
War of 1812 and, 227
National Defense Advisory Commission, 715
National Defense Education Act of 1958, 783–784
National domain, land sales in, 247*(m)*
National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), 849*(t)*, 850
National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), 849*(t)*, 850
National Environmental Policy Act of 1970, 881, 882
National Equal Rights League, 425
national forests, 544, 545*(m)*
National Gay Task Force, 868
National Geographic (magazine), 660
national government. *See also* government, U.S.
Constitution and, 193–194
Federalists on, 204–205
National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, 517–518

National Guard
campus riots and, 871
coal strike and (1931), 682
creation of, 517
desegregation and, 822–823
race riots and, 839
national health insurance, 612, 692, 765, 848. *See also* health insurance
National Housing Acts
of 1934, 826
of 1937, 693*(t)*
of 1949, 765
National Indian Defense Association, 481
National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), 841
National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 (NIRA), 687, 690, 691, 693*(t)*, 700
National Interstate and Defense Highways Act of 1956, 801–802, 803*(m)*
nationalism
black, 673, 835–838
economic, 695
New Nationalism, 608
post–Revolutionary War, 192
racial and ethnic, 866
in War of 1898, 623
of Young Lords Organization, 837
Nationalist Chinese, 630, 759–760
nationalization, of Mexican resources, 631
National Labor Relations Act of 1935, 691, 693, 693*(t)*, 696, 700, 763
National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), 691, 693*(t)*
national law, supremacy of, 229–230, 229*(t)*
National League (baseball), 541
National Legion of Mothers of America, 714
National Liberation Front (NLF), 777, 853, 858
national monuments, conservation of, 545
National Municipal League, 575
National Organization for Women (NOW), 852–853, 867, 958*(i)*
National Origins Act of 1924, 667, 667*(i)*, 807
national parks, 477–478, 544–545, 545*(m)*, 604
National Park Service, 544, 611*(t)*
National Playground Association, 576
National Recovery Administration (NRA), 687, 687*(i)*, 690, 700
National Republicans, 229, 232, 241, 287
National Review (magazine), 916
National Right to Life Committee, 897
National Road, 244, 285
National Security Act of 1947, 758
National Security Council (NSC)
establishment of, 758
Iran-Contra and, 931
NSC-68, 758–759
national security state, 744
national self-determination. *See* self-determination
National Socialist (Nazi) Party, 713. *See also* Nazi Germany
National Trades Union, 262
National Union for Social Justice, 690*(i)*
National Union Party, 424
National Urban League, 607, 766
National War Labor Board (NWLB), 637–638, 725
National Wilderness Preservation System, 925
National Wildlife Refuge (Pelican Island, Florida), 545
National Woman's Party (NWP), 643, 661
National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), 440
National Women's Political Caucus, 852*(i)*, 868
National Youth Administration (NYA), 679*(i)*, 693*(t)*, 703
"A Nation of (Too Many) Immigrants?" (Beck), 954
Nation of Immigrants, A (Kennedy), 954
Nation of Islam, 835, 835*(i)*
Native Americans, 8–18. *See also* Indian policy; reservations; *specific peoples*
agriculture of, 9–10, 16, 217
American Indian Movement and, 840–841, 841*(i)*
in American Revolution, 172, 174, 178, 178*(m)*, 183
archaeological sites of, 604
assimilation of, 216–217, 289–290, 482, 483
Bacon's Rebellion and, 67–68
Bad Axe Massacre against, 292
bison and, 352, 353, 354
British colonists and, 45–46
in California, 16, 351, 373–374, 486
of Chesapeake region, 12
chiefdoms and confederacies, 11–16
civil rights and, 835
in Civil War, 403, 478–481
Columbian Exchange and, 3
culture of, 11–16, 353–354, 481–482, 487–488
Dawes Act and, 482, 483
depictions in West, 484*(i)*, 484–485, 485*(i)*
diet of, 217
disease among, 3, 33–34, 41, 45, 57–59, 354, 373, 483
diversity and complexity of, 3
of eastern woodlands, 11–15
economic activity of, 8, 10*(m)*, 17
education for, 482–483, 487
empires formed by, 8, 10–11
European empires and, 84–85
in Florida, 11
in French and Indian War, 103*(i)*, 127, 129–130
Ghost Dance movement, 488
goals of, 84–85
government of, 11, 12–15, 701–702
of Great Lakes region, 15, 17
of Great Plains, 15, 17
in Great War for Empire, 130–131
of Hispaniola, 33
horses and, 353, 353*(i)*
imperial policies toward, 156
interactions among communities of, 18
labor of, 40
land cessions by, 216, 216*(m)*, 244*(m)*, 253
lands of, 133, 187, 189, 215–217, 283, 288–291, 483, 486
mass execution of, 479
in Middle Atlantic region, 13, 113, 114–115
migration of, 8–9, 9*(m)*
of Mississippi Valley, 11
naming by Columbus, 6, 32
national parks and, 478, 604
New Deal and, 701–702, 702*(i)*
of New England, 14–15, 59
of Pacific Northwest, 16, 348
Penn and, 78
population of, 33–34, 41
post–Revolutionary War, 187
precontact, 2
religion of, 17–18, 488, 702
removal of, 235, 288–292, 291*(m)*, 353, 489
resistance by, 26, 65–66, 291–292, 479–481, 486–487
of Rocky Mountain region, 15–16
Sand Creek massacre against, 404, 480, 481
as slave owners, 289
as slaves, 17, 84, 373
of Southwest, 16, 486, 487
in sports, 543*(i)*
in status of civilization, 484–485, 484*(t)*
trade and, 11, 15, 16–17, 47*(m)*, 54, 354
Trail of Tears and, 290, 292
in trans-Appalachian west, 131, 215–217, 216*(m)*
treaties with, 283, 292, 373, 483
tribalization of, 71, 74, 82–83
U.S. expansionism and, 332
war and warfare, 17–18, 46–47, 57–58, 60–61, 65–66, 81–83, 216
in War of 1812, 224, 244, 288
whites' depictions of, 484*(i)*, 484–485, 485*(i)*, 489
women, 12, 14, 17, 217, 354, 373
in World War I, 636
in World War II, 720
Wounded Knee massacre and, 488, 841, 841*(i)*

Native Son (Wright), 706
nativism
anti-immigrant legislation and, 667
defined, 381
in education, 667
immigrants and, 381, 384, 666–667
KKK and, 668
Protestant, 381, 533
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 753*(m)*, 758, 771, 772*(m)*, 961
natural gas, as fuel, 576
Naturalization Act of 1798, 214, 219
natural resources
conservation of, 704
industrialization and, 499
for textile industry, 248, 249
in West, 463*(i)*
in World War II, 718, 727
Natural Resources Council, 881
natural rights, 120, 149
natural selection, 528, 529
Nauvoo (Illinois), Mormons in, 314, 314*(i)*, 315*(i)*
Navajo Indians, 8, 17, 66, 356, 486, 702, 720
navies. *See* Navy, U.S.; Royal Navy
Navigation Acts (1651–1751), 79, 87, 145, 146, 189, 242
navigation technology, 28
Navy, U.S.
in Civil War, 404*(m)*, 405
Guantánamo base of, 627
imperialism and, 623
in Middle East, 219*(i)*
on Oregon, 350
Pacific and Caribbean bases for, 465
Pearl Harbor base for, 624
U.S.-Mexico War and, 359
in War of 1898, 623, 624
in World War I, 635
in World War II, 621*(i)*, 716, 736
NAWSA (National American Woman Suffrage Association), 554, 642–643, 661*(i)*
Nazi Germany. *See also* Hitler, Adolf; World War II
fascism in, 712
Holocaust and, 735–736, 741
nonaggression pact with Soviet Union, 715, 716
in World War II, 715, 716, 733*(m)*, 733–736, 734*(m)*
NBC (National Baptist Church), 554
NCL (National Consumers' League), 580, 606
NEA (National Endowment for the Arts), 849*(t)*, 850
Nebraska. *See* Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854
necessary and proper clause, 195
Neel, Alice, 706
Negro Election Day, 306
Negro Leagues (baseball), 541–542
Negro rule, 452, 599
Negro supremacy, 593, 600
Negro World (newspaper), 673
NEH (National Endowment for the Humanities), 849*(t)*, 850
neighborhoods, in cities, 268, 564–565
neo-Europes, 53–65
Iroquois and, 57–58
New England, 53, 58–65, 64*(i)*
New France, 53–55, 58
New Netherland, 53, 55–57
objectives of, 38
plantation colonies vs., 54
Neolin (Delaware prophet), 130
neomercantilism, 240
Netherlands. *See also* Dutch; New Netherland
Calvinism in, 42, 43, 58
Nazi invasion of, 715
Spanish, 42
Neutral Indians, 57
neutrality
of colonists to revolution, 163
in French Revolution, 208
in World War I, 617, 633–634
in World War II, 715
Neutrality Act of 1935, 714
Nevada, gold and silver in, 404, 469, 470, 470*(m)*
Nevelson, Louise, 706
Nevis, 47, 50, 86
New Amsterdam, 56, 57, 57*(i)*
"New Class of Champions, A" (Lincoln), 308–309
New Deal (1933–1938), 683–707
African Americans and, 700–701, 701*(i)*
agriculture and manufacturing in, 687, 700, 705
arts in, 679*(i)*, 706
Asian Americans and, 703–704
attacks on, 689–691, 690*(i)*
banking reform in, 686–687
citizen responses to, 684–685
civil rights and, 816–817
coalition in, 609, 693, 703, 707, 725, 816–817
employment in, 598
environment and, 704–706
First (1933–1935), 686–691, 688*(m)*
housing in, 688–689
labor and, 687–688, 691–692, 696–697
legacies of, 694, 706–707
liberalism in, 678, 692
major legislation of, 693*(t)*
Mexican Americans and, 703, 703*(i)*
Native Americans and, 701–702, 702*(i)*
overview, 617
public works programs in, 687–688, 692, 698–699, 705–706, 706*(m)*
Second (1935–1938), 691–696
social impact of, 696–697, 700–707
social welfare in, 678, 687–689, 691–692, 706, 744
Supreme Court and, 617, 690, 691, 693
unemployment relief and, 687–688, 692
in West, 705–706
women and, 697, 700
New Democracy, The (Ickes), 698
New Democrats, 959, 960
New Echota, Treaty of (1835), 292
New Economic Policy (Nixon), 885
New England, 58–65. *See also specific colonies, cities, and states*
in American Revolution, 176
Asian trade by, 241*(i)*
aspirations of, 53
attacks on French settlements, 85
cotton spinning in (1840), 249*(m)*
Dominion of, 79–80, 80*(m)*, 81, 102
education in, 279
English settlers in, 86
exports from, 99
government in, 58, 59, 60, 65, 76–77
Great Awakening in, 125
immigrants in, 512
industry in, 242
migration from, 218
Native Americans of, 14–15, 59
Patriots in, 165
Pilgrims in, 58–59
population of, 112
Puritans in, 59–65, 64*(m)*, 108–109
revivalism in, 121, 124, 305–306
secessionists in, 220
settlement in, 47*(m)*, 58–65, 64*(i)*
shoe industry in, 352
town meetings in, 65
warfare in, 60–61
women in, 108–109
yeoman society in, 63, 65, 108
New England Emigrant Aid Society, 385
New England's Prospect (Wood), 54
New Evangelicalism, 904, 905
Newfoundland
Britain and, 45, 83*(m)*, 85–86
U.S. fishing rights in, 183
New France. *See also* Canada
Anglo-American conquest of, 130, 131*(m)*
exploration of, 53–54
Iroquois and, 58
Jesuits in, 54–55
migration to, 55
peasants in, 55
settlement goals, 53
New Freedom, 609
New Frontier, 775
New Guinea, in World War II, 736, 737*(m)*
New Hampshire
Massachusetts Bay and, 79
settlement of, 218
textile industry in, 249

New Haven (Connecticut), 60, 77
new immigration, 510*(m)*
New Jersey
in American Revolution, 172–173, 174*(m)*, 175
conflict in, 113–115
distribution of, 77
in Dominion of New England, 80
foreign-born population in, 952
holding companies in, 501
land disputes in, 133
as Middle colony, 113
trusts in, 604
voting rights in, 277
women's rights in, 186
New Jersey Plan, 194
Newlands Reclamation Act of 1902, 604, 611*(t)*
New Left movement, 860
New Lights
Baptists, 126
in Great Awakening, 124–125
Presbyterians, 125, 126
in South, 126
"New Look" defense policy, 770
Newman, Robert P., 739
New Mexico
acquisition of, 332, 369
boundaries of, 375
in Compromise of 1850, 375, 376*(m)*
Gadsden Purchase and, 378
Gorras Blancas in, 594
livestock introduced into, 15
Mexican American land claims in, 467–468
Native Americans of, 16, 66
U.S.-Mexico War and, 360
western trails to, 351*(m)*
New Model Army, 61*(i)*
New Nationalism, 608
New Negro, 669, 673*(i)*
New Netherland
diversity in, 113
England, 57, 77, 79
exploration and establishment, 55–56
fur trade in, 56
Native Americans and, 56–57
as New York, 57, 77
settlement goals of, 53
New Orleans (Louisiana)
Battle of (1815), 225*(m)*, 228–229, 282
in Civil War, 405
establishment of, 55
Hurricane Katrina in, 967
population of, 315
racial violence in, 435*(i)*
restricted access to, 220
shipments to, 244
urban growth in, 340
in War of 1812, 225*(m)*, 228–229
New Orleans Pinchbacks (Negro Leagues), 542
New Orleans Times-Picayune, 641
Newport (Rhode Island), 59, 99
Newport, James, 210
New Republic (magazine), 613, 693
New Right
family values and, 905*(i)*, 906, 957
Goldwater and, 914–915
Reagan and, 912, 921
rise of, 914–917, 920–921
New Salem (Illinois), 388
newsboys, 570–571, 571*(i)*
New South, industrialization in, 508, 508*(m)*
New Spain, 231*(m)*. *See also* Mexico
newspapers. *See also specific newspapers*
African American, 321, 673, 815
antislavery, 322
growth of, 317
immigrant, 564
KKK, 671
penny papers, 317
political campaigns and, 284
urban (mass-market), 569–571
as yellow journalism, 569
New Sweden, 113
Newsweek magazine, 789, 863, 905
Newton, Huey, 836, 837*(i)*
Newton, Isaac, 120
"New Women," 544, 662–663
new world, origins of term, 33. *See also* America(s)
new world order, 938
New York (Bellows), 559*(i)*
New York (city)
African Americans in, 815
in American Revolution, 141*(i)*
Armory Show in, 535, 536*(i)*
Central Park in, 266, 576
draft riots in, 412
entertainment in, 317–318, 566–567
financial crisis in, 887, 890*(i)*
fire in (1776), 141*(i)*
Gay Pride parade in, 926*(i)*
gay underground in, 569
Harlem Renaissance in, 669, 669*(i)*, 669*(m)*, 672*(i)*, 672–674
immigrants in, 381, 510, 512, 952
Lower East Side in (1900), 564*(m)*
population of, 264, 315, 663, 669
prostitution in, 315–316
Puerto Rican population of, 807
race riots in, 565, 839
reform mayors in, 574–575
September 11 terrorist attacks in (2001), 942, 964–965, 965*(i)*
skyscrapers in, 561
specialized role of, 264*(m)*
Stamp Act protests in, 148
Tammany Hall in, 572, 573, 574–575, 581, 668
tenements in, 565–566
Tin Pan Alley in, 567
transportation in, 561
Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire in, 581, 582–583
Washington and Tryon in, 140
New York (colony)
in Dominion of New England, 80
Iroquois in, 57, 58
as Middle colony, 113
New Netherland as, 57, 77
population of, 99
self-government in, 81
tenant farmers in, 113
New York (state)
constitution in, 185, 277
Erie Canal in, 244–245, 245*(i)*, 246*(m)*
Fugitive Slave Law convention in, 367*(i)*
labor reform by, 581
voting rights in, 275, 277
women's rights in, 327–329
New York Call (newspaper), 581*(i)*
New York Consumers' League, 580
New York Emancipation Act of 1799, 250
New-York Evening Post, 332
New York Herald, 243, 317
New York Herald-Tribune, 570–571
New York Journal (newspaper), 570, 623, 624
New York Protestant Episcopal Church Mission Society, Sixth Annual Report of, 258
New York Realists, 535
New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, 547
New York Sun (newspaper), 612*(i)*, 633
New York Tribune, 258, 264, 311*(i)*, 385, 451
New York World (newspaper), 569, 570, 571
Nez Perce Indians, 478, 483, 487
Ngola peoples, 93
Niagara, Fort, 130
"Niagara Creed," 533
Niagara Movement, 531, 607, 607*(i)*
Niagara Principles, 607
Nicaragua
civil war in, 379
Reagan and, 931
U.S. intervention in, 655
nickelodeons, 566
Nigeria, 28, 93
Niger River region, 24, 28
Nike, 950, 951*(i)*
Niles, Hezekiah, 227, 269
Niles' Weekly Register, 269
Nimitz, Chester W., 736
9/11 terrorist attacks. *See* September 11 terrorist attacks
Nineteenth Amendment, 611*(t)*, 643, 661*(i)*
Ninety-five Theses (Luther), 23

94th Aero Pursuit Squadron, 634*(i)*
Nipmuck Indians, 66
Nippur (Iraq), archaeological explorations at, 526
NIRA (National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933), 687, 690, 691, 693*(t)*, 700
Nisei, 731
Nixon, Richard M. (1913–1994)
in China, 871
détente policy of, 871, 931
economy and, 885
in election of 1950, 748
in election of 1960, 774
in election of 1968, 864–866, 866*(m)*, 869*(i)*
in election of 1972, 874–875, 875*(m)*
environment and, 881, 882, 884
foreign policy of, 870–872, 891, 930–931
Hiss case and, 766
impeachment and, 891
kitchen debate and, 780, 782*(i)*
pardon of, 891
resignation of, 891
silent majority and, 869–870, 872–874, 891
southern strategy of, 865, 922
Vietnam War and, 854*(f)*, 859, 870–872
Watergate affair and, 890–892
NIYC (National Indian Youth Council), 841
Nkrumah, Kwame, 818
NLF (National Liberation Front), 777, 853, 858
NLRB (National Labor Relations Board), 691, 693*(t)*
Noble, Elaine, 899
Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor. *See* Knights of Labor
nonaggression pact (Nazi-Soviet), 715, 716
Nong Miao (China), 184
nonimportation movement, 151–152
Nonsuch, Treaty of, 43*(i)*
nonviolent protest, in civil rights movement, 823–825
Norman, Peter, 833*(i)*
Normandy, D-Day invasion at, 405, 734–735, 735*(i)*
North. *See also* Union
African American migration to, 565, 639*(i)*, 639, 642, 653
American Revolution in, 172–177, 174*(m)*
business elites in, 267–268
disfranchisement of immigrants in, 601
free blacks in, 252, 320–321
maritime economy in, 99–101
Reconstruction and, 450, 452
religion in, 126–127, 305–306
resistance to Fugitive Slave Act in, 377
revivalism in, 126–127, 305–306
school busing in, 873–874
segregation in, 813
slavery ended in, 250, 252, 252*(m)*
South as economic colony of, 341
utopian experiments in, 312*(m)*
Whigs in, 294
North, Frederick (Lord), 153, 156, 162, 172, 173, 178
North, Oliver, 931, 934, 935*(i)*
North Africa. *See also specific countries*
Barbary States of, 218–219
religion in, 21, 22, 23
trade in, 30*(m)*
in World War II, 710, 733, 733*(m)*, 734
North America. *See also* British North America; Central America; Latin America; Native Americans
eastern section of (1650), 47*(m)*
European spheres of influence in (1754), 128*(m)*
free-trade zone in, 949
imperial wars over, 81–83
migration of ancient peoples to, 8–9, 9*(m)*
nonnative claims to (1821), 334*(m)*
transformations of, 4–5
North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 909, 949
North American Review, 296–297
North Anna, Battle of (1864), 422*(i)*, 423*(m)*
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), 753*(m)*, 758, 771, 772*(m)*, 961
North Carolina
civil strife in, 134
Democratic Party in, 453
farmers in, 185
land tax in, 133
Regulators in, 134
Roanoke colony in, 45
secession and, 392, 393
settlers in, 77
voting rights in, 275
North Dakota
immigrants in, 473
statehood for, 588
Northeast
deindustrialization in, 886, 888*(m)*
Great Depression in, 681*(m)*
immigrants in, 315, 381
textile mills in, 248
urban areas in, 558
utopian experiments in, 312, 312*(m)*
Whigs in, 295
Northern Europe. *See also specific countries*
economy in, 21
immigrants from, 510*(m)*
Northern Pacific Railroad, 450, 471, 477, 485
Northern Paiute Indians, 15
Northern Securities Company, 604
North Korea, 760–762, 761*(m)*. *See also* Korean War
North Vietnam, 773, 777, 872. *See also* Vietnam; Vietnam War
North West Company, 348
Northwest Ordinance (1787), 188*(m)*, 189, 366, 387
Northwest Passage, 53
Northwest Territory
Jay's Treaty and, 212
land division in, 190*(m)*
settlement of, 218
slavery in, 374
states from, 244–245
Norway, in World War II, 715, 733*(m)*
Norwegian immigrants, 473
notables (wealthy people)
Adams (John Quincy), 282–284
decline of, 274, 276
political corruption and, 275
Notes on the State of Virginia (Jefferson), 220
Nova Scotia (Acadia)
Fort Beauséjour in, 129
French populations of, 177
Port Royal in, 85
transfer from France to Britain, 83*(m)*, 85–86
U.S. fishing rights in, 183
novels, 316–317, 415*(i)*, 472*(i)*, 488, 541*(i)*. *See also* literature; *specific works and authors*
NOW (National Organization for Women), 852–853, 867, 958*(i)*
Noyes, John Humphrey, 312–314
NRA (National Recovery Administration), 687, 687*(i)*, 690, 700
NSC. *See* National Security Council
nuclear families, 793, 795. *See also* families
nuclear power, 884
nuclear weapons. *See also* atomic bomb
arms race for, 770, 783, 931
in Cold War, 758–759, 759*(t)*, 936
Reagan and, 931
testing of, 758, 770
Nueces River, as Texas border, 358
Nuevo México. *See* New Mexico
nullification crisis (1832), 286
Numic-speaking peoples, 15–16
Nurse and Spy in the Union Army (Edmonds), 415*(i)*
nursing
in Civil War, 414
women in, 504
in World War II, 721
nutrition. *See* food and nutrition
NWLB (National War Labor Board), 637–638, 725
NWP (National Woman's Party), 643, 661
NWSA (National Woman Suffrage Association), 440

NYA (National Youth Administration), 679*(i)*, 693*(t)*, 703
Nye, Gerald P., 713, 715
Nzinga a Nkuwu (Kongo), 29*(i)*

oath of allegiance, for former Confederates, 434
oaths of loyalty, 432, 434, 766
Obama, Barack (1961–present)
  Cuba and, 775*(m)*
  domestic crisis under, 971
  economic stimulus bill and, 968
  in election of 2008, 963, 967, 968, 971
  in election of 2012, 963
  health-care initiatives of, 968
  historical interpretations of presidency of, 969
  on immigration, 955
  inauguration of, 968*(i)*
  Middle East and, 970–971
  racism directed at, 971
  Supreme Court appointments of, 925*(i)*, 970
Obama, Michelle, 968*(i)*
Obama coalition, 971, 972
Obergefell v. Hodges (2015), 958
obscenity, Supreme Court on, 873
Occaneechee Indians, 67
Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, 884
Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), 924
occupational segregation, of women, 795
oceans. *See specific ocean regions*
O'Connor, Sandra Day, 925*(i)*, 925–926, 959
Office of Human Rights, 917
Office of War Information (OWI), 726
office work, by women, 503–504
Ogden, Aaron, 230
Oglala Sioux, 354, 481, 481*(i)*
Ohio. *See also* Ohio River Valley
  African Americans in, 323
  Anti-Saloon League prohibition campaign in, 640, 640*(i)*
  migration to, 217
  Native American land cessions in, 216
  Northwest Ordinance and, 189
  settlement of, 244
  voting rights in, 277
Ohio Company of Virginia, 127
Ohio Indians, 153, 164, 166, 183, 244
Ohio River Valley
  in 1774–1775, 164*(m)*
  in American Revolution, 172
  cities in, 264*(m)*
  in Civil War, 404, 404*(m)*
  conflict in, 129
  English settlement in, 127, 129
  French forts in, 127, 129
  land in, 215–216
  Native Americans of, 127, 129–130, 156, 215–216
  speculation in, 187
  transportation in, 244
Ohiyesa (Santee Sioux), 488
oil and oil industry
  embargo on, 880–881
  energy crisis (1970s) and, 880–881
  in Iran, 754, 772
  oil wells, 500*(i)*
  Rockefeller and, 499–501
  spill near Santa Barbara, 881
  Teapot Dome and, 657
  trusts and, 500
  U.S. interests in Middle East, 962
oil embargo (1973), 880–881
Ojibwa Indians, 15, 54
Okamoto, Vincent, 856
Okies, 705
Okinawa, Battle of (1945), 736, 737*(m)*
Oklahoma
  formation of, 486
  Indian Territory in, 291, 291*(m)*
old-age pensions, 612, 655, 690, 692
Old Age Revolving Pension Plan, 689*(m)*, 690
Old Lights, 124–125
Old Northwest, 189
Olive Branch Petition, 167
Oliver, Andrew, 148
Oliver, Peter, 163
Oliver, Robert, 240
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 266, 337, 341, 347
Olney, Richard, 623
Olsen, George, 856
Olympic games
  Black Power salute at, 833*(i)*
  boycott of (1980), 920
  Thorpe at (1912), 543*(i)*
Omaha Platform (1892), 594, 596–597
Omnibus Housing Act of 1964, 849*(t)*
One Day at a Time (television show), 902
"One Hundred Percent Americans" campaign, 639
Oneida Community, 313–314
Oneida Indians, 13
one-tenth tax, 410
Onondaga Indians, 13, 74, 215
"On the Equality of the Sexes" (Murray), 186, 186*(i)*
On the Origin of Species (Darwin), 528–529
On the Road (Kerouac), 791
OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries), 880, 881
Opechancanough, 46
open door policy, in Asia, 627–630
open-market system, 783
opera, 569
Operation Rescue, 957, 958*(i)*
Operation Rolling Thunder, 854–855
Oppenheimer, J. Robert, 738
Orange, Fort (Albany), 56, 57
Orange County (California), suburbanization in, 804
Order of Freemasonry, 279, 295
Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, 384
Ordinance of Nullification (1832), 286
Oregon
  acquisition of, 332, 369
  boundaries of, 359
  gay rights in, 958
  land claims to, 334*(m)*
  migration to, 349–350, 350*(i)*, 351*(m)*
  territorial conflict in (1819–1846), 350*(m)*
  wagon trains to, 350
Oregon City on the Willamette River (Stanley), 350*(i)*
"Oregon conventions," 355
Oregon Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, 369
Oregon System of voting, 575
Oregon Trail, 315*(m)*, 350, 351*(m)*
organization (business)
  horizontal integration, 500
  of railroad industry, 466
  vertical integration, 499, 500
Organization Man, The (Whyte), 800
"organization men," 784, 800
Organization of Afro-American Unity, 836
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), 880, 881
organized labor. *See* labor unions
original sin doctrine, 342
Orlando, Vittorio, 645*(i)*
orphans
  in Chesapeake region, 50
  in Shaker communities, 312
  slave, 344
Orthodox Judaism, 532
Osage Indians, 85
Osborne, Sarah Harrah, 125
OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration), 924
Ostend Manifesto (1854), 379
O'Sullivan, John L., 333*(i)*, 348, 349, 356
O'Sullivan, Timothy H., 422*(i)*
Oswald, Lee Harvey, 847
Other America, The (Harrington), 785
Otis, James, 148, 149, 150
Oto Indians, 85
Ottawa Indians, 15, 17, 54, 130, 215, 244
Ottoman Empire, 28, 31, 632–633, 646*(m)*
Our Bodies, Ourselves (Norsigian), 895
Our Country (Strong), 622
Our Savage Neighbors: How Indian War Transformed Early America (Silver), 118
Outcault, R. F., 570, 570*(i)*
outdoor relief system, 574
outsourcing, 950
overland travel, 244

overseers, 266
overtime pay, 637
Ovington, Mary White, 607
OWI (Office of War Information), 726

pachuco gangs, 727, 730
Pacific Crest Trail, 706
Pacific Fur Company, 348
Pacific Northwest
  economic development in, 471
  Native Americans of, 16, 348
  trade and commerce in, 348
  urban areas in, 558
Pacific Ocean region
  Lewis and Clark in, 222
  transpacific trade in, 56*(m)*
  treaty limiting naval power in, 656
  U.S.-Japanese competition in, 630
  War of 1898 in, 624
  in World War II, 710, 736–737, 737*(m)*
pacifism, in World War I, 639
padroni (labor bosses), 564
Pahlavi, Mohammad Reza (shah of Iran), 772, 920
Paine, Sarah Cobb, 175–176
Paine, Thomas, 121, 167, 173
painting. *See also specific works and artists*
  Ash Can School of, 535, 559*(i)*
  cubism, 535, 536*(i)*
  in Harlem Renaissance, 669, 672*(i)*
  realism in, 535, 536*(i)*
Paiute Indians, 15, 488
Pakistan
  bin Laden in, 965
  immigrants from, 953
Palestine, 645, 773, 939
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), 939
Palmer, A. Mitchell, 653
Palmer raids, 653
Pan-African Congress, 644–645
pan-Africanism, 673
Panama
  canal returned to, 920
  independence for, 630
  Spanish exploration of, 33
Panama Canal, 465, 630*(i)*, 631, 920
Pan-American Exposition (1901), 527*(i)*, 603
panics (financial). *See also* depressions (financial)
  of 1819, 241–242
  of 1837, 296–298, 298*(i)*, 299, 674
  of 1873, 450
  of 1907, 610
pan-Indian identity, 488
Papago Indians, 702
paper money. *See also* currency
  in American Revolution, 176, 176*(i)*, 183
  bank policy on, 286–287
  in Civil War, 409, 410
  Continentals, 176, 183
  Federal Reserve Board issuing of, 610
  greenbacks, 409, 469
  post-Revolutionary War, 189
paper sons (illegal Chinese immigrants), 516
paramilitary groups
  in Mississippi, 453, 456
  Nazi fringe, 668
  Reconstruction and, 452
Paramount Pictures, 658
pardon, for Nixon, 891
Paris, in World War II, 735
Paris, Treaty of (1763), 71, 130, 146*(m)*, 153
Paris, Treaty of (1783), 183, 189, 215, 244*(m)*
Paris, Treaty of (1899), 626
Paris Peace Conference. *See* Versailles, Treaty of (1919)
Parker, Alton B., 604
Parker, Charlie, 790
Park Forest (Illinois), site plan sketch for, 800*(i)*
Parks, Rosa, 823
parks, urban, 576
parlements (France), 19
Parliament (England)
  Charles I and, 59, 76
  compromise by, 156
  Navigation Acts and, 242
  Patriots and, 150–152
  representation in, 147
  Rump Parliament, 61*(i)*
  supremacy of, 147, 153, 156, 161
Parliament of Religions, 534
parochial schools, 532
partitions
  Berlin, 751, 755
  Palestine, 773
  Vietnam, 773
Parton, James, 288
party politics, 272. *See also* political parties
passive resistance, by slaves, 347
patents, 260, 503*(i)*
paternalism, 257, 792
Paterson, William, 194
Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act of 2010, 968
patriarchal societies, 19, 38, 336–337, 792
Patriot Act of 2001 (USA PATRIOT Act), 965
patriotism
  women and, 551
  in World War II military, 721
Patriots. *See also* American Revolution
  advantages of, 182–183
  in American Revolution, 172–173, 173*(m)*, 175
  committees of correspondence formed by, 158, 159
  free blacks as, 252
  ideology of, 149
  local governments controlled by, 170, 183
  Massachusetts resistance and, 165
  opposition to, 163–164
  Parliament and, 150–152
  on parliamentary supremacy, 156
  propaganda by, 157*(i)*
  resistance by (1762–1776), 163*(t)*
  in rural areas, 162
  in South, 166
  on taxation, 137
patronage
  Bucktails and, 277
  defined, 102
  Garfield and, 589
  Hayes and, 457
  Jackson and, 285
  political machines and, 572
Patten, Gilbert, 541*(i)*
Patterson, John, 825
Patterson, Thomas, 628–629
Patton, George S., 734
Paul, Alice, 643, 661
Paulson, Henry, 967–968
Pavlicek, Joseph, 547*(i)*
Pawnee Indians, 353, 354
Paxton Boys, 133
pay. *See* income; wages
Paycheck, Johnny, 902
PBS (Public Broadcasting System), 900
PCs (personal computers), 930, 932–933, 951
Peace Corps, 777
Peace Democrats, 424
peacekeeping missions, 962
peace movement, in Vietnam War, 862
peace party, in Texas, 338
Peale, Norman Vincent, 792
Pearce, Charles H., 449
Pea Ridge, Battle of (1862), 404*(m)*, 405
Pearl Harbor attack (1941), 717, 717*(i)*
Pearl Harbor naval base, 624
peasants
  in Europe, 19–20
  lifestyle of, 19–20
  in New France, 55
  religion and, 21–22
Pelham, Henry, 129
Pendleton, Edmund, 166
Pendleton Act of 1883, 589–590
Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883, 611*(t)*
penicillin, 636*(i)*, 793
Peninsular Campaign, 402, 403*(m)*
Penn, John, 133
Penn, Thomas, 133
Penn, William, 77, 78, 79*(i)*, 101, 113, 133
Pennington, James W. C., 256
Penn's Treaty (Hicks), 79*(i)*

Pennsylvania
agricultural innovation in, 218
in American Revolution, 172, 174*(m)*
Civil War in, 418–419, 419*(m)*, 423
claims to Pittsburgh, 164
conflict in, 113–115
constitution in, 185
ethnic diversity of, 71, 115–117
land disputes in, 132–133
as Middle colony, 113
Native Americans in, 133
Quakers in, 78–79, 115–116, 117
religion in, 116–117, 118
September 11 attack in (2001), 942, 965
voting rights in, 274
Pennsylvania Canal, 246, 246*(m)*
Pennsylvania Gazette, 94, 111*(i)*, 120, 124, 210, 211
Pennsylvania Hospital (Philadelphia), 121*(i)*
penny papers, 317
Pensacola, Battle at (1814), 225*(m)*
pensions
mothers', 606
for officers in American Revolution, 178
old-age, 612, 655, 690, 692
for veterans, 592, 593, 682–683
Pentagon
Reagan and, 927
September 11 attack on (2001), 942, 965
peónes, Mexican Americans as, 467
People's Party. *See* Populist Party; populists and populism
People's Republic of China. *See* China
Peoria Indians, 54–55
Pequot Indians, 15, 60–61
per capita income, 240, 268, 340, 498, 657
perestroika (economic restructuring), 935
perfectionism, 313
periodization, defined, 2
Perkins, Frances, 581, 686, 697
Permanent Indian Territory, 353, 384
Pernambuco, sugar mills in, 45
Perot, H. Ross, 959, 959*(m)*
Perry, Elisabeth Israels, 592
Perry, Matthew, 378, 534
Perry, Oliver Hazard, 224
Pershing, John J., 634–635
Persian Gulf War (1990–1991), 939*(i)*, 939–940
personal computers (PCs), 930, 932–933, 951
personal liberty laws, 377
Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, 960–961, 961*(i)*
Perspective View of the Pennsylvania Hospital, A (Streeper & Dawkins), 121*(i)*
Peru
agriculture in, 9–10
Inca Empire in, 10*(m)*, 10–11, 32*(m)*, 33
Native Americans in, 41
Spanish conquest of, 33
Petaluma Journal, 373
"pet banks," of Jackson, 287, 299
Peters, John, 149*(i)*
Petersburg, Battle of (1864), 423, 423*(m)*, 427
petitions
abolitionist, 323, 324
Indian removal, 291
against Kansas-Nebraska Act, 384
petroleum. *See* oil and oil industry
Phelps Dodge, 470
Philadelphia (Pennsylvania)
in American Revolution, 174, 174*(m)*
Constitutional Convention in, 192–195, 279
Continental Congress in, 159–162, 165–167
Enlightenment in, 121*(i)*
housing discrimination in, 813
immigrants in, 115
Native Americans in, 78
population of, 99, 315
Philadelphia National Gazette, 296
Philadelphia Public Record, 383
philanthropy, 121*(i)*, 569
Philip, King. *See* Metacom (King Philip)
Philip II (Spain, r. 1556–1598), 42, 43
Philippine Exhibition (World's Fair, 1904), 626*(i)*
Philippines
annexation of, 625–626
British in, 130
debate over, 628–629
immigrants from, 704, 953
independence for, 627, 704
resistance to U.S. in, 626
Seward on, 465
Taft as governor-general, 626
U.S. and, 620
as U.S. colony, 626
in War of 1898, 624
in World War II, 736, 737*(m)*
Philipsburg Proclamation (1779), 179, 252
Phillips, David Graham, 569
Phillips, Wendell, 389, 407, 439
Phillips-Fein, Kim, 938
phonograph, 503*(i)*, 537
Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign, 409*(i)*
photography, 535, 575
Picasso, Pablo, 535
Pickett, George E., 418
Pickford, Mary, 658, 658*(i)*
pictographic systems, 33*(i)*
piecework, 504, 507
Piegan Indians, 481, 487*(i)*
Pierce, Franklin (1804–1869), 378, 379, 385, 387
Pietism, 106, 118, 121, 124
Pike, James M., 450
Pilgrims, 58–59
pilots
in World War I, 634*(i)*
in World War II, 711*(i)*
Pinchot, Gifford, 604, 608*(i)*
Pinckney, C. C., 214*(m)*
Pinckney's Treaty (1795), 220
Pine Ridge Reservation, 481*(i)*, 488, 488*(m)*, 841, 841*(i)*
Pingree, Hazen, 574–575
pink-collar workers, 493, 901
Pinkerton Detective Agency, 496
pirates, 42, 218–219
Pitt, Fort, 130, 164
Pitt, William, 129, 132, 147, 150, 161
Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania)
claims to, 164
deindustrialization in, 886, 887*(i)*
forts in, 129
specialized role of, 264*(m)*
Pittsburgh Courier, 815
Pittsburgh Pirates (baseball), 541
Pizarro, Francisco, 33, 40
plague, bubonic, 3, 19
Plains Indians, 478–488
Civil War and, 478–481
diseases among, 354
ecology of, 352–353
end of armed resistance by, 486–487
horses utilized by, 15
peace policy toward, 481–483, 486
as slaves, 17
sovereignty of, 332
survival strategies for, 487–488
plains region. *See* Great Plains
planned obsolescence, 788
Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey (1992), 958, 959
"Plan of Union" (Galloway), 161
plantation-based economy, 86–87, 335, 340–341
planters and plantations. *See also* slaves and slavery; *specific crops*
in Americas, 35–36
on Atlantic islands, 29
Bacon's Rebellion against, 67–68
Barrow Plantation, 444*(m)*
in Caribbean, 50–53, 436
cotton industry and, 253–257
cultures of, 266
debts owed Britain by, 162
defined, 35
democratic politics and, 339–341
elites, 265, 335–336
as freeholds, 50
gentility of, 98
Jefferson and, 208
middling, 266, 335, 336
neo-Europes vs., 54
paternalism of, 257

planters and plantations (*cont.*)
plantation colonies, 44*(m)*, 44–47, 50–53
poor whites and, 337
Reconstruction and, 435, 442
smallholding, 336–337
in South Carolina, 77–78
sugar and, 44*(m)*, 44–45, 255
tobacco industry and, 252, 266
Virginia river plantations, 51*(m)*
wealth of, 335
westward movement by, 217–218
women and, 50, 98, 336–337
plants. *See* agriculture; crops; *specific plants*
Platt Amendment (1902), 626–627
Playboy magazine, 798
Pledge of Allegiance, 792
Plenty Kill (Lakota Indian), 483
Plessy, Homer, 539
Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), 539, 602*(i)*, 607, 820
PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization), 939
plows, steel, 408, 472
Plunkitt, George Washington, 572
pluralism
cultural, 583, 952–957
religious, 126
plural marriage (polygamy), 315, 387, 473, 474–475
plutocrats, 605
Plymouth, 58–59, 77, 80
Poague, William, 393
Pocahontas, 46, 48, 48*(i)*, 49*(i)*
pocket vetoes, 434
Poe, Edgar Allan, 317
Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral (Wheatley), 149*(i)*
poets and poetry. *See specific poets and poems*
Point Pleasant, Battle of (1774), 164*(m)*, 165
Poitier, Sidney, 790
Poland
communism in, 752
German invasion of, 715
Great Depression and, 680
immigrants from, 510*(m)*, 513, 563
NATO and, 961
reconstitution of, 646*(m)*
self-determination and democratic elections for, 750
Solidarity in, 935
in World War II, 734*(m)*, 735
Polaris missiles, 770
police
African Americans and, 836, 971
attacks on civil rights protesters, 832*(i)*
in cities, 573, 574
Haymarket violence and, 520
strike in Boston, 654
police action, Korean War as, 761, 761*(m)*
police power, of state, 293
polio vaccine, 793
political campaigns. *See also* elections
in 1828, 284
computerized mailing lists for, 916
innovations in, 589, 590–591
political machines, 276–277, 493, 572–575, 578
political parties. *See also* factions; *specific parties*
antislavery, 324
development of, 137
Grange and, 518
republicanism and, 272, 277
rise of, 212–215, 235, 274–277
sectionalism in, 363, 386
political power. *See* power (political)
politics
in 1920s, 661–669, 672–674
in 1973–1980, 890–893
African Americans in, 813
in Cold War, 763–764, 767–771
corruption in, 275
crisis of 1790s, 204–209, 212–215
democratic, 273*(i)*, 275, 339–341
of empire (1713–1750), 101–104
ethnocultural, 300
family values and, 905*(i)*, 906
global, 647, 942
ideological, 208–209
immigrants and, 381, 384
KKK and, 668
labor and, 295–298, 493, 516–517, 518–519, 521, 697
in Middle Atlantic region, 117
popular, 274–285
post–Reconstruction, 588–593
post–Revolutionary War, 185–186
realignment in, 892, 892*(t)*, 971, 971*(t)*
reforms in, 493, 572–573, 586
religion and, 300, 533
sexual, 867
slavery and, 253, 371
in South, 335, 339–341, 445–446, 447
sports and, 390*(i)*
of symbolism, 927
trade and, 153*(f)*
urban reform and, 580–584
Vietnam War and, 855
women in, 186, 299, 551, 586, 661*(i)*, 661–662
in World War II, 725–726
Polk, James K. (1795–1849)
death of, 370
in election of 1844, 235, 283*(f)*, 355
expansionism of, 332, 355–359, 366, 368–369, 369*(m)*
U.S.-Mexico War and, 332, 358, 366, 368–369
"The Polka Fashions" (*Godey's Lady's Book*), 318, 318*(i)*
Pollock, Jackson, 706
poll tax, 439, 599, 834
pollution
in cities, 507, 576
climate change and, 970
environmentalism and, 881
industrial, 505–508
Tennessee Valley Authority and, 706*(m)*
Polo, Marco, 31*(m)*
polygamy (plural marriage), 315, 387, 473, 474–475
Pommer, Erich, 659
Ponce de León, Juan, 33
Pontiac (Ottawa chief), 130
Pontiac's Rebellion, 154, 164
pooling, by railroads, 522
poor people. *See also* poverty
game laws impacting subsistence hunting of, 546
health care for, 661
in seaport cities, 101
in South, 337*(i)*, 337–338, 340
in urban areas, 269
Poor Richard's Almanack, 121
Poor White Folks (Beard), 337*(i)*
popes, 21, 935
Popé's Rebellion (Pueblo Revolt), 66
popular culture. *See* culture and cultural development
"Popular Education" (*North American Review*), 296–297
popular fiction, 316–317
Popular Front, 714, 765
popular sovereignty
constitutional ratification and, 198
in Declaration of Independence, 168, 185
Democrats and, 386
Federalists on, 230
in territories, 371, 374, 375, 376*(m)*, 387
Webster on, 286
population
of African Americans, 565
in Aztec and Inca Empires, 11, 33–34
baby boom and, 793
of Cahokia, 11
of California, 374
of Chesapeake region, 50
of China, 41
of cities, 262, 315, 558, 663
density in 1803, 222*(m)*
of England, 43, 249
of European Union, 945
of free blacks, 320, 347*(i)*
of immigrants, 509, 952–954, 953*(i)*, 953*(f)*
of Middle Atlantic region, 113, 116
Native American, 33–34, 41
of New England, 112
of New France, 55
of New Netherland, 56

nonnative increases from gold rush, 372, 372*(t)*
in port cities, 99
of rural areas, 558
shifting patterns (1950–1980), 805*(m)*
slave, 91, 269, 285, 336*(m)*
of South Carolina, 78
for statehood, 189
of U.S., 249
in world's largest cities (1800–2000), 562*(t)*
Population Bomb, The (Ehrlich), 883
Populist Party
1894 election and, 599, 601
1896 election and, 601, 601*(m)*
creation of, 521
Omaha Platform of, 594, 596–597
rallies for, 594*(i)*
reforms of, 493
women in, 551, 586
workers in, 574
populists and populism
laborers and, 595
New Deal and, 690–691
revolt by, 594
in South, 595, 599, 600
pornography, 873
Poro society, 28
port cities. *See* seaports
Port Hudson (Louisiana), in Civil War, 418
Port Huron Statement (1962), 855
Portland (Oregon), economic development in, 471
Portrait of Pocahontas (Van De Pass), 49, 49*(i)*
Port Royal, 85
Portsmouth (New Hampshire), 59, 147*(i)*
Portugal
Africa and, 6, 24*(m)*, 27*(i)*, 28
Brazil and, 34–35, 36*(i)*, 44–45, 71
conquests in Americas, 26
population of slaves in, 31
in slave trade, 86
trade by, 24*(m)*, 28–31
positive good, slavery as, 257
postcolonial world, containment in, 771–777
Post Office Act of 1792, 246
potatoes, 10, 41, 380
Potawatomi Indians, 15, 216
potlatch (festivals), 17
Potomack Indians, 46
Potomac River region, 47
Potosí mine, 40
Potsdam Conference, 738–739, 752–754
Pottawatomie (Kansas), massacre in, 385
Potter, Paul, 855
pottery
Native American, 11, 16*(i)*
Sudanic, 24
Pound, Ezra, 535
poverty. *See also* poor people
in 1920s, 658
antipoverty programs, 846
in cities, 805
food and, 506–507
Great Society and, 847*(i)*, 847–848
of indentured servants, 51–52
industrialization and, 517
King on, 839
of Native Americans, 483
progressivism and, 586, 605–606, 661
in South, 340
urban violence and, 838–839
War on Poverty, 836, 848, 849*(t)*, 850*(f)*
working class and, 269, 467, 505
Poverty (Hunter), 605–606
Powderly, Terence V., 519, 519*(i)*
Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr., 815, 816
Powell, John Wesley, 476–477
power (energy). *See* energy
power (political)
in Articles of Confederation, 187
of conservatives, 923–927
decentralization of, 892
federal, 464, 636
national, 195, 363
presidential, 287, 292, 317, 685
shift to West and South, 892
soft, 659
in state governments, 185–186
power looms, 235, 249, 260
Power of Positive Thinking, The (Peale), 792
Powhatan (chief), 12, 17, 45–46, 48
Powhatan Chiefdom, 12
Prager, Robert, 640
prayer, in schools, 873
praying towns, 61
Preble, Edward, 219*(i)*
predatory pricing, 493, 499, 500
predestination, 23, 59, 60, 307, 342
preemptive war doctrine, 909
pregnancy. *See* childbearing
Presbyterians
membership numbers, 533
missionaries and, 533
New Light, 125, 126
number of churches (1700–1780), 125*(f)*
revivalism and, 126, 305
Scots-Irish as, 116, 117
preservationists, 544–545
president. *See specific presidents*
Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, 852
Presidential Committee on Civil Rights, 816, 839
presidential debates. *See* debates
presidential elections. *See* elections
presidential powers, 287, 292, 317, 685
Presidential Reconstruction, 432, 434–435
Presley, Elvis, 789*(i)*, 790
press, freedom of, 214
price-support systems, 521
pricing
for gasoline, 800, 880
in Great Depression, 674
predatory, 493, 499, 500
for slaves, 255
wholesale (1869–1900), 499*(f)*
priests, in Spanish America, 41
Primacy of Human Reason and Natural Laws, The (Wise), 123
primary elections, white, 600, 813
primogeniture, 19
Princeton, Battle of (1777), 173, 174*(m)*
Princeton University, 125
Princip, Gavrilo, 633
Principia Mathematica (Newton), 120
print revolution, 71, 119, 124, 124*(i)*
Prison Discipline Society, 306
Prisoners of Poverty (Campbell), 507, 575
prisoners of war
in Civil War, 413
Lieber Code on, 414
Santa Anna and, 339
prison reform, 327
privacy rights, 897, 900, 919
"private city," 572
privateering, 42, 213
Privy Council (England), 47
Proclamation for Suppressing Rebellion and Sedition, 165
Proclamation Line of 1763, 153, 154, 156, 159*(m)*, 163*(t)*. *See also* Royal Proclamation of 1763
Proclamation of 1763. *See* Royal Proclamation of 1763
Proclamation of 1775 (Dunmore), 180, 252
Proclamation of Neutrality (1793), 208
producerism, 518*(i)*, 519
production
business expansion and, 499
in Great Depression, 674
household mode of, 112–113
industrialization and, 499
mass production, 260, 504–505, 537, 799
vertical integration and, 499
productivity
1970–2004, 945*(f)*
decline in, 928
gang-labor system and, 266
Industrial Revolution and, 248
in manufacturing, 657
in meatpacking industry, 499
professionalization in sports, 541, 543
professions
African American, 814
corporate, 503–504
training through GI Bill, 786
for women, 503–504, 580, 663, 794–795, 879*(i)*, 901
"Program for America" (*American Standard*), 671

Progress and Poverty (George), 517
Progressive Era (1890–1914), 577, 586, 589, 592, 612. *See also* progressivism
Progressive Party
in 1912, 608, 608*(i)*, 609, 609*(m)*
in 1924, 657
in 1948, 764
reforms of, 493
progressivism. *See also* Progressive Era
in cities and towns, 575
goals of, 605–608
government regulation and, 602–603
labor unions and, 607–608
legacies of, 612–613
major federal measures (1883–1921), 611*(t)*
national politics and, 661
political reforms and, 586
prohibition and, 663
resistance to, 612–613
Wilson's Fourteen Points and, 643
women and, 606
World War I and, 633, 634, 636
prohibition. *See also* temperance movement
Eighteenth Amendment and, 611*(t)*, 663, 666
in Maine, 306–309
referendum campaigns for, 640, 640*(i)*
repeal of, 665
Republicans and, 593
in urban areas, 663–665
Volstead Act and, 663, 666
working class and, 666*(i)*
Prohibition Party, 551
Prohibitory Act of 1775, 166, 178
Promontory Point (Utah), transcontinental railroad at, 462
Promoting Nutrition (Abel), 506–507
propaganda. *See also* advertisements
against freedpeople, 452
Patriot, 157*(i)*
in World War I, 638*(i)*, 638–639
property and property rights. *See also* land
inheritance of, 109, 112
Marshall on, 229, 229*(t)*, 230
slaves as, 256, 280, 366, 374, 387
Taney Court and, 292–293
taxation of, 267
as voting requirement, 60, 81, 185, 194, 275, 277, 447
widows and, 112
women and, 19, 186, 327–328, 447
Prophetstown (Indian Territory), 223
Proposition 13 (California), 888–889
Proposition 187 (California), 955
Proposition 209 (California), 895, 956
Proposition 227 (California), 957
proprietorships, 77, 81, 133
prosperity. *See also* wealth
agricultural, 208
in Middle Atlantic region, 113
of middle class, 268
post–World War II, 782–784
in Reagan presidency, 928
in South, 340–341
Prosser, Gabriel, 347
Prosser, Martin, 347
prostitution, 111, 316, 326, 577–578, 578*(i)*. *See also* brothels
Prostrate State, The (Pike), 450
protective tariffs
in American System, 282
Jackson and, 285
manufacturing and, 464, 467
opposition to, 235
Republicans and, 593
Protestantism
abortion rights and, 957
African American, 127, 321, 341–343
black evangelical, 341–343
in England, 61
evangelical, 305–306, 792, 904–906
fundamentalism and, 533–534
innovations in, 532–534
in Maryland, 81
missionaries and, 532*(i)*, 532–533
nativism and, 381
in New France, 55
Reformation and, 23, 42
Second Great Awakening and, 305–306
social activism and, 904–905
Social Gospel and, 533
Spanish Catholicism challenged by, 41–44
urban, 268–269
Protestant Reformation, 23, 42
protests. *See also* revolts and rebellions; *specific protests*
in 1960s, 845*(i)*
antiwar movement (Vietnam), 745, 855, 860–861, 864–866, 871
Arab Spring, 970
Black Lives Matter, 971
civil rights, 823–825, 828–834
colonial, 102
global (1968), 863
in Great Depression, 682–683, 689*(m)*
of Grenville's legislation, 147–149
in Middle East, 970
rural, 517–518
in Seattle against WTO, 944–945, 948*(i)*
Stamp Act, 147*(i)*, 148
Vietnam Moratorium, 871
for women's suffrage, 643
Providence (Rhode Island), 59
Prucha, Francis Paul, 482
Psychology of Advertising, The (Scott), 503
psychotherapy, in 1960s, 904
Ptolemy, Claudius, 31*(m)*
public accommodations, "full and equal" access to, 450
public aid, for railroads, 466
public assistance. *See* social welfare
Public Broadcasting System (PBS), 900
public credit, Hamilton on, 205–207
public education
democracy and, 296–297
in New England, 279
prayer and Bible reading in, 873
rigors of, 279*(i)*
segregation in, 539
in South, 296–297, 337, 448
public health movement, 573*(i)*, 575–576. *See also* health and health care
public land
opening to private businesses, 604
for preservation and recreation, 544
"Public Letter Declining an Invitation to Attend an Antislavery Convention" (Greeley), 258–259
public libraries, 569
public life, Christianity and, 918–919
public sphere, women in, 329, 663
public works. *See also* internal improvements
in cities, 573
Hoover and, 681
in New Deal, 687–688, 692, 698–699, 705–706, 706*(m)*
Public Works Administration (PWA), 687, 693*(t)*, 705
publishing industry, 316–317
Puck (magazine), 451*(i)*, 465*(i)*, 516*(i)*, 572*(i)*, 593*(i)*, 608*(i)*
Pueblo Indians, 16, 17, 66
Pueblo Revolt (Popé's Rebellion), 66
Puerto Rico and Puerto Ricans
cession to U.S., 625
civil rights and, 835
migration from, 807
as U.S. colony, 626
in World War I, 642
Young Lords Organization and, 837
Puget Sound, 350
Pulitzer, Joseph, 569, 570
Pullman Company, 539, 609
Pullman strike (1894), 598, 609
Punderson, Prudence, 109*(i)*
punishment of slaves, 91, 94*(i)*, 96–97, 256*(i)*, 322
pure-and-simple unionism, 523
Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906, 580, 611*(t)*
Puritan-Pequot war, 60–61
Puritans
as Calvinists, 23
in England, 59, 61
Glorious Revolution and, 80–81
migration to America, 59
Native Americans as viewed by, 60–61
in New England, 59–65, 64*(m)*, 108–109
Pequot war with, 60–61
witchcraft and, 62–63
women as, 60, 108–109

Putin, Vladimir, 961
"Puzzle of the American Climate in the Early Colonial Period, The" (Kupperman), 52
PWA (Public Works Administration), 687, 693*(t)*, 705

Qing dynasty (China), 184
Quakers
abolitionism and, 322
conflict in colonies of, 113–115
emancipation of slaves by, 250, 253
marriages and, 117, 278*(i)*
in North Carolina, 77
in Pennsylvania, 78–79, 115–116, 117
Welsh, 115
Quantrill, William, 415
Quartering Act of 1765, 147, 163*(t)*
Quartering Act of 1774, 159
Quayle, Dan, 937
Quebec
British in, 130, 146*(m)*
Catholicism in, 159, 159*(m)*
colony of, 153
establishment of, 54
New England expedition against, 85
Quebec Act of 1774, 159, 159*(m)*, 163*(t)*
Queen Anne's War (1702–1713), 83*(m)*
Queen for a Day (television show), 789
Quincy, Josiah, 226–227, 574
Quitman, John, 378, 379
quota system
affirmative action and, 895
for immigration, 667, 807, 850, 952

RA (Resettlement Administration), 693*(t)*, 700, 705*(i)*
race and racial diversity. *See also* civil rights movement; mixed races; race riots; racism; *specific racial groups*
affirmative action and, 894*(i)*, 894–895
Anglo-Saxon superiority and, 348
anticommunism and, 817
in civil rights era, 826–827
complexities of, 324*(i)*
Haitian Revolution and, 213
in Middle Atlantic region, 116*(m)*
nationalism and, 866
in plural society, 952–957
skin color and, 53
race records, 790
race riots
in Atlanta, 565
in Chicago, 654, 654*(i)*
in Detroit, 727, 815, 839
in East St. Louis, 654
in Evansville (Indiana), 565
King's death and, 839, 862
in Los Angeles, 730, 839
in Memphis, 432
in New Orleans, 435*(i)*
in New York City, 565, 839
in San Francisco, 514
in Springfield (Illinois), 565, 607
in Tulsa, 654
in urban areas, 565, 838–839
in World War I, 636, 653–654
racism. *See also* discrimination; Ku Klux Klan; segregation; slaves and slavery
abolitionism and, 323–324
Cherokees and, 292
Chinese immigrants and, 514–516, 516*(i)*
eugenics and, 529–530
German fascism and, 712
imperialism and, 623
Indian removal policies as, 290
institutional, 806
Japanese Americans and, 617
of Johnson (Andrew), 435
Kerner Commission Report on, 839
King on, 839
in Levittowns, 799
Mexican Americans and, 617, 642
in minstrel shows, 317*(i)*, 318–320
in Nazi Germany, 712
New Deal politics and, 700
Obama and, 971
Puerto Ricans and, 642
in Reconstruction, 445–446
in World War I, 639, 640–641, 642, 653–654
in World War II, 724*(i)*, 727, 730, 736–737
Radcliffe College, 549*(i)*
Radical Reconstruction, 432, 437*(m)*, 437–439, 447, 450
Radical Republicans, 406, 437, 440–441, 446, 449
radicals and radicalism
abolitionists and, 385, 389
antiradicalism, 653, 657
Black Panthers and, 836
labor movement and, 517, 607–608
Muslim movement and, 942, 962
post–World War I, 653
Republicans and, 406
women's liberation and, 555
Radical Whigs, 143, 148, 156, 157*(i)*, 173
radio
Coughlin on, 690*(i)*
foreign relations and, 659
Roosevelt (Franklin) and use of, 684–685, 686
Radio Corporation of America (RCA), 659
ragtime (music), 567, 568
Railroad Administration, 638
Railroad Retirement Act of 1934, 690
railroads. *See also specific railroads*
1873 depression and, 450
1890s depression and, 598
in Civil War, 402, 408, 422
construction funds for, 466
consumer culture and, 537, 539
corporations and, 500
elevated (els), 561
expansion of, 465–466, 466*(m)*
farmers and, 517
Great Plains and, 472
labor for, 448
land grants for, 466
in Mexico and U.S., 466*(m)*, 467, 468, 468*(m)*
national parks and, 477–478
oil industry and, 500
organization and management of, 498–499
pooling by, 522
Pullman strike and, 598, 609
ranching and, 471–472
rebates from, 500
refrigeration and, 499
regulation of, 519, 522, 604, 612
safety on, 505–506
segregation of, 539
in South, 339, 340, 341, 447
state investments in, 298
strikes against, 517, 520
subsidies for, 339, 340
transcontinental, 378, 384, 409, 462, 464
Underground Railroad, 323
in West, 363, 462
in World War I, 638
"rain follows the plow," 472
Raisin in the Sun, A (Hansberry), 826
Rake, Joseph, 874*(i)*
Raleigh, Walter, 45
Ramsay, David, 170
Ramsdell, Charles W., 371
ranching
in California, 351–352, 373–374
cowboys and, 471, 472*(i)*
Long Drive and, 471
railroads and, 471–472
Randolph, A. Philip, 724, 814–815, 816, 830
Randolph, Edward, 79
Randolph, John, 252
Rankin, Jeannette, 634, 717
Ranney, William T., 179*(i)*
Ransby, Barbara, 828
rape, 90, 895
rapid transit systems, 849
rap music, 902
ratification
of Articles of Confederation, 187
of Constitution, 195–199, 199*(m)*
rational thought, 106, 120, 122–123
rationing, in World War II, 727
Rawdon (Lord), 176
Ray, James Earl, 839, 862
Raytheon, 783
RCA (Radio Corporation of America), 659

REA (Rural Electrification Administration), 693*(t)*, 705
ready-made clothing, 264
Reagan, Jack, 693
Reagan, Ronald (1911–2004)
as California governor, 916
Central America and, 931
on Christianity and public life, 918
conservatism and, 690, 744, 912, 914–917, 921–930, 922*(i)*, 938
deregulation under, 924–925
economy and, 923–925, 927
in election of 1964, 848
in election of 1980, 917, 921, 921*(m)*
in election of 1984, 913*(i)*, 927
end of Cold War and, 930–931, 934–936
environment and, 883, 925
foreign policy of, 912, 930–931, 934–936
Gorbachev and, 935*(i)*, 935–936
on government, 912, 923
HIV/AIDS and, 926*(i)*, 926–927
Iran-Contra affair and, 931, 934, 935*(i)*
judiciary and, 925*(i)*, 925–926
legacy of, 936
national debt under, 924, 924*(f)*
New Right and, 912, 921
politics of symbolism and, 927
Religious Right and, 922
at Republican National Convention, 883, 913*(i)*
"Rule of Law Under God, The" speech, 918
Supreme Court appointments of, 925, 925*(i)*
Reagan coalition, 922–923
Reagan Democrats, 922–923
Reaganomics, 923–924
Reagan Revolution, 707, 925
real estate taxes, 267
realism, in arts, 493, 528, 535–536, 536*(i)*
Real Majority, The (Wattenberg & Scammon), 865
reapers, 260*(i)*, 408
rebates, railroad, 500
rebellions. *See* revolts and rebellions
Rebel Without a Cause (movie), 790
recall, 605
recessions
of 1760s, 132, 134
of 1981–1982, 927
of 1990–1991, 928
of 2007–2009, 967
post–World War I, 658, 674
Roosevelt (1937–1938), 693–694
reconquista, 32, 33
Reconstruction (1865–1877). *See also* freedpeople
African Americans in public office during, 445, 447
Black Codes in, 435, 447
Congress and, 435–439
counterrevolution against, 452–453
depression of 1873 and, 450–451
electoral politics after, 588–593
KKK and, 453
laws and amendments of, 437, 438*(t)*, 439*(i)*
legacy of, 457–459
Lincoln on, 434
North and, 450, 452
Presidential, 432, 434–435
Radical, 432, 437*(m)*, 437–439, 447, 450
Republican governments in, 441, 445–448
southern military districts during, 437, 437*(m)*
undoing of, 450–453, 456–459
women in, 443
Reconstruction Act of 1867, 437, 438*(t)*, 439*(i)*
Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), 681, 718
records (music), 673, 790
recreation. *See* leisure
Red Cloud (Sioux chief), 481, 481*(i)*
redcoats, 156, 157*(i)*
Redemption and Redeemers, in South, 452, 456, 457
redemptioner system, 116
redemption plan, by Hamilton, 205–207
Red Jacket (Seneca chief), 217
redlining policy, 799, 813
Red Power, 841
Red River Valley, 476
Red Scare
in 1890s, 598
in 1920s, 617, 652–653, 653*(i)*, 666
in Cold War, 765–767
McCarthy and, 766–767
Red Summer (1919), 654
Reed, John, 211
referendum, 605
reform and reformers. *See also* progressivism; *specific groups and movements*
in 1970s, 893–900
African American, 526
of city government, 574–575
civil service, 589–592
economic, 610–612
educational, 326
end of (1940s–1950s), 763–765
environmentalism and, 577
Grenville and, 145–146
of hospitals, 327
in housing, 566, 566*(f)*
labor, 581, 606–607
liberal, 846
middle-class, 302, 574
moral, 326–327
motivations of, 307
for Native Americans, 481–483
politics and, 493, 572–573, 586
post-Watergate, 891–892
of prisons, 327
prostitution and, 577–578, 578*(i)*
public health movement, 575–576
religion and, 302, 305–309
social, 305–309
temperance movement and, 295, 306*(i)*, 306–309, 381, 550–551, 552–553
in urban areas, 575–584
voting rights and, 601–602, 605
by women, 305–306, 326–327, 526, 550–555, 586
Reformation, Protestant, 23, 42
Reform Bill of 1832 (England), 274
Reform Judaism, 532
refrigeration, in railroad cars, 499
refueling stations, in Caribbean and Pacific, 378, 465
refugees
in Civil War, 406, 427*(i)*
Cuban, 807
from Haitian Revolution, 212
Jewish, 736, 807
from Southeast Asia, 953
in World War II, 736
regional integration, globalization and, 949
regionalism
in election of 1824, 282*(m)*
in Great Depression, 675
regulation
of corporations, 467, 593, 604
courts on, 467
Granger laws and, 519
of interstate commerce, 522, 592, 604
progressivism and, 602–603, 612
of railroads, 519, 522, 604
in Reagan administration, 924–925
by states, 501, 521, 592
of stock market, 689
of trusts, 501, 593
Regulators, 133–134, 187
Rehnquist, William, 925
Reichstag (Germany), 713
Reid, Whitelaw, 593*(i)*
relief programs, in Great Depression, 681*(m)*, 683, 684, 687–689
religion and spirituality. *See also* churches; Great Awakening; religious toleration; revivals and revivalism; *specific denominations*
in 1970s, 904–906
in Africa, 28, 341
African Americans and, 280, 305*(i)*
church growth by denomination (1700–1780), 125*(f)*
deism and, 120–121
diversity of, 526, 530–534
in European society, 21–23
family and, 905*(i)*, 905–906
freedom of, 205
Great Serpent Mound and, 12*(i)*

of immigrants, 531–532
in Middle Atlantic region, 113, 115–117, 116*(m)*, 118
middle class and, 792
Native American, 17–18, 488, 702
in New France, 54–55
in North, 126–127, 305–306
Pietism and, 106, 118, 121, 124
politics and, 300, 533
of Puritans, 59
in Quebec, 159, 159*(m)*
reforms and, 302, 305–309
separation of church and state, 873, 918
of slaves, 96, 341–343
social settlements and, 578, 579
in South, 126–127, 304–305, 337
in Spanish America, 41
temperance and, 306, 550
transcendentalism and, 310
women in, 304, 305, 325–326, 337
Religious Right
conservatism and, 916–917, 917*(i)*, 922
election of 1980 and, 922
election of 1988 and, 937
on homosexuality, 957–958
religious toleration
Enlightenment and, 304
in Pennsylvania, 78, 118
in Rhode Island, 59
relocation, of Japanese Americans, 617, 730–732, 731*(m)*, 732*(i)*
Remington rifles, 261
Remini, Robert V., 290
Reminiscences of My Life in Camp with the 33d United States Colored Troops, Late 1st S.C. Volunteers (Taylor), 459
remittances, immigrants and, 953
removal policy, for Native Americans, 235, 288–292, 291*(m)*, 353, 489
Renaissance
American, 309
European, 21
Harlem, 669, 669*(i)*, 669*(m)*, 672*(i)*, 672–674
reparations, for Germany after World War I, 645, 680
repatriation, of Mexican citizens, 703
"Report on Manufactures" (Hamilton), 207
"Report on the Debates in Parliament" (Ingersoll), 160–161
Report on the Kingdom of Kongo, A (Lopez), 26
Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States (Powell), 476–477
"Report on the Public Credit" (Hamilton), 205–207
representation
in Britain, 143, 147
debate over, 160–161
in House, 194
in Senate, 194, 516
slavery and, 195, 196–197
virtual, 147
representative government, 102, 202
reproductive laws, eugenics-based, 529–530
reproductive rights, 867, 896–897, 957. *See also* abortion and abortion rights
republican aristocracy, 335
republican motherhood, 277–278, 325
Republican National Convention, 883, 913*(i)*
Republican Party. *See also* elections
activism of, 593
African American support for, 700
American Republican Party, 384
Cold War and, 763
Democratic Republicans, 208
depression of 1873 and, 450–451
disillusionment with, 593, 593*(i)*
economic and fiscal policies, 409–410, 464–469
in election of 1800, 214*(m)*, 214–215
in election of 1994, 960–961
emancipation and, 406
emergence of, 363, 385–386
factions of, 229, 231–232, 281
Jefferson and, 219
Jeffersonian Republicans, 222, 229, 232, 241
KKK and, 453
liberal, 451–452, 592, 914
Mugwumps in, 592
National Republicans, 229, 232, 241, 287
as National Union Party, 424
New Right and, 912, 921
post–Civil War, 362
progressivism and, 605
Radical, 406, 437, 440–441, 446, 449
Reconstruction and, 441, 445–448, 450
Religious Right and, 916–917, 917*(i)*, 922, 937
slavery and, 387
in South, 441, 445–448, 450–452, 457
tariffs and, 467, 681
Versailles treaty and, 645, 647
Republic Aviation, 783
Republic of Texas (1836–1845), 339, 339*(m)*, 358
republics and republicanism
artisan, 261, 261*(i)*, 269, 295
children and, 278–279
commercial slaveholding republic, 235
constitutional ratification and, 198
economy and, 240, 243
efforts at, 202
in France, 170, 208, 209
in Haiti, 212
in Italy, 20–21
modern republicanism, 767–768
Paine on, 167
political parties and, 272, 277
post–Revolutionary War, 184–189, 191
Texas, 339, 339*(m)*, 358
in U.S. (1787–1820), 202–232
women and, 277–278, 325
research
agricultural, 521–522
by corporations, 501, 503
federal government and, 783
reservations (Native American), 363, 373, 478, 479*(m)*, 486–487, 488, 488*(m)*, 841
"reservation wars," 478
Resettlement Administration (RA), 693*(t)*, 700, 705*(i)*
resistance. *See also* revolts and rebellions
ideological roots of, 149
in Massachusetts, 165
Native American, 26, 65–66, 291–292, 479–481, 486–487
Patriots (1762–1776), 163*(t)*
by slaves, 89, 96–97, 347
"Resistance to Civil Government" (Thoreau), 323
resources. *See* natural resources
restoration, in England, 76, 77
Restoration Colonies, 77–79
restrictive covenants, in housing, 799
retail industry, 500*(i)*, 501–502, 537*(i)*
retired persons, in Sunbelt, 803
Reuther, Walter, 785, 787
Revel, James, 94
Revels, Hiram R. (1827–1901), 433*(i)*, 447*(i)*
Revenue Act of 1673, 79
Revenue Act of 1762, 144, 163*(t)*
Revenue Act of 1767, 151
Revenue Act of 1935, 691, 693*(t)*
Revenue Act of 1942, 717
revenue tariffs, 207, 267
Revere, Paul, 157*(i)*, 165
reverse discrimination, 894, 956
revivals and revivalism. *See also* Great Awakening
Baptist, 126–127
in Cold War, 792
Finney and, 305–306
fundamentalism and, 533–534
Graham and, 904
in New England, 121, 124, 305–306
in North, 126–127, 305–306
Pietism and, 121
Presbyterian, 126, 305
in South, 126–127, 304–305
women and, 304, 305
revolts and rebellions
Bacon's, 67–68, 77
Cuban, 623
by Dakota Sioux, 479, 480*(i)*
dynamics of (1765–1770), 147–153, 156–157
Gabriel's, 347
Glorious Revolution and, 80–81

revolts and rebellions (*cont.*)
by Haitian slaves, 212, 213, 279
in Hawaii, 625, 625*(i)*
by Indians in Great War for Empire, 130–131
by Leisler, 81
Pontiac's, 154, 164
Pueblo Revolt (Popé's Rebellion), 66
by Regulators, 134
Shays's Rebellion, 191
slave, 89, 97, 297, 305*(i)*, 321–322, 342, 347
Stono Rebellion, 97, 102
in Texas, 338–339, 339*(m)*
Turner's Rebellion, 297, 305*(i)*, 321–322, 342, 347
Whiskey Rebellion, 209, 209*(i)*, 211, 219
Revolution, The (journal), 475
Revolutionary War. *See* American Revolution
revolutions
of 1800, 215, 218
Bolshevik, 635, 653*(i)*
Chinese, 630
computer, 783, 930, 932–933, 951
consumer, 131–132
Cuban, 775
French, 208–209, 212, 240
Haitian, 212, 213
Hungarian, 770
industrial, 131
Iranian, 772, 893
managerial, 499, 503
Market Revolution, 242–248, 263, 308
Mexican, 631–632
print, 71, 119, 124, 124*(i)*
sexual, 902–904
technological, 950–951
Velvet Revolutions, 935
RFC (Reconstruction Finance Corporation), 681, 718
Rhee, Syngman, 756, 760
Rhett, Robert Barnwell, 389, 391
Rhineland, German invasion of, 713
Rhode Island
charter of, 59, 80
as corporate colony, 77
religious toleration in, 59
voting rights in, 275
rhythm and blues music, 790
rice
hulling of, 96*(i)*
planter aristocracy and, 266
slavery and, 92–93, 266, 346
in South Carolina, 77, 92–93, 266, 346
Rice, John Dartmouth, 319
Richmond (Virginia), in Civil War, 399*(i)*, 401–402, 403*(m)*, 423*(m)*
Richmond Enquirer, 281, 389
Richter, Daniel K., 52
Rickenbacker, Eddie, 634*(i)*
Ride for Freedom, A — The Fugitive Slaves (Johnson), 407*(i)*
Ridge, John, 289
Riess, Steven A., 542
rifles, 415, 416, 633
rights. *See also* abortion and abortion rights; civil rights; property and property rights; women's rights
African American, 607, 609
in Bill of Rights, 205
colonial, 146
of free blacks, 320
for freedpeople, 435, 453, 457
immigrant, 515, 617
of labor, 617
LGBT, 730, 868*(i)*, 868–869, 897, 957–958
Native American, 189
natural, 120, 149
privacy, 897, 900, 919
of slaves, 149–150
rights liberalism, 745, 810, 834
right to life movement, 897
"right-to-work" laws, 763
right wing (political). *See also* New Right
in Central America, 931
on New Deal, 690
Religious Right and, 916–917, 917*(i)*, 922, 937, 957
Tea Party, 969, 971
Warren Court and, 873
Riis, Jacob, 575, 576*(i)*
"ring shout," 343
Rio Grande region, 358, 359, 378
riots. *See also* protests; race riots; revolts and rebellions
food, 410
New York City draft riot, 412
Siege of Chicago (1968), 864
Stonewall, 868, 868*(i)*
Vietnam War and, 862
zoot-suit, 730, 730*(i)*
Rise of African Slavery in the Americas, The (Eltis), 92
Rise of David Levinsky, The (Cahan), 532
ritual scarring, as "country marking" for slaves, 93
riverboats, in Civil War, 404
River Rouge factory strike (1932), 682
rivers. *See also specific rivers and river regions*
textile industry and, 262–263
in West Africa, 24
roads and highways. *See also specific roads*
automobiles and, 660
colonial, 119
Eisenhower and, 770
interstate, 801–802, 803*(m)*
National Road, 244, 285
system of (1820–1850), 246*(m)*
toll roads, 243
turnpikes and, 243
Roanoke colony, 45, 46*(i)*
Roaring Twenties, 674
robber barons, 501
Roberts, Oral, 905
Robertson, Pat, 905, 917, 917*(i)*, 937
Robert Taylor Homes (Chicago), 807
Robeson, Paul, 768–769, 817
Robespierre, 209
Robinson, Earl, 696
Robinson, Jackie, 768, 769, 815
Rochambeau (Comte de), 179, 181
Roche, Josephine, 697
Rochester (New York), revivals in, 305
Rockefeller, John D., 499–501, 529, 569, 604
Rockefeller, Nelson, 770, 914
Rockefeller Republicans, 915
rock 'n' roll music, 790, 791
Rock Springs massacre (1885), 514
Rockwell, Norman, 721, 721*(i)*
Rocky Mountains region
exploration of, 221
migration of ancient peoples to, 9
Native Americans of, 15–16
western trails across, 350, 351*(m)*
Roe, Herb, 13*(i)*
Roe v. Wade (1973), 896–897, 900, 925–926, 957, 959
Rogers, Edward, 175
Roland, Pauline, 328
Rolfe, John, 46, 48–49, 53
roller coasters, 566, 567*(i)*
Rolling Stones, 861
Roman Catholic Church. *See* Catholic Church
Roman Empire, Christianity in, 21
Romania
communism in, 752
self-determination and democratic elections for, 750
romanticism, 309–310, 659
Rome-Berlin Axis, 713
Rommel, Erwin, 734
Roosevelt, Eleanor, 683, 684–685, 697, 697*(i)*, 700
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1882–1945). *See also* Great Depression; New Deal
Atlantic Charter and, 716, 732
in Big Three, 732–733
cabinet of, 582, 686, 697, 700, 715
death of, 737
on democracy, 712, 716
in election of 1932, 683
in election of 1936, 692–693
in election of 1940, 715
in election of 1944, 725–726
environment and, 704, 705
fireside chats and, 684, 685, 686
Four Freedoms speech of, 716
Good Neighbor policy of, 656
Hundred Days of presidency, 684–689

inaugural address of, 678, 693, 785
on national unity, 616
neutrality and, 715
on Pearl Harbor attack, 717
Soviet Union and, 750
Supreme Court and, 693
at Tehran conference, 733
World War II and, 710, 715, 732–733
at Yalta Conference, 737, 738*(i)*, 750–752
Roosevelt, Theodore (1858–1919)
antitrust legislation and, 603–604
assumption of presidency, 603
on child labor, 606
conservation and, 604
in election of 1900, 603
in election of 1904, 591, 591*(i)*, 604
in election of 1912, 608, 608*(i)*, 609, 609*(m)*
in election of 1916, 634
in European affairs, 632
foreign policy of, 627–632
as governor of New York, 603
on Great White Fleet, 621*(i)*
on immigration, 666
imperialism and, 623, 627
Japan and, 630
legacy of, 604–605
on muckrakers, 569
New Nationalism of, 608
Nobel Peace Prize awarded to, 630
Panama Canal and, 630*(i)*
preservationism and, 544–545, 545*(m)*
as president (1901–1909), 493, 544
progressivism and, 586, 605, 611*(t)*
on reform, 492, 493
Riis and, 575
Square Deal of, 604
on "virile activities," 540
War of 1898 and, 603, 624, 625
Roosevelt Corollary, to Monroe Doctrine, 631
Roosevelt recession (1937–1938), 693–694
Roots (television show), 902
Root-Takahira Agreement (1908), 630
Rosales, Vicente Pérez, 372
Rose, Ernestine Potowsky, 328
Rosenberg, Julius and Ethel, 766, 792
Rosewood Massacre (1923), 654
"Rosie the Riveter" (Rockwell), 721, 721*(i)*
Ross, Diana, 790*(i)*
Ross, Robert, 228*(i)*
Rossiter, Timothy, 109*(i)*
Roth v. United States (1957), 873
rotten boroughs, 143
Rough Riders, 625
Route 66, 802
Rouzeau, Edgar, 815
Rove, Karl, 963, 966–967
Royal African Company, 91
royal colonies
in Massachusetts, 77, 80–81
New France as, 55
in New Hampshire, 79
Virginia as, 46–47
Royal Navy (England)
American colonies and, 144
foundations of, 87
in Great War for Empire, 130
Royal Proclamation of 1763, 131, 146*(m)*, 154, 159*(m)*, 164*(m)*. *See also* Proclamation Line of 1763
Roybal, Edward, 840
rubber, in World War II, 727
Rubin, Jerry, 864
Rubin, Mary, 513
Ruby, Jack, 847
Ruffin, Edmund, 393
Ruffin, Thomas, 347
"Rule of Law Under God, The" (Reagan), 918
rum, 99, 103, 210
Rump Parliament, 61*(i)*
runaway slaves
advertisements for, 95, 180*(i)*
in American Revolution, 252
in Civil War, 406, 407*(i)*
Confiscation Act and, 406
Fugitive Slave Law and, 320
intermarriage with Seminoles, 347
success of, 97
Underground Railroad and, 323
in Union army, 413, 413*(i)*
rural areas. *See also* agriculture
economy in, 657
European, 510
free blacks in, 320
freedpeople in, 444
hunting in, 546
mail-order enterprises in, 502
migration to cities from, 558, 563, 639
in New Deal, 705
Patriots in, 162
population of, 558
protest movement in, 517–518
seasonal lifestyle in, 19
small-town America, 664–665
temperance movement in, 550
writers on, 664–665
rural communalism, 312–315
Rural Electrification Administration (REA), 693*(t)*, 705
Rush, Benjamin, 136, 278
Rush-Bagot Treaty (1817), 231
Russell, Richard, 830
Russia. *See also* Soviet Union
Allies in, 635
bankruptcy and, 950
Bolshevik Revolution in, 635, 653*(i)*
China and, 627, 627*(m)*
exclusion from World War I peace conference, 645
immigrants from, 510, 512, 513
North American land claims (1821), 334*(m)*
in Sino-Japanese War, 627
in Triple Entente, 632
in World War I, 632–633, 635
Russian-American Company, 348
Russian Republic, 935–936
Russwurm, John, 321
Rust Belt, 886, 887*(i)*, 888*(m)*, 892*(t)*, 971*(t)*
Rustic Dance After a Sleigh Ride (Mount), 318*(i)*
Rustin, Bayard, 805, 815, 817, 823, 830, 832, 834
Rutgers University, 125, 786

Sabbath, 306, 308
Sabin, Albert, 793
Sacagawea, 221
Sacco, Nicola, 653
sachems (leaders), 13, 14
Sacramento River Valley, 350, 352, 358, 360
sacrifice, human, 11
Sadahide, Hashimoto, 379*(i)*
el-Sadat, Anwar, 920
Saddam Hussein. *See* Hussein, Saddam
Sadlier, Mary Anne, 382*(i)*
Safer, Morley, 855
safety, industrial, 505–508, 924
Saffin, John, 65
Sahara Desert, trade routes across, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 31
Saigon (Vietnam), fall of, 872
sailing. *See* ships and shipping
St. Augustine (Florida), 42, 83, 102
St. Bart's, 47
Saint-Domingue. *See* Haiti
St. Eustatius, 47
St. James' Anglican Church, 126*(i)*
St. Kitts, 47, 86
St. Lawrence River region, 53–54, 55, 58, 103, 130
St. Leger, Barry, 174, 174*(m)*, 175
St. Louis (Missouri)
downtown (1890), 561*(i)*
growth of, 263–264
land speculation in, 244
specialized role of, 264*(m)*
urban growth in, 340
world's fair in, 626*(i)*
St. Louis (ship), 736
St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 569
St. Mark's Square (Venice), 20*(i)*
St. Mary's City, 47
Saint Ours (Quebec village), 55
salary. *See* income
Salem witch trials, 62–63
salesmen, corporate, 503
Salisbury, Neal, 18
Salisbury, Stephan, 191
Salk, Jonas, 793

Salt Lake City (Utah), bankruptcy of, 674
salutary neglect, 102, 104, 145–146
salvation
  Hutchinson on, 60
  Puritans on, 59
  revivalism and, 305
Salvation Army, 533
same-sex couples, 957, 958. *See also* lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons
San Andreas Fault, 563*(i)*
San Antonio (Texas), 338, 339, 706
Sand Creek massacre (1864), 404, 480, 481
Sanders, Bernie, 972
Sande society, 28
Sandinistas (Nicaragua), 931
Sanford and Son (television show), 902
San Francisco (California)
  abolitionists in, 378
  BART system in, 849
  Chinese in, 514, 516, 687*(i)*, 704
  dance halls in, 567*(i)*
  earthquake in (1906), 516, 563*(i)*, 564, 572
  growth of, 366, 373
  immigrants in, 510
  LGBT rights in, 897–898
  trade and commerce in, 462
  zoo in, 706
Sanger, Margaret, 579
Sanger, William, 316
sanitation
  in cities, 573, 576
  in Civil War, 414
San Jacinto, Battle of (1836), 339, 339*(m)*
San Juan Hill, Battle of (1898), 625
Santa Anna, Antonio López de, 338–339, 339*(m)*, 358*(m)*, 360
Santa Barbara oil spill (1969), 881
Santa Fe (New Mexico), 66, 360
Santa Fe Railroad, 468, 468*(m)*
Santa Fe Ring, 468
Santa Fe Trail, 351*(m)*, 353, 353*(i)*
Santiago (Cuba), in War of 1898, 625
São Tomé, 29, 31, 44
Saratoga, Battle of (1777), 174*(m)*, 175, 175*(i)*
Satt, Hilda, 573–574
Saturday Evening Post, 698*(i)*, 721, 721*(i)*
Saudi Arabia, 939, 962*(i)*
Sauk Indians, 244, 292, 293*(i)*
Savage, Augusta Fells, 669*(i)*
Savannah (Georgia)
  in American Revolution, 179, 182*(m)*
  city council response to Haitian Revolution, 213
  Sherman in, 425, 426*(m)*
savanna region, of West Africa, 24
savings and loan industry, bankruptcy of, 950
Savio, Mario, 860
Saxton, William, 400
Saybrook (Connecticut), 60
scalawags, 447
Scalia, Antonin, 925
Scammon, Richard, 865
scandals. *See* corruption; *specific scandals*
Scandinavian immigrants, 473, 510, 511
Scarlet Letter, The (Hawthorne), 311
Scarouady (Oneida), 129
Scenes from a Seminary for Young Ladies, 326*(i)*
Schenck v. United States (1919), 639, 690
Schlafly, Phyllis, 896, 897*(i)*, 898, 905*(i)*, 915, 917
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 763
Schneebeli, Heinrich, 116
Schneiderman, Rose, 581, 582–583
Schwarzkopf, Norman, 939*(i)*
school. *See* education
school prayer, 873
Schuyler, Philip, 173
Schwartz, Sally, 118
scientific discoveries, 526, 528
scientific management, 505
Scioto Confederacy, 153
SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference), 824, 824*(i)*, 825, 831, 834
Scopes, John T., 666
Scopes trial, 666
scorched-earth campaign, in Civil War, 423
Scotland, invasion of England by, 61
Scots-Irish settlers, 115, 116–117, 133
Scott, Dred, 386–387
Scott, Walter Dill, 503
Scott, Winfield
  in Civil War, 401
  in election of 1852, 378
  Indian removal and, 292
  recommendation of Lee for Union army, 393
  in U.S.-Mexico War, 358*(m)*, 360
Scottsboro defendants, 700–701
Scream, The (Munch), 659
Scribner's Monthly, 444*(m)*
sculpture, in Harlem Renaissance, 669*(i)*
scurvy, 414
SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), 855, 859, 860, 862
"sea dogs," 43
Sea Islands, 253, 442
Seale, Bobby, 836, 837*(i)*
Seamen's Act of 1916, 611*(t)*, 612
seaports
  banks in, 241
  birthrate in, 277
  Huguenots in, 115
  slave trade at, 255
  trade and commerce in, 99–101, 264
  transportation from, 246*(m)*
  as urban areas, 560
Sears, 502
Sears, Isaac, 148
seasonal labor of European peasants, 19
seasoning, of indentured servants, 51
SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), 771, 772*(m)*
Seattle (Washington)
  economic development in, 471
  shipyard strike in (1919), 652, 653*(i)*
  WTO protests in, 944–945, 948*(i)*
SEC (Securities and Exchange Commission), 689, 693*(t)*
secession. *See also* Civil War, U.S.
  Compromise of 1850 and, 375
  debates over, 394–395
  of Deep South, 391–392, 393
  fire-eaters and, 375, 389, 391
  Lincoln and, 286, 363
  of Lower South, 393*(m)*
  New England Federalists and, 220
  nullification crisis and, 286
  process of (1860–1861), 393*(m)*
  in Southwest, 221
  of Upper South, 392, 393*(m)*
secondary school. *See* high school
Second Bank of the United States, 229, 230, 241, 281, 286–287
Second British Empire, 251
Second Continental Congress (1775), 165–167, 172, 184
"Second Emancipation Proclamation" (Kennedy), 829
Second Great Awakening, 304–309
  African Americans and, 303*(i)*, 304, 341
  Benevolent Empire and, 296, 306–309
  camp meetings during, 303*(i)*, 304
  in North, 305–306
  in South, 304–305
  women in, 304, 305, 325
Second Hundred Years' War, 71, 82
Second New Deal (1935–1938), 691–696
Second Party System
  class, culture, and, 293–300
  end of, 376–381, 384–387
  policies of, 348
Second Woman's Rights Convention, 328
Second World War. *See* World War II
Secoton, village of (1585), 7*(i)*
secret ballot, 339
Secret Six abolitionists, 389
sectionalism
  in election of 1860, 389–390
  in political parties, 363, 386
  U.S.-Mexico War and, 363, 368
Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), 689, 693*(t)*
Security Council (UN), 751–752
  Iraq War and, 965
  Korean War and, 761
  Persian Gulf War and, 939
Sedalia (Missouri), 471
Sedition Act of 1798, 214, 219

Sedition Act of 1918, 639
Seeger, Pete, 731*(i)*, 860–861
segregation
in armed forces, 636, 720, 724, 814
in CCC, 700
in education, 539, 819
by elites, 545–546
in entertainment venues, 538
eugenics and, 529–530
Jim Crow laws, 539, 612, 720, 724*(i)*, 812–813, 813*(i)*
in mining, 470
in North, 813
occupational, 795
post–World War II, 810
railroads and, 539
"separate but equal" doctrine and, 539, 820
in South, 551, 600, 812–813
in sports, 541–542
suburban, 873–874
of transportation, 539, 812, 815
Selective Service System, student protests against, 860
Self, Robert O., 938
self-determination
in Eastern Europe, 750
for Native Americans, 701, 702
postcolonial, 771
in Vietnam, 773
World War I and, 645, 646*(m)*
self-government, in American colonies, 58, 59, 60, 76–77, 102, 104
self-immolation, in Vietnam, 777
self-made men, 269, 275
self-ownership, in artisan republicanism, 261
self-realization, in transcendentalism, 310
Sellars, Samuel, Jr., and family, 260
Selma march (1965), 811*(i)*, 829*(m)*, 831, 834
Seminole Indians, 288, 290, 292, 347, 489
semisedentary societies, 8
Senate
caning of Sumner in, 386, 437
elections for, 601
Foreign Relations Committee of, 855
representation in, 194, 516, 588
Versailles treaty and, 617, 620
Senate Committee on the Philippines, testimony from, 628–629
Seneca Falls Convention, 328–329, 439
Seneca Indians, 13, 215, 217
Senegal, 28, 89, 130
Senegal River region, 24, 25
Senegambia, 93
sensational journalism, 317, 569
"separate but equal" doctrine, 539, 820
separate sphere doctrine, for women, 235, 325, 326, 663
separation of church and state, 873, 918
separation of powers, 149, 185
separatists, Pilgrims as, 58
September 11 terrorist attacks (2001), 942, 964–965, 965*(i)*
Sequoyah (Cherokee), 289
Serbia, 633, 962
servants. *See also* indentured servants
for middle class, 268
technological replacement of, 538
women as, 315, 504, 509
service economy, 885, 928
Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, 725, 745, 786, 786*(i)*, 815
service sector
AFL and, 523
African Americans in, 565
settlement. *See also* colonies and colonization; communities
of African Americans in Liberia, 280
of Americas, 8–9, 9*(m)*
Columbian Exchange and, 3
cotton and, 217–218
in eastern North America (1650), 47*(m)*
in English Chesapeake colonies, 45–47
on Great Plains, 472–477
of Kentucky, 166–167
Native Americans in, 61
in New England, 58–65, 64*(m)*
of Northwest Territory, 218
in southern colonies, 77–78
in Texas, 338–339, 339*(m)*
in West, 153
in West Indies, 86
settlement houses, 578–579, 581
Sevareid, Eric, 789
Seventeenth Amendment, 601, 611*(t)*
Seventh Ward Bank (New York City), 275
Seven Years' War. *See* Great War for Empire
severalty, 483
Seward, William H.
on emancipation, 407
on free-labor system, 258
international policies of, 465
as secretary of state, 622
on slavery, 374–375, 387, 389, 390
sewing machines, 261, 500*(i)*, 501, 590*(i)*
sex and sexuality. *See also* gender and gender issues; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons; rape
in cities, 315–316, 568–569
commercialized, 316
in dance, 567
double standard of, 326
Kinsey on, 795*(i)*, 795–798
in media, 798
Noyes on, 313–314
popular culture and, 903
prostitution and, 111, 316, 326, 577–578, 578*(i)*
sexual revolution and, 902–904
Shakers on, 302, 312
slave women and, 90, 327–329, 347, 443
venereal diseases in World War I, 636*(i)*
in Victorian age, 556
Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (Kinsey), 796
Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (Kinsey), 796
sexual harassment, 520, 722, 900
sexual orientation. *See* lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons; sex and sexuality
sexual politics, 867
sexual privacy, 900
Seymour, Horatio, 407, 438–439
Shahn, Ben, 699, 699*(i)*
Shakers, 235, 302, 312, 312*(m)*, 313, 313*(i)*
Shakers of New Lebanon, The (Becker), 313*(i)*
Shakespeare, William, 317
Shame of the Cities, The (Steffens), 572
Shampoo (movie), 903
sharecropping, 444*(m)*, 444–445, 445*(i)*, 687, 701
Share Our Wealth Society, 691
Sharon Statement (Young Americans for Freedom), 860
Shaw, Lemuel, 262
Shaw, William, 374
Shawnee Indians
in American Revolution, 172, 178*(m)*
in Kentucky, 166
land cessions by, 215
in Ohio Valley region, 127, 129, 153, 164*(m)*, 164–165
in Pennsylvania, 133
Scioto Confederacy and, 153
Western Confederacy and, 223
Shays, Daniel, 191, 198
Shays's Rebellion, 191
Sheen, Fulton, 904
Sheldon, Charles, 533
Shelley v. Kraemer (1948), 799, 821*(m)*
Shelterbelts program, 705
Shenandoah National Park, 706
Shenandoah Valley region
in Civil War, 402, 403*(m)*, 423
immigrants in, 116, 117
Shepherd, William G., 582
Sheppard, William L., 239*(i)*
Sheppard-Towner Federal Maternity and Infancy Act of 1921, 661, 661*(i)*, 662
Sheridan, Philip H., 423
Sherman, William Tecumseh
characteristics of, 424*(i)*
in Civil War, 396, 405, 422
death of, 489
march through Confederacy, 398, 409*(i)*, 423, 424, 425–426, 426*(m)*
Native Americans and, 480
on secession, 422

Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890, 593, 604, 610, 611*(t)*
Shiite Muslims, 920, 931, 939, 966
Shiloh, Battle of (1862), 404*(m)*, 404–405, 417, 452
ships and shipping. *See also* canals; Navy, U.S.; Royal Navy
  American, 244, 246
  Barbary pirates and, 218–219
  British textile industry and, 249
  colonial, 99, 189
  expansion of, 79
  French seizure of American ships, 213
  impressment and, 223
  in Japan, 378, 379*(i)*
  Middle Passage, 89*(i)*, 89–91
  Portuguese, 28
  privateering and, 42, 213
  refueling stations for, 378, 465
  Sabbath and, 308–309
  seizure of American ships by British, 209, 212
  Spanish Armada, 43
  strikes in, 652
  transatlantic, 264
  in World War I, 634
  in World War II, 718, 720*(i)*, 726*(i)*
Shiras, George, 602*(i)*
shoe industry, 352
shopping malls, 660, 802–803
Shore, Dinah, 788*(i)*
Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies, A (Las Casas), 34–35
Shoshone peoples, 10*(m)*, 15, 221, 354
Show and Extravagance (Street), 507
Siberia, ancient migration from, 8, 9*(m)*
Sicily, in World War II, 733*(m)*
Siegel-Cooper Department Store, 537*(i)*
Sierra Club, 544, 881, 882, 925
Sierra Leone
  Portuguese trade in, 28
  slaves from, 93
Sierra Nevada mountains, 706
"Significance of the Frontier in American History, The" (Turner), 489
Sigourney, Lydia, 291
silent majority, Nixon and, 869–870, 872–874, 891
Silent Spring (Carson), 881, 882
Silk Road, 22, 30*(m)*
silver
  in Americas, 3, 27*(i)*, 40–41, 42
  free silver policy, 599, 601
  gold standard vs., 469, 599
  as specie, 286
  western discoveries of, 404, 469, 470, 470*(m)*
Silver, Peter, 118
Silver Legion, 668
Simpson, Jerry, 594
Simpson, W. J., 337
Sinai Peninsula, 920
Sinclair, Upton, 580, 689*(m)*
Singer Manufacturing Company, 261, 500*(i)*, 501
single-parent families, 900, 901
Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), 627
Sioux Indians
  agricultural production of, 485
  conflict with, 478
  Ghost Dance movement and, 488
  reservations for, 478, 488, 488*(m)*, 841
  resistance by, 479, 480–481, 486
  society of, 354
  territories dominated by, 15
  threats posed by, 221, 351*(m)*
  in Wild West shows, 489
  at Wounded Knee, 488, 841, 841*(i)*
Sipkins, Henry, 279
Sirhan Sirhan, 863
Sister Carrie (Dreiser), 555
sit-down strikes, 697*(i)*
sit-ins, civil rights movement and, 824
Sitting Bull (Lakota Sioux chief), 486, 488, 489
Six-Day War (1967), 880, 962
Six Nations (Iroquois), 84, 154
Six Sermons on . . . Intemperance (Beecher), 308
Sixteenth Amendment, 610, 611*(t)*
skilled workers, 305–306, 496, 504, 511, 519, 522–523
skyscrapers, 561
Slater, Samuel, 248–249
Slaughter-House Cases (1873), 456
slaughterhouses, 409, 472, 499
slave catchers, 375, 377
Slave Coast (Africa), 28
slave codes, 53
slave owners. *See also* planters and plantations
  free blacks as, 320
  Native Americans as, 289
  power of, 347
  secession and, 392, 393
  in South, 253–257, 254*(m)*, 266, 335–337
  violence by, 347
"slave power" conspiracy, 366, 369, 379, 381, 385, 387, 406
slaves and slavery. *See also* abolition and abolitionism; African Americans; emancipation; planters and plantations; runaway slaves; slave owners; slave states
  advertisements for, 94*(i)*, 95, 180*(i)*, 257*(i)*
  in Africa, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 30–31
  in American Revolution, 178–179, 180–181, 252, 252*(m)*
  on Atlantic islands, 29
  in Barbados, 52–53, 71, 86–87, 91
  Black Codes and, 435
  in Brazil, 35
  chattel slavery, 38, 256, 257*(i)*
  in Chesapeake region, 53, 91, 98, 252, 254–255, 255*(i)*, 266
  Civil War and, 362, 406–408
  Compromise of 1850 and, 374–376, 375*(i)*, 376*(m)*
  Constitution on, 194–195, 366, 369, 374
  as "contrabands," 406, 428
  cotton and, 235, 253–257, 254*(m)*, 266, 266*(i)*, 346
  culture of, 341–343, 342*(i)*, 346
  decline of (1776–1800), 250, 252*(m)*
  defense of, 257, 279
  distribution of (1790 and 1830), 254*(m)*
  Dutch and, 57
  economic role of, 86–97, 88*(m)*
  ethnic origins of, 93
  evangelicalism and, 252, 304–305
  expansion of, 363, 366, 392
  families of, 256, 266*(i)*, 343, 346, 407*(i)*
  forced migration to Lower South (1790–1860), 255*(f)*
  Franklin on, 121
  free labor vs., 258–259
  free soil movement and, 370
  gang-labor system of, 266, 346, 442
  Haitian revolt and, 212, 213
  housing for, 346*(i)*
  indentured servitude vs., 94–95
  kinship ties and, 93, 344, 346
  Lincoln on, 366, 388, 392
  literacy and, 297
  marriages of, 256, 343, 346
  Middle Passage and, 89*(i)*, 89–91
  Missouri crisis over (1819–1821), 280–281, 281*(m)*, 348
  motivations for adoption of, 92
  national debate over, 196–197
  Native Americans as, 17, 84, 373
  in North, 250, 252, 252*(m)*
  Northwest Ordinance on, 189
  oral histories of, 706
  passive resistance by, 347
  population of, 91, 269, 285, 336*(m)*
  in post–Revolutionary War, 187
  punishment of, 91, 94*(i)*, 96–97, 256*(i)*, 322
  rapes of slave women, 90
  religion and spirituality of, 96, 341–343
  representation and, 195, 196–197
  resistance of, 89, 96–97, 347
  revivalism and, 126, 127
  revolts by, 89, 97, 297, 305*(i)*, 321–322, 342, 347
  rice industry and, 92–93, 266, 346
  in South, 253–257, 254*(m)*, 266, 335–337, 341–348
  sugar industry and, 31, 52–53, 86–87, 255, 346

survival strategies of, 347–348
task system and, 346
taxation of, 339, 340
in territories, 357, 369–371, 374–375, 376*(m)*, 384–389, 406
Thirteenth Amendment and, 425, 425*(t)*, 434, 438*(t)*
tobacco industry and, 91, 252, 266
transit to Americas, 86*(f)*
U.S.-Mexico War and, 356–357, 369–370
westward movement and, 218, 371
women as, 90, 327–329, 347, 443
slave society, in South, 335
slave states
Alabama, 254*(m)*
distribution of slave population (1860), 336*(m)*
Georgia, 253, 254*(m)*
Louisiana, 374, 407
Maryland, 38, 91, 252, 254, 407
Missouri, 280–281, 281*(m)*, 406, 407
South Carolina, 77–78, 92–93, 253, 266, 343
Tennessee, 407
Texas, 235, 254
Virginia, 38, 91, 150, 252–253, 254, 322, 407
slave trade. *See also* Atlantic slave trade
abolition in District of Columbia, 375
in Africa, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 30–31
coastal system of, 255
congressional regulation of, 195
domestic, 254–255, 343
end of (1808), 218
inland system of, 255, 255*(i)*
planters in, 255
profitability of, 87, 255
trans-Saharan, 31
Slave Trader, Sold to Tennessee (Miller), 255*(i)*
Slavic peoples
immigration of, 510*(m)*
in World War II, 735
Slidell, John, 356–357, 358
Sloan, Alfred, 660
Sloan, John, 535, 536*(i)*, 581*(i)*, 608*(i)*
Sloat, John, 360
Sloughter, Henry, 81
Slovenia, 962
slums, 805
smallholding planters, 336–337
smallpox
in Columbian Exchange, 3, 41
epidemic (1873), 448
inoculation against, 120
Native American outbreaks of, 33, 45, 57, 58–59, 221, 354
Smalls, Robert, 447, 451
Smallwood, William, 173
smartphones, 951
Smith, Adam, 87, 208
Smith, Alfred E., 581, 668*(m)*, 668–669
Smith, Gayle, 857
Smith, John, 12, 48, 48*(i)*, 49
Smith, Joseph, III, 314–315
Smith, Joseph, Jr., 315, 315*(i)*, 473
Smith, Josephine, 344
Smith, Mamie, 673
Smith, Melancton, 196, 197
Smith, Stacey L., 371
Smith, Suzanne E., 791
Smith, Tommie, 833*(i)*
Smith, William, 280, 285
Smith-Connally Labor Act of 1943, 725
Smith v. Allwright (1944), 821
smoke-abatement laws, 576
Smoot-Hawley Tariff (1930), 681
smuggling, 143, 146
SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), 824*(i)*, 824–825
Snelling, Fort, 480*(i)*
Snow, Eliza, 474–475
social class. *See* class
Social Darwinism, 501, 527*(i)*, 529, 530–531, 623
Social Gospel, 533, 904
social identity, dance and, 318–319
socialism
Debs and, 609
Fourierist, 312–313
immigrants and, 666
utopianism and, 312
World War I and, 633
Socialist Party of America, 493, 609, 613
socialized medicine, 765
social justice, 586, 690*(i)*, 691
social mobility
Lincoln on, 385
for slaves, 53
Whigs and, 294
Social Security, 617, 661*(i)*, 793, 923
Social Security Act of 1935, 606, 692, 693, 693*(t)*, 700, 707
Social Security Administration, 706
social settlements, 578–579
social welfare. *See also specific programs*
Clinton and, 960–961, 961*(i)*
federal funds for, 661
in Great Depression, 681*(m)*
Great Society and, 707
in New Deal, 678, 687–689, 691–692, 706, 744
New Right and, 917
in Progressive Era, 612
spending in relation to GDP (1913), 613
social-welfare liberalism, 293, 686, 696, 707, 744, 936
social work profession, 579–580
societies. *See also* class; culture and cultural development; lifestyle
alcohol in, 210–211
of ancient Americas, 8–18
colonial, 3, 274
counterculture, 860–861, 861*(i)*, 900
in eastern woodlands, 11–15
European, prior to American contact, 18–23
freeholder, 112–113
gentility in, 98
Great Depression and, 678
industrialization and, 265–269, 517
matriarchal, 14
in Middle Atlantic region, 113–117
Native American, 8–18, 10*(m)*
New Deal and, 696–697, 700–707
patriarchal, 19, 38, 336–337, 792
peasant, 19–20
Puritan, 59–65, 108–109
of seaport cities, 100–101
search for order in, 878
slave, 335, 341–343, 346
in South, 335–341
teenage culture, 745, 788, 789*(i)*, 789–791
telephone usage and, 538
urban, 100–101
urban vs. suburban, 804–808
welfare state and, 617, 691–692, 706, 770
West African, 24–25
yeoman (1630-1700), 63, 65, 108
Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
Society of Jesus. *See* Jesuits
Society of Journeymen Tailors, 262
Society of Pewterers, banner of, 242*(i)*
sod houses, 476*(i)*
Soest, Gerard, 39*(i)*
soft power, 659, 777
Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act of 1933, 693*(t)*
Soil Conservation Service, 705
soil erosion, 704–705
Soiling of Old Glory, The (Forman), 874*(i)*
soldiers. *See* armed forces; military
"Solemn League and Covenant," 162
Solidarity (Poland), 935
Solid South, 600, 669
"solitude of self," 546, 549
Solomon Islands, in World War II, 736, 737*(m)*
Sombart, Werner, 507
Songhai Empire, 25, 30
Sonni Ali (r. 1464–1492), 30
Sonoma (California), capture of, 360
Sons of Liberty, 148, 151, 158, 163
Sotomayor, Sonia, 925*(i)*, 970
Soule, Silas, 480
soul music, 836
Souter, David, 959
South. *See also* Confederacy; Deep South; Lower South; planters and plantations; Reconstruction; slaves and slavery; Sunbelt; Upper South
abolition issue in, 150, 323–324

South (*cont.*)
Adams (John Quincy) and, 282
African American migration from, 565, 639*(i)*, 639, 642, 653, 816*(m)*
African Americans in, 340, 445–448, 452, 599–600, 700, 701
American Revolution in, 166, 178–182, 182*(m)*
Black Codes in, 435, 447
black voter registration in, 834, 834*(m)*
child labor in, 606
on Constitution, 195
counterrevolution in, 452–453
economy of, 340–341, 444–445, 447
education in, 296–297, 337, 446, 448, 548
election of 1860 and, 389–391
emancipation in, 406, 407, 424–425
evangelicalism in, 304–305
expansion of, 335–341
free blacks in, 320
freedpeople in, 432, 444
gang-labor system in, 266, 346, 442
gentry in, 97–98
Great Depression in, 681*(m)*
Greenbackers in, 518
home rule for, 456
immigrants in, 341
KKK in, 453, 668
"Lost Cause" of, 458–459, 551
military districts in, 437, 437*(m)*
New South, 508, 508*(m)*
political power in, 892
politics in, 335, 339–341, 445–446, 447
populism in, 595, 599, 600
in post–Revolutionary War, 187
race riots in, 565
railroads in, 339, 340, 341, 466*(m)*
Reagan and, 922
Reconstruction governments in, 437, 441, 445–448
"Redemption" in, 452, 457
religion in, 126–127, 304–305, 337
Republican rule in, 441, 445–448, 450–452, 457
revivalism in, 126–127, 304–305
secession of, 391–393, 393*(m)*
Second Great Awakening in, 303*(i)*
settlers in, 77–78
sharecropping in, 444*(m)*, 444–445, 445*(i)*, 701
slaves and slave ownership in, 253–257, 254*(m)*, 266, 335–337, 341–348
tariffs and, 282, 283, 285–286
taxation in, 337, 339–340
Tennessee Valley Authority and, 705, 706*(m)*
urban areas in, 558
voting rights for African Americans in, 439, 599–600, 600*(m)*
wage labor of freedpeople in, 442–445
Whigs in, 294, 339, 363
white primaries in, 600
whites in, 335–341
yeoman in, 335, 340
South America. *See also specific regions and countries*
investment opportunities in, 655*(i)*
migration of ancient peoples to, 9*(m)*
trade with, 264
Vespucci and, 33
South Atlantic System
benefits of, 74
reach of, 99
slave economy in, 86–87
trade in, 56*(m)*
South Carolina
in American Revolution, 179–180, 182*(m)*
constitution in, 185
cotton in, 217–218
Creek Indians and, 84–85
de Soto in, 6
free blacks in, 347*(i)*
gentility in, 98
KKK in, 453
migration to, 217
nullification in (1832), 286
Reconstruction in, 442, 456
Regulators in, 133–134
Republican government in, 456
rice in, 77, 92–93, 266, 346
secession of, 363, 391
settlers in, 77–78
Sherman's march through, 398, 409*(i)*, 426, 426*(m)*
slavery in, 77–78, 92–93, 253, 266, 343
southern rights convention and, 375
Stono Rebellion in, 97, 102
South Carolina Exposition and Protest, The (1828), 286
South Dakota
immigrants in, 473
Sioux reservations in, 488, 488*(m)*
statehood for, 588
Southeast Asia. *See also specific countries*
domino theory and, 773
Dutch and, 55
refugees from, 953
in World War II, 736, 737*(m)*
Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), 771, 772*(m)*
Southern Baptist Convention, 905
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 824, 824*(i)*, 825, 831, 834
Southern Cultivator, 253, 337
Southern Europe, 510*(m)*, 662, 666. *See also specific countries*
"Southern Manifesto," 822
Southern Pacific Railroad, 561
Southern Paiute Indians, 15
southern rights principle, 375, 389
southern strategy (Nixon), 865, 922
Southern Tenant Farmers Union (STFU), 701
South Korea, 760–762, 761*(m)*, 953. *See also* Korean War
South Mountain, Battle of (1862), 403*(m)*
South Terminal Station (Boston), 539
South Vietnam, 773, 777, 872. *See also* Vietnam; Vietnam War
Southwest. *See also* Sunbelt
Burr and, 221
lands of, 369
Mexican immigrants in, 467–468, 642, 807
Native Americans of, 16, 486, 487
secessionism in, 221
voting rights in, 275
Southwest Railroad, 520
Southwest Territory, 189
Southwest Voter Registration and Education Project, 840
sovereignty. *See also* popular sovereignty
debate over, 156–157, 160–161
squatter, 370, 374
state, 187, 280, 286, 377
of U.S. over Native Americans, 215, 332, 483
of U.S. over trans-Appalachian west, 244*(m)*
Soviet Union. *See also* Cold War; Russia
Afghanistan and, 920, 934–935
appeasement of, 762–763
arms race and, 770, 783, 931
atomic bomb of, 758
Carter and, 920
China and, 760
collapse of, 935–936, 937*(m)*
collectivism in, 712
Commonwealth of Independent States after, 936, 937*(m)*
Cuba and, 775, 775*(m)*, 776
Eisenhower and, 770
German invasion of, 716
Grand Alliance with U.S., 752*(i)*
Korean War and, 760
Nixon and, 871
nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany, 715, 716
political repression in, 714
Reagan and, 930–931, 934–936
space exploration by, 777, 783
Turkey and, 755
in World War II, 716, 732–733, 733*(m)*, 734*(m)*, 735
space exploration, 777, 783
Spain
American conquests by, 32*(m)*, 31–34, 40–44, 71
British commercial imperialism and, 102
California and, 350–351

civil war in, 714
Cuba and, 378, 623–625
Dutch revolt against, 42, 55
England and, 43, 86
exploration and conquest by, 31–34
Florida and, 33, 183, 231
Franco in, 712
in Great War for Empire, 130
inflation in, 41
livestock introduced in Americas by, 15
Mexican conquest by, 33
Napoleon and, 220
New Spain, 231*(m)*
post–Revolutionary War peace with Britain, 183
Protestant challenge to, 41–44
Pueblo Revolt and, 66
reconquista and, 32, 33
tribute colonies of, 40–44
in War of 1898, 623–627
War of Jenkins's Ear and, 102
wealth from Americas in, 27*(i)*, 42
Spanish America, 40–44, 71. *See also* Latin America
Spanish-American War. *See* War of 1898
Spanish Armada, 43, 43*(i)*
Spanish civil war (1936), 714
Spanish Netherlands, 42
Spanish-Speaking People's Congress, 725
Spanish-speaking populations. *See* Latinos/Latinas; *specific groups*
Spaulding, Henry George, 343
speakeasies, 664
Special Field Order No. 15, 426
Special Forces, U.S., 777
specie, 286, 298, 299, 409
Specie Circular (1836), 299
specie reserves, 241
speculation
Confederation notes and, 205-206
of land, 132, 187, 189, 244
political corruption and, 275
on Wall Street, 610, 689
speech, freedom of, 205, 214, 639
"Speech to the Nation" (Cárdenas), 695
"Speech to the Second Woman's Rights Convention" (Rose), 328
Spencer, Herbert, 529
Spencer, Nicholas, 53
spending, consumer, 674. *See also* government spending
Sperry Rand, 783
spheres of influence
in China, 627, 627*(m)*
European (1650), 56*(m)*
Spice Route, 30*(m)*
spice trade, 55
Spider Kelly's bar (San Francisco), 567*(i)*
spies and spying
in Civil War, 415
in Cold War, 763
Red Scare and, 765–767
spinning
in households, 248
technology for, 248, 260
spirituality. *See* religion and spirituality
Spock, Benjamin, 793–794, 855
spoils system, 277, 285, 589. *See also* patronage
Sporting Whip, 316
sports
baseball, 526, 540–542, 815
basketball, 540
blood sports, 317
boxing, 317, 540
elites and, 540
football (American), 542–543, 543*(i)*
politics and, 390*(i)*
professionalization in, 541, 543
segregation in, 541–542
women in, 544, 547, 663, 868
working class and, 540
Spotsylvania Court House, Battle of (1864), 420, 422*(i)*, 423, 423*(m)*
Sprague, Frank, 560
Springfield (Illinois), race riot in, 565, 607
Springsteen, Bruce, 902
Sputnik satellite, 777, 783
Square Deal, 604
squatters
in California, 373
in Middle Atlantic region, 114
in Oregon, 350
sovereignty of, 370, 374
westward expansion by, 153
stagflation, 885, 893, 921
Stalin, Joseph (1878–1953)
appeasement of, 762–763
in Big Three, 732–733
on capitalism, 753
communism and, 752–753, 760*(i)*
death of, 770
Korean War and, 760
nonaggression pact with Hitler, 715, 716
political repression under, 714
at Tehran conference, 733
at Yalta Conference, 738*(i)*, 750–752
Stalingrad, in World War II, 732, 733, 733*(m)*
Stamp Act Congress, 148
Stamp Act of 1765, 146–147, 147*(i)*, 148, 150, 150*(i)*, 152, 163*(t)*
Stamp Act Resolves (1765), 156
stamp tax, 142
standardization, in industry, 504
standard of living, 498. *See also* class; lifestyle
Standard Oil Company, 500, 529
Standard Oil decision (1911), 604
standing armies, 173. *See also* armed forces
Standish, Burt L., 541*(i)*
Stanley, Ann Lee, 312
Stanley, John Mix, 350*(i)*
Stanton, Edwin M., 437, 438
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady
manifestos written by, 329
at Seneca Falls Convention, 328
on solitude of self, 546, 549
on voting rights, 439, 440
Starke, William, 406*(i)*
Starr, Ellen Gates, 578
"Star-Spangled Banner, The" (Key), 228*(i)*
START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks), 931
starvation, in depression of 1890s, 574
state banks, 241, 286, 287
state boards of health, 573*(i)*
State Department, 204, 917
statehood. *See also specific states*
population required for, 189
in trans-Appalachian west, 216, 216*(m)*
states. *See also* statehood; states' rights; *specific states*
anti-immigrant measures in, 667
Articles of Confederation and, 187
bank charters by, 241, 286, 287
city powers vs. state powers, 573
constitutions in, 184–185, 275, 275*(m)*, 279, 293, 339, 437, 447, 599
debt of, 293, 451
formation of, 244*(m)*
governments in post–Revolutionary War era, 189, 191
gradual emancipation in, 250, 252, 252*(m)*
investments by, 298
legislatures of, 242–243, 275, 327, 339
national supremacy over, 229, 229*(t)*, 230
progressive reform in, 605
readmittance to Union, 432, 434, 437, 437*(m)*, 439, 445
regulation by, 501, 521, 592
representation of, 588
sovereignty of, 187, 280, 286, 377
western land claims by, 187, 188*(m)*
states' rights
Buchanan on, 392
constitutional interpretation of, 286
Reagan on, 922
Taney Court on, 292–293
States' Rights Democratic Party, 817
Statue of Liberty, 570
Staunton Spectator, 259
steamboats, 246–247
steam engines, 131, 465, 499, 560
steam power
industry and, 238, 499, 560
for looms, 235
in textile industry, 248

steel and steel industry
Carnegie and, 496
decline of, 885–886
Hungarian immigrants in, 492
research in, 501
strikes in, 652
tariffs for, 467
Steele, Alexander, 348
steel plows, 408, 472
Steffens, Lincoln, 572
Steinbeck, John, 705
Steinem, Gloria, 852*(i)*, 868
Stenhouse, Fanny, 474
stenographers, 503
Stephens, Alexander H.
address to Georgia legislature, 394–395
as Confederate vice president, 392, 393–394, 424
in Congress, 435
on slavery, 257
on southern rights, 375
stereotypes. *See* discrimination; racism
sterilization, eugenics and, 529
Stetson, William S., 401*(i)*
Steuer, Max D., 583
Stevens, J., 103*(i)*
Stevens, John Paul, 963
Stevens, Thaddeus, 296, 395, 406, 437, 442
Stevenson, Adlai, 771
Stewart, Maria W., 327
Stewart, William, 593
STFU (Southern Tenant Farmers Union), 701
Stiles, Ezra, 134, 202
"Still an Open Door?" (Briggs & Moore), 955
Stimson, Henry, 715, 738, 739
Stockman, David, 923, 924
stock market
in 1890s depression, 598
crash of (1929), 674
regulation of, 689, 707
Roosevelt recession and, 694
stocks, 267, 286, 500
stockyards, in Chicago, 409, 499
Stokes, Carl, 837
Stone, Lucy, 440
Stonewall Inn raid (1969), 868, 868*(i)*
Stono Rebellion (1739), 97, 102
STOP ERA, 896, 897*(i)*, 917
Stormont (Lord), 177
Story, Joseph, 285
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 344, 377, 377*(i)*
Stradling, David, 577
Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties
SALT I, 871
SALT II, 920
Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), 931
strategic hamlet program, 777
Strauss, Richard, 569
Streeper, John, 121*(i)*
Street, Julian, 507
streetcars, 561*(i)*
streptomycin, 793
strict constructionism, 207, 220
strikes. *See also* labor; labor unions
agricultural, 703*(i)*
in automobile industry, 697*(i)*
of Boston police, 654
in coal industry, 598, 603–604, 608*(i)*, 682
deindustrialization and, 887
in depression of 1890s, 574
in early 1800s, 261, 262
employers and, 520
by freedpeople, 442
General Motors, 902
grape growers, 840, 840*(i)*
in Great Depression, 682, 689*(m)*, 703*(i)*
Great Railroad Strike (1877), 517
hate strikes, 815
Homestead (1892), 496, 598
injunctions against, 602*(i)*
IWW and, 607
Knights of Labor and, 519, 520
by Ludlow coal miners, 608*(i)*
McCormick reaper works, 520
in mining industry, 521*(i)*, 598, 603–604, 608*(i)*
newsboys, 571
post–World War I, 652
Pullman (1894), 598, 609
railroads and, 517, 520, 598, 609
sit-down, 697*(i)*
in steel industry, 652
Triangle Shirtwaist Co. (1909), 581
women and, 262, 867
World War I and, 638
World War II and, 725
Strong, George Templeton, 319
Strong, Josiah, 622–623
Strong Mine, strike against, 521*(i)*
Struggle for Salvation, The (Cole), 122
Stuart, Alexander, 394
Stuart, Gilbert, 172*(i)*
student movement, in 1960s, 855, 860–861
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 824*(i)*, 824–825
Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), 855, 859, 860, 862
Stump Speaking (Bingham), 273*(i)*
Stuyvesant, Peter, 57
subcontracting, 504
subdivisions. *See* suburbs and suburbanization
submarine warfare
Civil War and, 404*(i)*
U.S. shipping and, 635
in World War I, 634, 635
in World War II, 716, 733
sub-Saharan Africa, 27*(i)*. *See also specific countries*
subsidies
agricultural, 687
for highway construction, 660
for home ownership, 745
for railroads, 409, 466
in South, 339
substitutes, in drafts, 411, 499
suburbs and suburbanization
automobiles and, 659–660, 800–802
in Cold War, 800*(i)*, 800–801, 801*(i)*
conservatives in, 922
neighborhood associations in, 826
post–World War II, 745, 799–808
in Sunbelt, 803–804
urban areas vs., 804–808
urban crisis and, 887–890
wealthy in, 561
white flight to, 874*(i)*
subversives
in Cold War, 748, 763
investigation of, 744
Loyalty-Security Program and, 765–766
subways, 561
success and heredity, 530–531
Sudan, civilization in, 24
Sudetenland, Nazi annexation of, 714
Suez Canal, 733, 773–774
suffrage. *See* voting and voting rights
suffragists, 440, 440*(i)*, 555, 642–643
Sugar Act of 1764, 145, 148, 150, 163*(t)*
sugar and sugar industry
in Brazil, 35, 44–45
in Caribbean region, 50, 50*(i)*, 52–53, 623
crusader encounters with, 22
Dutch and, 57
Hawaii and, 624
plantation labor and, 52–53
in Reconstruction, 444
slaves for, 31, 52–53, 86–87, 255, 346
in South Atlantic System, 86
trade and, 29, 79, 240
in West Indies, 50*(i)*, 86–87
Sugrue, Thomas J., 969
Sullivan, John, 178*(m)*
Sullivan, Louis, 561
Summer of Love (1967), 861
Sumner, Charles
on *Alabama* settlement, 464
caning of, 386, 437
civil rights bill of, 449–450
death of, 450
emancipation and, 406
radicalism and, 437
on U.S.-Mexico War, 357
Sumner, William Graham, 529, 530
Sumter, Fort, 392, 393, 393*(m)*
Sunbelt
growth of, 745, 803, 805*(m)*, 888*(m)*
political power in, 892*(t)*, 971*(t)*

Republicans in, 922
rise of, 803–804
suburbanization in, 803–804
Sunday, Billy, 534
Sunday schools, 305, 316, 326
Sunday School Union, 305
Sunni Muslims, 920, 966, 971
Superfund program, 925
supermarkets, 801*(i)*
superpower, U.S. as, 909
supply-side economics, 923–924
Supreme Court, U.S. *See also* chief justices; *specific cases*
in 1894, 602*(i)*
abortion rights and, 897, 900, 925–926, 957, 958*(i)*, 958–959
on affirmative action, 956–957
antilabor decisions of (1920s), 654–655
on Asian American rights, 515
Cherokee nation and, 292
on citizenship in acquired territories, 626
on Civil Rights Act of 1875, 456
on civil rights of ex-slaves, 456
"clear and present danger" test, 639
Clinton appointments to, 925*(i)*
on corporate "combinations," 593
culture wars and, 958–959
on dissent in World War I, 639
election of 2000 and, 963
on Fourteenth Amendment, 456
on gay rights, 958
in Great Compromise, 194
on income tax, 602, 602*(i)*, 610
on injunctions against strikes, 602*(i)*
on Interstate Commerce Commission powers, 522
on interstate commerce regulation, 246–247, 602*(i)*
law and order and, 872–874
legal realism in, 603
Marshall on, 219
on Native American sovereignty, 483
on New Deal measures, 617, 690, 691, 693
Northern Securities and, 604
Obama appointments to, 925*(i)*, 970
powers given to, 205
on property rights, 292–293
on railroad regulation, 522
Reagan appointments to, 925*(i)*, 925–926
on restrictive covenants, 799
Roosevelt (Franklin) and, 693
on Scottsboro case, 701
segregation and, 539, 602*(i)*
on slavery in the territories, 386–387
Standard Oil and, 604
on state regulation of businesses, 467
on suffrage rights, 440
on supremacy of federal courts, 377–378
on voting restrictions, 599
women on, 925, 925*(i)*
on workday, 602, 606
Supremes (singing group), 790*(i)*
"Surgical Reminiscences of the Civil War" (Keen), 417
survival of the fittest, 501, 529, 530, 623
Susquehanna Company, 132
Susquehannock Indians, 57, 67
Sussex pledge, 634
Sutter, John A., 370
Sutton, Robert, 413
Swaggart, Jimmy, 905
Swallow Barn, Or, A Sojourn in the Old Dominion (Kennedy), 344*(i)*
Swan v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg (1971), 873
Sweden
immigrants from, 473, 511*(f)*, 563
settlement in North America by, 47*(m)*
Swift, Gustavus F., 499, 501, 504
Swift & Co., 499
Switzerland, immigrants from, 116
symphony orchestras, 569
syndicalists, 607
syphilis, 41, 316
Syria
in Arab-Israeli conflicts, 880
civil war in, 970
Islamic State in, 971
Szilard, Leo, 738

Tacoma (Washington), economic development in, 471
Taft, Robert A., 714, 760, 768–770
Taft, William Howard (1857–1930)
in election of 1908, 605
in election of 1912, 608, 608*(i)*, 609, 609*(m)*
foreign policy of, 630
labor and, 611
as Philippines governor-general, 626
as president (1909–1913), 604
progressivism and, 611*(t)*
Taft-Hartley Act of 1947, 763
Taino peoples, 32, 33
Taiwan, 760
talented tenth, 607
Taliban, 965, 970
Talleyrand, Charles, 213
Tallmadge, James, 280, 281
Tammany Hall, 572, 573–574, 581, 668
Tampico (Mexico), seizure of, 359
Tanaghrisson (Seneca), 129
Taney, Roger B.
as chief justice of Supreme Court, 292–293
Dred Scott and, 386–387
Fugitive Slave Act and, 377–378
Jackson and, 285, 292
on slave uprisings, 391
in Treasury Department, 287
Tanzania, embassy bombing in, 962
Tappan, Arthur, 306, 322, 323
Tappan, Lewis, 306, 322
Tarbell, Ida, 569
tariffs
of 1816, 249, 283
of 1824, 249, 283
of 1828, 249, 283, 284, 285
of 1832, 286
Adams (John Quincy) and, 282, 283
agricultural, 517
in Civil War, 409
constitutional ratification and, 198
Democrats and, 467
federal funding from, 610
in Great Depression, 681
internal improvements financed through, 282
protective, 235, 282, 285, 464, 467, 593
Republicans and, 467, 593
revenue, 207, 267
Smoot-Hawley, 681
Tariff of Abominations, 283, 286
on textile imports, 249
Tarleton, Banastre, 179*(i)*
task system of slave labor, 346
taxation
in American Revolution, 176, 183
Articles of Confederation and, 187
by Britain, 145, 146–147
Bush (G. W.) and, 963–964, 964*(t)*
in Chesapeake region, 98
in Civil War, 409, 410, 412
colonial, 101, 145, 146–147
in Constitution, 195
cuts in, 923
excise, 142, 207, 219
federal funding from, 610
Franklin on, 147
gasoline, 660
in Great Depression, 680
Grenville and, 145, 146, 147
income tax, 602, 602*(i)*, 610, 611*(t)*
inheritances and, 610, 923
internal vs. external, 151
Jefferson and, 219
of land, 133, 142
in New Deal, 706
North Carolina revolts against, 77
poll tax, 439, 599, 834
Reagan and, 923, 927
revolt against, 888–889
shift from land to consumables, 142
in South, 337, 339–340
on tea, 153, 158
on tobacco, 46
Washington on, 188
of wealthy, 267, 691
in World War II, 717
Tax Reduction Act of 1964, 849*(t)*
tax revolt, 888–889

Taylor, Frederick W., 505
Taylor, Susie King, 459
Taylor, Zachary (1784–1850)
death of, 375
in election of 1848, 370, 391*(m)*
on slavery, 370, 374
in U.S.-Mexico War, 358, 358*(m)*, 359
Tea Act of May 1773, 158, 163*(t)*, 178
teachers. *See also* education
for black schools, 446
legislation for, 848
women as, 326, 326*(i)*, 504, 549, 675
teamsters, colonial, 99
Tea Party, 969, 971
Teapot Dome, 657
tea tax, 153, 158
technology
agricultural, 218, 260*(i)*, 408–409
in arts, 535
in Civil War, 416, 422
communications, 247–248, 944, 948
computer revolution, 783, 930, 932–933, 951
in cotton industry, 217–218, 253, 260
deindustrialization and, 885
electric lighting, 503*(i)*, 538, 562–563
in England, 248, 249
in factories, 249
industrialization and, 238, 248–249, 258–261
innovations in, 235, 526
manufacturing, 131, 260–261
for mining, 471*(i)*
navigation, 28
in political campaigns, 916
revolutions in, 950–951
in South, 340
in textile industry, 248–249, 260
for transportation, 560–561
Western European trade and, 20
in World War I, 633
Tecumseh (Shawnee chief), 223, 224, 244
Teedyuscung (Delaware), 133
teenage culture, 745, 788, 789*(i)*, 789–791. *See also* children and adolescents
Tehran
conference in (1943), 733
Iran hostages in, 920*(i)*, 920–921
Teke peoples, 93
telegraph, 247–248, 469, 561*(i)*
telephone
in California (1900–1940), 538*(f)*
consumer culture and, 538
etiquette for, 538
impact of, 538
in urban areas, 561*(i)*
women as operators, 504, 504*(i)*, 538
televangelists, 792, 905, 917
television
advertisements on, 788*(i)*, 788–789
African Americans on, 789, 902*(i)*
blue-collar families depicted on, 902, 902*(i)*
civil rights movement and, 814
emergence of, 788
evangelism and, 792, 905, 917
as moral danger, 918
programming for, 789
sexuality on, 903
social problem programs on, 902
Teller, Henry M., 624
Teller Amendment, 624
temperance movement. *See also* prohibition
domesticity and, 306*(i)*
families in, 550*(i)*
immigration and, 381, 550
religious groups in, 306–307, 550
resistance to, 308
strategies of, 308–309
Whigs and, 295, 300
women in, 299, 550–551, 552–553
tenant farmers
African American, 700
in England, 108
in Great Depression, 687
in Middle Atlantic region, 113
in South, 337
Tenderloin District (New York City), 565
Tenement House Law of 1901 (New York), 566
tenements, 565–566, 566*(f)*, 575
Tennent, Gilbert, 121, 125
Tennent, William, 121
Tennessee
Civil War in, 404, 404*(m)*, 422, 426*(m)*
emancipation in, 424–425
KKK in, 453
migration to, 217
Native Americans in, 288
plantation agriculture in, 253
post–Revolutionary War, 187, 189
Scopes trial in, 666
secession and, 392, 393
slavery in, 407
statehood granted to, 216
Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 693, 693*(t)*, 699, 705, 706*(m)*
Tenochtitlán (Aztec capital), 11, 33
Ten Percent Plan (Lincoln), 434
Tenskwatawa (Shawnee prophet), 223, 224*(i)*, 244
Tenure of Office Act of 1867, 438*(t)*
Terminator (movie), 933
territories
Kansas-Nebraska Act and, 384–385
popular sovereignty in, 371, 374, 375, 376*(m)*
slavery in, 357, 369–371, 374–375, 376*(m)*, 384–389, 406
terrorism
by ex-Confederates, 452, 453
globalization and, 942
by KKK, 453, 454
September 11 attacks (2001), 942, 964–965, 965*(i)*
against southern blacks, 452, 453, 454–455
USS *Cole* attack, 962
World Trade Center bombing (1993), 962
Terry, Eli, 238
Terry, Peggy, 727
Terry, Randall, 957
Test Act of 1704 (Ireland), 116–117
Tet offensive, 853*(m)*, 862
Teutonic Knights, 22
Tewa Indians, 16
Texas
African Americans in, 600
annexation of, 339, 339*(m)*, 348, 349, 355
boundary disputes, 339*(m)*, 358
cattle ranching in, 471–472
Civil War in, 403–404, 418
Democratic Party in, 453
Farmers' Alliance in, 520–521
Houston, 338*(i)*
independence of, 338–339, 339*(m)*
lynchings in, 598*(i)*
Native Americans of, 16
plantation agriculture in, 253, 254*(m)*
ranching in, 471–472
Republic of, 339, 339*(m)*, 358
secession of, 392
settlement of, 338–339, 339*(m)*
slavery in, 235, 254
Spain and, 231
statehood granted to, 355
in Sunbelt, 803, 804
U.S.-Mexico War and, 358
Texas (battleship), 623
Texas Provisional Government, 339*(m)*
Texas Republic, 339, 339*(m)*
Texas War of Independence, 338–339, 339*(m)*
textbooks, 279
textiles and textile industry. *See also* cotton and cotton industry
competition in, 249–250
cotton plantations and, 217
English, 43, 248, 249
factories in, 249–250
families in, 508–509
immigrants in, 262
in India, 251, 251*(t)*
tariffs for, 467
technology for, 248–249, 260
U.S. production, 251, 251*(t)*
women in, 248, 249–250, 262
Thailand, financial crisis in, 950
Thames, Battle of the (1813), 224
Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), 172*(i)*
Thayer, Webster, 653

theater
minstrel shows, 317*(i)*, 318–320, 319*(i)*
in urban areas, 317–319
vaudeville, 319, 526, 566
Yiddish, 564
Their Eyes Were Watching God (Hurston), 706
theology. *See* religion and spirituality
therapy, for marriage, 904
thermonuclear weapons, 758
Theyanoguin, Hendrick Peters, 129, 129*(i)*
Thieu, Nguyen Van, 872
Third International (Soviet Union), 652
third way, of Bill Clinton, 961*(i)*
Third World, 771, 783, 838*(m)*
Thirteenth Amendment, 425, 425*(t)*, 434, 438*(t)*, 457
Thirty Seconds over Tokyo (movie), 726
Thistlewood, Thomas, 90
Thompson, Florence, 705*(i)*
Thompson, James G., 815
Thoreau, Henry David, 310, 323
Thornton, Big Mama, 790
Thorpe, Jim, 543*(i)*
Thoughts on Female Education (Rush), 278
Thoughts on Government (Adams), 185, 198
"Thoughts on Indian Affairs" (Bradstreet), 154
three-fifths clause, 195, 196, 214, 369
Three Mile Island, nuclear accident at (1979), 884
Three's Company (television show), 903
threshing machines, 260*(i)*
Thurmond, J. Strom, 764, 764*(m)*, 817, 834, 865
Ticonderoga, Fort, 174
Tidewater region (Virginia), 126, 180
Tilden, Samuel J., 456–457
Tilden Park (San Francisco), 706
Till, Emmett, 823
Tillman, Ben, 599, 601
Timbuktu, 28, 89
Time magazine, 871, 884
time zones, establishment of, 466*(m)*
Tin Pan Alley, 567
Tipler, Charles S., 416
Tippecanoe, Battle of (1811), 223, 299
Tip Top Weekly (magazine), 541*(i)*
Title IX (1972), 868
Tito, Josip Broz, 760
Titus (runaway slave), 180*(i)*
Titusville (Pennsylvania), petroleum in, 499
Tlingit Indians, 16, 16*(i)*, 348
Toast, The (anonymous), 210*(i)*
tobacco and tobacco industry
in Chesapeake region, 46, 50, 252
English tobacco colonies and, 45–47, 75*(i)*
planters and, 252, 266
slavery and, 91, 252, 266
trade and, 79
Tobago, 183
Tocqueville, Alexis de
Democracy in America, 272, 276, 289
individualism and, 302
on Jackson, 288, 289
"Letter to Louis de Kergorlay," 276
Tojo, Hideki, 712, 716–717
Tokyo (Edo)
U.S. consul in, 465
in World War II, 740
toleration. *See* religious toleration
Toleration Act of 1649 (Maryland), 47
toll roads, 243
Tompkins, Daniel, 306
Toomer, Jean, 669
Toplitzky, Nathan, 513
Toriello, Guillermo, 757
Toronto, in War of 1812, 224
Tortillott, Jane Gould, 350
Tortola, 47
torture, of Iraqi prisoners, 966, 967*(i)*
"To Secure These Rights" (Presidential Committee on Civil Rights), 816, 839
total war, World War II as, 711*(i)*
totem poles, 16
Toth, Susan Allen, 796–797
Tougaloo College, 446
tourism
in Indian Country, 485
railroad and, 462, 477–478
in West, 705
working-class, 545
Tower of Light, 527*(i)*
town meetings, in New England, 65
towns. *See* cities and towns
Townsend, Francis, 689*(m)*, 690
Townsend, John, 391
Townsend Plan, 690
Townshend, Charles, 104, 147, 150–151
Townshend Act of 1767, 151, 153, 163*(t)*
Toynbee Hall (London), 578
Tract Society, 305
Tracy, Spencer, 726
trade and commerce. *See also* exports; imports; slave trade; transatlantic trade; *specific commodities*
with Africa, 28
in Arab world, 20
with Asia, 241*(i)*, 378, 465
with China, 241*(i)*
in Civil War, 401
colonial, 79, 143–144
in Constitution, 195, 293
consumer culture, 536–539
Crusades and, 22
Dutch, 55
English, 43–44, 79
Eurasian, 30*(m)*, 56*(m)*, 143*(m)*
European Union and, 940
expansion of, 784
external duties on, 151
during French Revolution, 208
in French West Indies, 213
global, 537, 647, 944–945, 948–950, 949*(f)*
government control of, 246–247
on Great Plains, 353
Great Railroad Strike and, 517
interregional, 246
interstate, 195, 246–247
intrastate, 690
Italian, 20–21, 28–29
with Japan, 378, 379*(i)*, 465
with Latin America, 465
maritime, 56*(m)*, 143*(m)*
Mississippi River and, 220
Napoleonic Wars and, 240, 241
Native American, 11, 15, 16–17, 47*(m)*, 54, 354
in New France, 54
New York City and, 264
in Northern Europe, 21
in Pacific Northwest, 348
as political weapon (1763–1776), 153*(f)*
Portuguese, 24*(m)*, 28–31
in Renaissance, 21
in seaport cities, 99–101, 264
with South America, 264
in South Atlantic System, 86–87
in Spanish America, 40–41
Supreme Court on, 246–247, 654
transatlantic, 36, 41–42, 99, 103
transcontinental railroad and, 462
trans-Saharan, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 31
in War of 1812, 224
in West Africa, 24*(m)*, 25, 28
in Western Europe, 20–21
in World War I, 633
trade associations, 656
trade deficit, colonial, 132, 132*(f)*
trade unions, 516, 522–523, 697*(i)*, 786–787. *See also* labor unions
trading posts, 29, 30, 31
Trail of Broken Treaties, 841
Trail of Tears, 290, 292
trails
Bozeman, 480, 481
California, 351, 351*(m)*
Mormon, 315*(m)*, 351*(m)*
Oregon, 315*(m)*, 350, 351*(m)*
Santa Fe, 351*(m)*, 353, 353*(i)*
western, 351*(m)*
trains. *See* railroads
trans-Appalachian west
British aid to Indians in, 216
migration to, 216, 217–218, 246, 278
Native Americans of, 131, 215–217, 216*(m)*
in post-Revolutionary War, 183, 187, 215
statehood in, 216, 216*(m)*
transportation to, 244, 246*(m)*
U.S. sovereignty over, 244*(m)*

transatlantic migration (1500–1760), 114, 114*(f)*
transatlantic trade
American merchants and, 103
maritime economy and, 99
shipping in, 264
of slaves, 35
Spanish, 41–42
transcendentalism, 235, 304, 310–311
transcontinental railroad, 378, 384, 409, 462, 464
transgender persons. *See* lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) persons
transpacific trade, 56*(m)*
Transplanted, The (Bodnar), 662
transportation. *See also* automobiles and automobile industry; canals; railroads; roads and highways
cable cars, 560
in cities, 560–561
in colonies, 119
"full and equal" access to, 450
innovations in, 235
interregional, 244–248, 246*(m)*
market expansion and, 243, 244
monopolies in, 243, 246–247
for overland travel, 244
revolution in, 242–248, 246*(m)*
segregation of, 539, 812, 815
steamboats, 246–247
subways, 561
trolleys, 560–561
Union investment in, 408
water transport, 244–247, 246*(m)*
trans-Saharan trade, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 31
travel. *See* transportation
treason
Arnold and, 181
Burr and, 221
Smith (Joseph) and, 315
World War I and, 639
"Treason of the Senate" (Phillips), 569
Treasury Department, 204, 409, 415, 469, 686, 728
treat, in dating, 568
treaties. *See also specific names of treaties*
Cold War defense, 771, 772*(m)*
with Hawaii, 624–625, 625*(i)*
Native American, 283, 292, 373, 483
Treatise on Domestic Economy (Beecher), 326
treaty ports, in China, 627*(m)*
Tredegar Iron Works, 260, 410
trench warfare
in Civil War, 423
in World War I, 633, 634*(i)*, 635
Trent (ship), 401
Trenton, Battle of (1776), 173, 174*(m)*
trestle bridges, 409*(i)*
triage, on Civil War battlefields, 417
Triangle Shirtwaist Company fire (1911), 581, 582–583
tribalization, 71, 74, 82–83
tribute
to Barbary States, 218–219
Native American, 11
tribute colonies, of Spain, 40–44
trickle-down economics, 924
Triple Alliance, 632
Triple Entente, 632, 646*(m)*
Tripoli, 219, 219*(i)*
trolleys, 560–561
Trollope, Frances, 272
troops. *See* armed forces; military
Trotter, William Monroe, 607
Troup, George M., 283
True Remedy for the Wrongs of Women, The (Beecher), 296
Truman, Harry S. (1884–1972)
atomic bomb and, 737–740
civil rights and, 764, 816–817
Cold War and, 755, 756
containment and, 745, 754
on democracy, 814
in election of 1948, 763–764, 764*(i)*, 764*(m)*, 817
end of reform and, 763–765
Fair Deal of, 764–765
French Indochina and, 748
Israel and, 773
Korean War and, 760–762
Loyalty-Security Program of, 765–766
McCarthy and, 766
at Potsdam Conference, 752
as vice president, 725
Vietnam and, 773
Truman Doctrine, 755, 756
Trumbull, John, 175*(i)*, 202
Trump, Donald (1946–present)
background, 929
in election of 2016, 963, 972, 972*(i)*
on immigration, 955
trusts, 467, 500–501, 593, 603–604, 610
Truth, Sojourner, 414
"Tryal of Susanna Martin in Salem" (Mather), 62–63
Tryon, William, 134, 140
tsetse fly, 25
tuberculosis, 576
Tubman, Harriet, 323, 414
Tulsa, Oklahoma, race riot in (1921), 654
Tunisia, democratic movements in, 970
Tupi Indians, 35
Turkey
Cuban missile crisis and, 776
English trade with, 43
Soviet Union and, 754
Truman Doctrine and, 755
Turnbow, Hartman, 834
Turner, Frederick Jackson, 489
Turner, Nat, 297, 305*(i)*, 321–322, 342, 347
Turner's Rebellion (1831), 297, 305*(i)*, 321–322
turnpikes, 243
Tuscarora Indians, 84
Tuskegee Airmen, 711*(i)*, 810
Tuskegee Institute, 548
Tusser, Thomas, 110
TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority), 693, 693*(t)*, 699, 705, 706*(m)*
TVA: Democracy on the March (Lilienthal), 699
Twain, Mark (Samuel Clemens)
anti-imperialism of, 625
on Gilded Age, 428, 589, 592
on New York City, 560
realism in work of, 535
Tweed, William Marcy, 573
Twelfth Amendment, 282
Twentieth Amendment, 683
Twenty-fourth Amendment, 834, 849*(t)*
Twenty-fourth Infantry, riot by, 636
twenty-Negro rule, 411
two-income families, 900, 901, 901*(f)*
"Two Thousand Words" Manifesto (1968), 863
2001: A Space Odyssey (movie), 932
Two Treatises on Government (Locke), 80, 120
tycoons, 501
Tydings-McDuffie Act of 1934, 704
Tyler, John (1790–1862)
on annexation of Texas, 355
in election of 1840, 299–300
as president (1841–1845), 300
typhoid, 414, 416, 576
typists, 503

UAW (United Auto Workers), 697*(i)*, 785, 787, 814
U-boats. *See* submarine warfare
UDC (United Daughters of the Confederacy), 458, 551
UFW (United Farm Workers), 819, 840, 840*(i)*
Ukraine
immigrants from, 513
Russia and, 635
UMW (United Mine Workers), 725
UN. *See* United Nations
Uncle Tom's Cabin (Stowe), 344, 377, 377*(i)*
Underground Railroad, 323, 378
"understanding clause," 599
undocumented residents. *See* illegal immigrants
unemployment
in 1837–1843 depression, 298
in 1873 depression, 450
in 1890s depression, 574, 598
in 1915–1945, 675*(f)*
in 1970s, 880, 889*(f)*
Coxey's army and, 598

in Great Depression, 674, 675, 675*(f)*, 680, 683, 694
Native American, 701
New Deal programs for, 687–688, 692
Reagan administration and, 927
in Roosevelt recession, 694
UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association), 654, 669*(i)*, 673, 673*(i)*, 813
unicameral legislatures, 185, 194
Union (Civil War). *See also* Civil War, U.S.
draft in, 408, 412
emancipation and, 406–407
financing of war by, 409–410
mobilization for war, 393, 396, 402, 408
resources of, 363, 408, 409
women in, 415
Union League, 446, 447
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). *See* Soviet Union
Union Pacific Railroad, 409, 452, 462
unions. *See* labor unions
union shop, 763
Union Station (Jacksonville), 639*(i)*
Union Stock Yards (Chicago), 499
Unitarians, 305, 309, 310
United Artists, 658
United Auto Workers (UAW), 697*(i)*, 785, 787, 814
United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), 458, 551
United Farm Workers (UFW), 819, 840, 840*(i)*
United Fruit Company, 655*(i)*, 658, 757, 772
United Hebrew Charities, 512
United Mine Workers (UMW), 725
United Nations (UN)
China in, 760
General Assembly of, 751, 773, 774
Israel created by, 773
Korean War and, 761, 761*(m)*
Persian Gulf War and, 939
Resolution 687, 939–940
Security Council of, 751–752, 758, 761, 939, 965
Suez Canal crisis and, 774
United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. *See* Shakers
United States
as arsenal of democracy, 715
as continental nation, 363–365
as debtor nation, 928
diversity in, 137
economic nationalism in, 695
expansion of, 137, 235, 363
freedom in, 818
Grand Alliance with Soviet Union, 752*(i)*
Industrial Revolution in, 238, 248–250, 261, 294
Japanese relations with, 929
as superpower, 909
tax revenues and expenses in, 359
textile production in, 251, 251*(t)*
as world power, 617, 744
in World War I, 634–643, 635*(m)*, 637
in World War II, 717, 732–733
United States v. E. C. Knight Co. (1894), 602*(i)*
United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 348, 349, 356
U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 631
U.S. Border Patrol, 667*(i)*
U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations, 611–612, 611*(t)*
U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, 478
U.S. Fisheries Commission, 478
U.S. Forest Service, 545, 604, 611*(t)*, 705
U.S.-Mexico War (1846–1848)
debates over, 356–357
events leading up to, 356–358
expansionism and, 358–359
financing of, 359
land cessions from, 366, 369*(m)*, 369–370
Lincoln on, 388
military successes in, 358*(m)*, 359–360, 360*(i)*
national debt and, 429
popularity of, 366
sectionalism and, 363, 368
slavery and, 356–357, 369–370
Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and, 369, 369*(m)*, 373
U.S. Office of Price Administration, 728*(i)*
U.S. Patent Office, 260
U.S. Sanitary Commission, 414
U.S. Steel Corporation, 501, 655, 887
U.S. Treasury, 267
U.S. v. Cruikshank (1876), 456
United Steelworkers, 814
Universalists, 305
Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), 654, 669*(i)*, 673, 673*(i)*, 813
universal suffrage. *See also* voting and voting rights
Fifteenth Amendment and, 439
for white males, 274–275, 275*(m)*
universe, scientific revolution and, 119–120
universities. *See* higher education
University of California (Berkeley), Free Speech Movement at, 860
University of Michigan, affirmative action at, 956–957
unskilled labor, 269, 505, 508–509
Unz, Ron, 957
Up from Slavery (Washington), 548
upper house. *See* Senate
Upper South. *See also* South
free blacks in, 320
migration from, 246
Reconstruction in, 442
secession of, 392, 393*(m)*
slaves exported from, 254–255
uprisings. *See* protests; revolts and rebellions; revolutions
Uprooted, The (Handlin), 662
Upton, Benjamin Franklin, 480*(i)*
Upward Bound, 848
uranium mining, 489
urban areas. *See also* cities and towns; suburbs and suburbanization; *specific locations*
African Americans in, 565, 654, 804–805
crisis in, 805–807, 806*(i)*, 827, 887–890
culture in, 315–320
economy of, 99, 267
elites in, 267
industrialization and, 560–566
politics in, 837–838
post-World War II, 710
poverty and violence in, 838–839
prohibition in, 663–665
reform in, 575–584
renewal of, 806, 827
society in, 100–101
in South, 340–341
suburbs vs., 804–808
workers in, 516
working class in, 269
Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964, 849*(t)*
USA PATRIOT Act of 2001, 965
USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). *See* Soviet Union
Utah
in Compromise of 1850, 375, 376*(m)*
Mormons in, 315*(m)*, 315, 387, 473–474
statehood for, 474, 588
western trails to, 351*(m)*
women's suffrage in, 440*(i)*, 473, 554*(m)*, 555
Ute Indians, 15, 66
utility industry, regulation of, 519
utopian communities, 312–315. *See also* Mormons and Mormonism
Brook Farm, 311, 312
experimental communities before 1860, 312*(m)*
Fourierist, 312–313
Oneida, 313–314
rural, 312–315
Shakers, 235, 302, 313, 313*(i)*
transcendentalist, 311
Utrecht, Treaty of (1713), 83*(m)*, 85

VA (Veterans Administration), 786, 799, 800
vacations, automobiles and, 660
vaccines, 526, 793
Vail, Alfred, 247
Valentino, Rudolph, 658, 658*(i)*

Valley Forge, Continental army at, 176–177
values
of multicultural society, 956
white Protestant middle-class, 345
Van Buren, Martin (1782–1862)
on annexation of Texas, 339, 355
character of, 277*(i)*
on consolidated government, 283
on democracy, 272
in election of 1828, 284
in election of 1832, 287
in election of 1836, 283*(f)*, 295
in election of 1840, 299–300
in election of 1844, 355
in election of 1848, 370, 391*(m)*
executive order on ten-hour workday, 261
Indian removal and, 292
Jeffersonian Republicans and, 232
national debt under, 429
party government and, 276–277
as president (1837–1841), 299
as secretary of state, 285
Vance, Zebulon, 412
Vandalia (Illinois), National Road to, 244
Van De Pass, Simon, 49, 49*(i)*
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 379
van der Weyden, Rogier, 22*(i)*
Vann, James, 289
Vanzetti, Bartolomeo, 653
Vargas, Diego de, 66
vassal kingdoms, in Africa, 25
Vassar College, 549
vaudeville, 319, 526, 566
Vaughn, Robert, 48*(i)*
Vay, Péter (Count), 492
vehicles. *See* automobiles and automobile industry
Velvet Revolutions, 935
venereal diseases, 636*(i)*
Veney, Bethany, 347
Venezuela, crisis over (1895), 623
Venice
diplomatic procession in, 20*(i)*
trade in, 20
Venona Papers, 765, 766
Veracruz (Mexico), 358*(m)*, 360, 632
Verdun, Battle at (1916), 633
Vergennes (Comte de), 177
Vermont
settlement of, 218
statehood granted to, 216
voting rights in, 274
Verne, Jules, 570
Versailles, Treaty of (1783), 183
Versailles, Treaty of (1919), 617, 620, 643–645, 647, 712
vertical integration, 499, 500
Vesey, Denmark, 347*(i)*
Vespucci, Amerigo, 33
veterans
benefits for, 770
Confederate, 458–459, 588
education for, 725, 745, 786, 786*(i)*
in Great Depression, 682–683
home ownership for, 786
pensions for, 592, 593, 682–683
as plains settlers, 473
Union, 588, 593
of Vietnam War, 871
Veterans Administration (VA), 786, 799, 800
vetoes
by Cleveland, 592
by Jackson, 285, 287
by Johnson (Andrew), 432, 435, 437
by Lincoln, 434
by Roosevelt (Franklin), 725
by Truman, 763
by Tyler, 300
vice-admiralty courts, 145–146, 147
vice commissions, 578
vice president. *See specific individuals*
Vicksburg, Battle of (1862), 404*(m)*, 418, 422, 426*(m)*
Victoria (Australia), gold rush in, 372, 372*(t)*
victory gardens, in World War II, 726, 729*(i)*
Vietcong, 777, 853*(m)*, 854, 862
Vietminh, 773
Vietnam. *See also* Vietnam War
Eisenhower and, 773
factories in, 951*(i)*
Japan and, 716, 773
Kennedy and, 777
partitioning of, 773
Truman and, 773
Vietnamization program, 854*(f)*, 870–871
Vietnam Moratorium (1969), 871
Vietnam Veterans Against the War, 871, 967
Vietnam War (1961–1975)
in 1968, 853*(m)*
antiwar movement during, 745, 855, 860–861, 864–866, 871
armed forces in, 744, 854, 854*(f)*, 870
casualties in, 862, 872
debate over, 858–859
economy and, 855
escalation of, 854–855, 862
evacuation of civilians during, 859*(i)*
GI Bill following, 786
Johnson administration and, 853–855, 854*(f)*, 858
Kennedy administration and, 853
Nixon administration and, 854*(f)*, 859, 870–872
prowar rally for, 870*(i)*
public opinion and, 855, 862
soldiers' reports from, 856–857
Tet offensive in, 853*(m)*, 862
View of Cincinnati (Wild), 265*(i)*
View of the Erie Canal (Hill), 245*(i)*
vigilante violence, 323, 453, 454–455
Viguerie, Richard, 916
Villa, Francisco ("Pancho"), 632, 632*(i)*
villages. *See* cities and towns
Village Tavern (Krimmel), 211*(i)*
Vincennes, Battle of (1779), 178*(m)*
Vindication of the Rights of Woman, A (Wollstonecraft), 186*(i)*, 278
violence. *See also* assassinations; lynchings; punishment of slaves; race riots; rape
against African Americans, 323, 435–436, 453, 454–455
against Chinese immigrants, 514
domestic, 550
environmental, 882
against freedpeople, 435*(i)*, 435–436, 453, 454–455
against immigrants, 380*(i)*, 384
industrial, 520, 521*(i)*
in Kansas, 385
by KKK, 453, 454–455
poverty and, 838–839
racial, 432, 436, 456, 551
in Senate, 386, 437
by slaves and slave owners, 347
in South, 435*(i)*, 435–436, 453, 454–455
vigilantism, 323, 453, 454–455
Virginia
Bacon's Rebellion in, 67–68
Baptist church in, 126–127
Church of England in, 47
Civil War in, 401–402, 403*(m)*, 405, 422–423, 423*(m)*
claims to Pittsburgh, 164
elite families in, 102
founding of, 45–47
government in, 76–77
headright system in, 50
House of Burgesses in, 38, 46–47, 53, 67, 91
Kentucky settlement organized by, 167
Kentucky Territory and, 217
land in, 133
manumission in, 252, 253
revivalism in, 126
river plantations in (c. 1640), 51*(m)*
as royal colony, 46–47
secession and, 392, 393
slavery in, 38, 91, 150, 252–253, 254, 322, 407
tobacco from, 45–46, 75*(i)*
voting rights in, 67
western land claims of, 187
Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 214, 286
Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, 346
Virginia City (Nevada), 470
Virginia Company, 45, 46
Virginia Plan, 193–194

Virgin Queen. *See* Elizabeth I
virtual representation, 147
VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), 848
Volstead Act of 1920, 663, 666
Volta River region, 24
voluntarism, 637, 680, 681
Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), 848
von Hayek, Friedrich, 916
von Ranke, Leopold, 202
von Steuben, Friedrich (Baron), 177
voting and voting rights. *See also* disfranchisement; elections; universal suffrage; women's suffrage
  for African Americans, 277, 433*(i)*, 439, 593, 599–600, 643
  black voter registration in South, 834, 834*(m)*
  in Chesapeake region, 98
  in Connecticut, 60
  expansion of, 275*(m)*
  Fifteenth Amendment and, 439–440, 812
  grandfather clause and, 599
  for immigrants, 601
  LGBT, 898
  in Massachusetts, 81
  in Massachusetts Bay Colony, 59
  Oregon System of, 575
  property as requirement for, 60, 81, 185, 194, 275, 277, 447
  reforms for, 601–602, 605
  for Scots-Irish in England, 116–117
  secret ballot, 339
  in South, 439, 599–600, 600*(m)*
  Twenty-fourth Amendment and, 834
  universal suffrage, 274–275, 275*(m)*, 439
  in Virginia, 67
  voter turnout (1824–1844), 283*(f)*, 299–300
  voter turnout (1876–1892), 588
  for white men, 101, 274–275, 275*(m)*, 293, 339
  for yeomen, 98
Voting Rights Act of 1965, 745, 829*(m)*, 834, 834*(m)*, 849*(t)*
voyages. *See also* exploration; *specific explorers*
  by Cabral, 34–35
  by Columbus, 31*(m)*, 32–33
  trading, 28–30

Wabash v. Illinois (1886), 522
WACs (Women's Army Corps), 721
Wade-Davis Bill (1864), 434
Wadsworth, Benjamin, 108
wages. *See also* income
  in 1970–2004, 945*(f)*
  in Great Depression, 682
  inflation and, 901
  minimum wage, 606, 700, 770
  overtime, 637
  post–World War II, 901
  stagnation of, 901
  in textile industry, 249
  for women, 326, 606, 637, 663, 700, 722
wageworkers. *See also* women in workforce
  on abolitionism, 323
  African Americans as, 493, 509
  alcohol and, 306–309
  alliances with farmers, 493
  artisan republicanism and, 262
  in corporations, 493
  freedpeople as, 442–445
  immigrants as, 493
  industrialization and, 493
  labor movement and, 261–262
  population of, 269
  Whigs and, 294
Wagner, Richard, 569
Wagner, Robert F., 581, 691
Wagner Act. *See* National Labor Relations Act of 1935
wagon trains, 350, 352*(i)*
Waite, Davis, 521*(i)*
Wake Island, in World War II, 736
Wald, Lillian, 579
Walden, or Life in the Woods (Thoreau), 310
Wales
  immigrants from, 511
  Quakers from, 115
Wales, James A., 516*(i)*
Walker, David, 321, 321*(i)*
Walker, John, 280
Walker, William, 379
Walking Purchase of 1737, 114–115
Wallace, Anthony F. C., 290
Wallace, George C., 829, 865, 865*(i)*, 866*(m)*
Wallace, Henry A., 686, 725, 764, 764*(m)*
Waller, John, 127
Wall Street
  leveraged buyout and, 928
  reform of, 968
  regulation of, 689
  speculation on, 610, 689
Wall Street (movie), 928
Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act of 2010, 968
Walmart, 950
Walpole, Robert, 102
Waltham (Massachusetts), textile industry in, 249
Waltham-Lowell System, 249
Waltons, The (television show), 902
Wampanoag Indians, 14–15, 59, 60, 61, 65–66
Wanamaker, John, 501
Wanamaker's department store, 562
Wappinger Indians, 133
War Advertising Council, 728
war and warfare. *See also* guerrilla warfare; *specific wars and battles*
  culture wars, 663–669, 952, 958–959
  on frontier, 67
  Native American, 17–18, 46–47, 57–58, 60–61, 65–66, 81–83, 216
  preemptive war doctrine, 909
  presidential powers and, 931
  religious, 22–23
Ward, Lester Frank, 529
war debts. *See also* defense spending
  assumption of, 205–207
  Civil War, 467
  comparison of U.S. and British (1830–1900), 429, 429*(f)*
  Revolutionary War, 189, 191, 212
War Democrats, 424, 435
War Department, 204, 358, 636*(i)*, 730
war hawks, 129, 223–224
War Industries Board (WIB), 636–637
Warner, Charles Dudley, 592
Warner, Thomas, 47
War of 1812, 224–229, 225*(m)*, 243–244, 288
War of 1898, 603, 617, 623–627
War of Jenkins's Ear (1739–1741), 102–103
War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), 103
War of the League of Augsburg (1689), 82
War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1713), 83
War on Poverty, 836, 848, 850*(f)*
War on Terror, 965
war party, in Texas, 338
War Powers Act of 1941, 717
War Powers Act of 1973, 891
War Production Board (WPB), 718
War Refugee Board, 736
War Relocation Authority, 731
Warren, Earl, 821–822, 872–873, 900, 925
Warren, Joseph, 149
Warsaw, in World War II, 741
Warsaw Pact, 753*(m)*, 758, 937*(m)*
Washington (state)
  Grand Coulee Dam in, 705–706, 707*(i)*
  statehood for, 588
Washington, Booker T., 531, 548*(i)*, 548–549, 605, 607
Washington, D.C.
  abolition of slavery in, 375, 406
  Bonus Army in, 682–683
  in Civil War, 401–402, 403*(m)*
  Coxey's march on (1894), 587*(i)*, 598
  March on Washington movement, 724, 814, 830
  petitions to end slavery in, 323
  September 11 terrorist attack and (2001), 965
  in War of 1812, 224, 228*(i)*
  Women's March in (2017), 973*(i)*

Washington, George (1732–1799)
in 1781, 171*(i)*
in American Revolution, 172–173, 179, 181–182, 182*(m)*, 183
on blacks in Continental army, 179
on Coercive Acts, 159
at Constitutional Convention, 193
Continental army and, 140, 165, 172, 173
in election of 1788, 204
Farewell Address of, 226
on government, 192
on Haitian Revolution, 212
on land speculation, 187
as Mason, 295
Native Americans and, 216
in Ohio River region, 129, 130
on pensions for officers, 178
as planter, 202
as president (1789–1797), 204
Proclamation of Neutrality issued by, 208
on taxation, 188
at Valley Forge, 177
on Wheatley, 149*(i)*
Whiskey Rebellion and, 209, 209*(i)*
Washington City. *See* Washington, D.C.
"Washington for Jesus" rally, 917*(i)*
Washington Post, Watergate affair uncovered by, 891
Washington Temperance Society, 308–309
WASPs (Women's Airforce Service Pilots), 721
waste, production of, 883*(i)*
water. *See also* irrigation systems
for cities, 573, 576
pollution of, 507
in West, 477
"water cure," 629
Watergate affair, 890–892
water mills, 131
Water Pollution Control Act of 1972, 884
water power
dams and, 705, 706*(m)*
industry and, 238, 499
for spinning mills, 248
Water Quality Act of 1965, 849*(t)*
Waters, Ethel, 789
water transport, 244–247
canals, 244–246, 246*(m)*
steamboats, 246–247
systems of (1820–1850), 246*(m)*
waterways. *See specific waterways*
Watie, Stand (Cherokee), 403
Watkins, Carleton, 467*(i)*
Watson, Tom, 599, 601
Watt, James, 924–925
Wattenberg, Ben J., 865
Watts, Isaac, 124*(i)*
Watts (Los Angeles) riot (1965), 839
WAVES (Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service), 721
Wayne, Anthony, 216
Wayne, John, 726
WCTU (Woman's Christian Temperance Union), 550–551, 552–553, 586, 663
Wea Indians, 183
wealth. *See also* prosperity
from Americas, 27*(i)*, 42, 43
in Civil War, 409
colonial, 132
corporate, 467, 505, 657
gap in, 498, 610, 889
Great Depression and, 674
inequality in distribution of, 691
lifestyle of wealthy, 928–929
Native American, 17
of planters, 335
residential districts and, 561
slave trade and, 87, 255
in South, 335, 336, 340–341
taxation of, 267, 691
of urban elite, 267
"Wealth" (Carnegie), 498, 501
wealth gap, 498, 610
Wealth of Nations, The (Smith), 87, 208
weapons. *See also specific types of weapons*
in Civil War, 415, 416
Cold War arms race, 770, 783, 931
interchangeable parts for, 260
Native Americans and, 354
in World War I, 633, 713
in World War II, 718
Weaver, James B., 589*(i)*, 594, 601*(m)*
Webster, Daniel
Compromise of 1850 and, 375, 375*(i)*
in *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), 230
in election of 1836, 295
on Jackson, 284–285
on popular sovereignty, 286
Second Bank of the United States and, 287
War of 1812 and, 224
Whigs and, 294, 299, 300
Webster v. Reproductive Health Services (1989), 925, 958
Wedding, The, 278*(i)*
weddings. *See* marriage
Weed, Thurlow, 295
Weems, Mason, 279
Wehrmacht, 735
weightlifting, 540
Weinberger, Caspar, 924, 931
Welch, Joseph, 767*(i)*
Welcome Back, Kotter (television show), 902
Weld, Theodore, 322
welfare capitalism, 655
welfare programs. *See* social welfare
Welfare Reform Act of 1996, 960–961, 961*(i)*
welfare state, 617, 691–692, 706, 770
Welles, Orson, 706
Well-Ordered Family, The (Wadsworth), 108
Wells, Daniel, 473
Wells, Emmeline, 473–474
Wells, Ida B., 539, 551, 551*(i)*, 554
Wesley, John, 124
West. *See also* Great Plains
African Americans in, 473
American Revolution in (1778–1779), 178*(m)*
Asian Americans in, 703–704
cattle ranching in, 471–472
Civil War in, 402–404, 404*(m)*
coeducation in, 549
colonial interests in, 153
federal control of, 363
in Great Depression, 702–704
Indian Country in, 479*(m)*
Jefferson and, 220–222
land sales in, 468, 604
migration to, 216, 217–218, 243–244, 349–352, 351*(m)*, 704*(m)*
mining in, 470*(m)*, 470–471, 489
myths of, 472*(i)*, 488–489
national parks in, 477–478, 544, 545, 545*(m)*
New Deal projects in, 705–706
political power in, 892
post–Revolutionary War, 187
railroads in, 363, 462, 466*(m)*, 471
settlement of, 164*(m)*
slavery in, 336*(m)*
state claims to lands in, 187, 188*(m)*
voting rights in, 275*(m)*
women in, 473–475, 554*(m)*, 555
West, Benjamin, 154*(i)*
Westad, Odd, 751
West Africa. *See also specific countries*
British in, 130
climatic zones of, 23–24
empires, kingdoms, and ministates in, 23–25
English and Dutch in, 79
foods from, 25
gold in, 24*(m)*, 25
religion and spirituality in, 28
slaves and slave trade, 24*(m)*, 25, 28, 93, 343
trade and commerce in, 24*(m)*, 25, 28
Western & Atlantic Railroad, 341
Western Confederacy, 216, 216*(m)*, 223, 244*(m)*
Western Europe. *See also* European Union (EU); *specific countries*
democracy in, 754
economy in, 20–21
hierarchy and authority in, 19
Marshall Plan for, 755
migration from, 510–513
peasant society in, 19–20

post–World War II, 754–755, 758
prior to American contact, 18–23
religion in, 21–23
trade networks in, 20–21
Western Federation of Miners (WFM), 521*(i)*, 607
Western Front (World War I), 633, 634, 635, 635*(m)*
Western Hemisphere. *See also specific regions and countries*
American policy toward, 231
ancient peoples of, 8, 10*(m)*
Europeans in, 18
immigration from, 667
Native Americans of, 8, 10*(m)*
U.S. dominance in, 623
Western Union, 247
West Florida, 153
West Germany, 752*(i)*, 753, 755, 758. *See also* Germany
West India Company (Dutch), 56, 57, 113
West Indies. *See also specific countries*
African slaves in, 86*(f)*
Columbus in, 33
England and, 83*(m)*, 86–87, 285
French, 79, 130, 213
migration to, 51
post-Revolutionary War, 183
South Atlantic System in, 86
sugar production in, 50*(i)*, 86–87
Westinghouse, 501
Westmoreland, William, 854, 855
West Virginia, creation of, 393*(m)*, 402
westward movement. *See also* trans-Appalachian west; West
agriculture and, 218, 244
gold rush and, 363, 366
land conflicts and (1750–1775), 133*(m)*
land sales (1830–1839 and 1850–1862), 247*(m)*
Louisiana Purchase and, 220
Native Americans and, 243–244
to Oregon, 349–350
of poor southern whites, 337–338
slavery and, 218, 371
into trans-Appalachia, 216, 217–218
by yeomen farmers, 246
Wethersfield (Connecticut), 64*(m)*
Wetmore, Ephraim, 191
Weydemeyer, Joseph, 296
WFM (Western Federation of Miners), 521*(i)*, 607
whale oil, 499
"What Did You Do in the Class War, Daddy?" (Fallows), 858
"What Every Girl Should Know" (Sanger), 579
What Girls Can Do (guidebook), 549
What Social Classes Owe Each Other (Sumner), 530
What Women Want (Bird), 899
wheat
in California, 374
embargo on shipments to Soviet Union, 920
exports of, 132, 517
on Great Plains, 473, 476
world markets for, 473
Wheatley, Phillis, 149*(i)*
Wheeler, Adam, 191
Wheeling Register, 570, 590–591
Wheel Within a Wheel, A (Willard), 553, 553*(i)*
Whig Party (U.S.)
Anti-Masons in, 294–295
conscience Whigs, 368
in election of 1834, 294
in election of 1836, 295
in election of 1840, 299–300
in election of 1844, 355
in election of 1848, 370
end of, 378–379
Glorious Revolution and, 80
Lincoln in, 388
policies of, 235
radical, 148, 156, 157*(i)*, 173
sectionalism in, 363, 386
on slavery in territories, 374
in South, 294, 339, 363
Tyler and, 300
U.S.-Mexico War and, 358, 368
Whigs (England), 80, 143, 294
whipping of slaves, 256*(i)*, 322
Whipple, Henry, 478–479
whiskey, taxation on, 207
Whiskey Rebellion (1794), 209, 209*(i)*, 211, 219
Whiskey Ring scandal, 452
Whistler, Henry, 54
White, Dan, 899
White, Edward Douglas, 602*(i)*
White, Harry Dexter, 765
White, Hugh L., 295
White, John, 7*(i)*, 45*(i)*, 46*(i)*
White, Richard, 502
White, Walter, 814
White, William Allen, 715
White Citizens' Councils, 822
white-collar workers, 268, 503, 784
Whitefield, George, 107*(i)*, 122, 124, 126
white flight, 874*(i)*
White House Conference on Dependent Children (1909), 606, 611*(t)*
White League, 453
White Man's Party, 600
white primaries, 600, 813
whites
affirmative action and, 894–895
Anglos, 467, 470
on Atlanta Compromise, 548–549
identity and equality of, 98
as Loyalists, 163–164
in Middle Atlantic region, 115
Native American depictions by, 484*(i)*, 484–485, 485*(i)*, 489
in South, 335–341
voting rights for men, 101, 274–275, 275*(m)*, 293, 339
Whiteside, James A. (1803–1861), 340*(i)*
"white slavery," 577, 578, 578*(i)*
"whites only" drinking fountains, 812, 813*(i)*
white supremacy. *See also* Ku Klux Klan; racism
in 1930s, 668
Democrats and, 599, 600
Douglas on, 388
minstrel shows and, 320
preservation of, 401, 452
slavery and, 253
in South, 452–453
Whitman, Walt, 261, 310–311, 317, 357, 420
Whitney, Eli, 217–218, 253, 260
Who (musical group), 861
wholesale prices (1869–1900), 499*(f)*
Why Is There No Socialism in the United States? (Sombart), 507
Why Not Victory? (Goldwater), 915
Whyte, William, 784, 800
Why We Fight (documentaries), 726
WIB (War Industries Board), 636–637
widows
property rights of, 112
social assistance for, 692
Wigfall, Louis, 340
Wild, John Caspar, 265*(i)*
Wilderness, Battle of the (1864), 423, 423*(m)*
Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964, 849*(t)*
Wilderness Society, 881
wildlife, protection of, 478, 544–545, 604
Wildmon, Donald E., 918
Wild One, The (movie), 790
Wild West, 484, 484*(i)*, 488–489
Wilkes, John, 143
Wilkinson, Eliza, 186
Wilkinson, James, 221
Will, George, 923
Willamette Valley (Oregon), 349, 350
Willard, Emma, 326
Willard, Frances, 550–551, 552, 553
William of Orange, 80, 80*(m)*, 81*(i)*, 81–82
Williams, Roger, 59, 60
Williams v. Mississippi (1898), 599
Willkie, Wendell, 715
Willow Grove (amusement park), 567
Wilmot, David, 368
Wilmot Proviso (1846), 368, 369, 406
Wilson, Hawkins, 256
Wilson, Mary, 790*(i)*
Wilson, Tessie Hickam, 729
Wilson, William H., 577

Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924)
banking and, 610
on *Birth of a Nation*, 612, 668
economic reforms of, 610–612
in election of 1912, 609, 609*(m)*
in election of 1916, 634
foreign policy of, 620, 631–632
Fourteen Points of, 616, 643, 644, 645
illness and death of, 647, 656
inaugural address of, 610
labor and, 612, 612*(i)*
Mexico and, 631–632
neutrality policy of, 617, 633
New Freedom and, 609
preservationism of, 544
as president (1913–1921), 493, 620
progressivism and, 586, 611*(t)*, 656
trusts and, 610
Versailles treaty and, 643–645, 645*(i)*, 647
woman suffrage and, 643
World War I and, 634, 638
wind erosion, dust bowl and, 704–705
wind farms, 943*(i)*
Windows operating system, 930
Windsor v. United States (2013), 959
Windward Coast, 93
Wing, John, 826
Winthrop, James, 197
Winthrop, John, 59, 60
wiretapping, 890–891
Wisconsin
Fugitive Slave Act and, 377
Native Americans in, 292
Northwest Ordinance and, 189
political reforms in, 605
settlement of, 244, 246
Wisconsin Idea, 605
Wise, Isaac Mayer, 317
Wise, John, 120, 123
Wise, Stephen S., 582
witchcraft, 62–63
Wobblies. *See* Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
Wolde-Giorghis, Hailou, 818
Wolfe, James, 130
Wollstonecraft, Mary, 186*(i)*, 278
Wolof peoples, 93
Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Fuller), 310
Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 550–551, 552–553, 586, 663
"Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Colored Woman, The" (Harper), 552–553
Woman's Exponent (newspaper), 473
Woman's Loyal National League, 414
women. *See also* feminism; gender and gender issues; marriage; sex and sexuality; women in workforce; women's rights
abolitionism and, 322, 325, 327–329
activism of, 327–329, 550, 850–853, 867–868, 895–897
affirmative action and, 894
African American organizations of, 551, 554, 867
in American Revolution, 175–176
in armed forces, 939*(i)*
in Benevolent Empire, 296, 306, 325
in civil rights movement, 831*(i)*
in Civil War, 410, 414–415, 427*(i)*
in clothing industry, 315
in Congress, 634
consumer culture and, 538, 658
in corporations, 503–504
Daughters of Liberty, 151
domesticity of, 235, 325–326, 793
education for, 186, 279, 326, 326*(i)*, 448, 547, 549, 663, 867–868
evangelicalism and, 905
in factories, 249–250, 263, 415, 504, 951*(i)*
families and, 794–795
as flappers, 651*(i)*, 658
Fourierist socialism on, 312
freedwomen's work, 443
in Great Depression, 675
health care for, 895
as homesteaders, 473–474
in household economy, 108–109
immigrant, 381, 512
as indentured servants, 51–52
Indian removal policies and, 291
industrialization and, 546–547
in KKK, 671
Market Revolution and, 263
middle-class, 268, 325, 326, 538, 546, 550, 745, 794–795
as missionaries, 533
Mormon, 473, 474–475
Native American, 12, 14, 17, 217, 354, 373
New Deal and, 697, 700
New Women, 544, 662–663
in Oneida Community, 313
in outdoors, 545
planter, 51, 98, 336–337
in politics, 186, 299, 551, 586, 661*(i)*, 661–662
post–Revolutionary War, 186
post–World War II, 745
in presidential cabinet, 697
progressivism and, 606
Puritan, 60, 108–109
Quaker, 78
in Reconstruction, 443
reform by, 305–306, 326–327, 526, 550–555, 586
religion and, 304, 305, 325–326, 337
republican, 277–278
revivalism and, 304, 305
in seaport cities, 100, 101
in Second Great Awakening, 304, 305, 325
separate sphere doctrine for, 235, 325, 326, 663
as Shakers, 302
as slaves, 90, 326–327, 347, 443
social settlements and, 578–579
as social workers, 579–580
in sports, 544, 547, 663, 868
on Supreme Court, 925, 925*(i)*
as teachers, 326, 326*(i)*
in textile industry, 248, 249–250, 262
transcendentalist, 310–311, 311*(i)*
wages for, 326
in West, 473–475, 554*(m)*, 555
on western trails, 350
wildlife preservation and, 545
witch-hunts and, 62–63
working-class, 269, 415, 606, 642*(i)*
in World War I, 642–643
in World War II, 721*(i)*, 721–723
Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES), 721
women in workforce
African American, 509
business owners, 111, 111*(i)*
corporate, 503–504
discrimination against, 508, 509
domestic work, 110, 110*(i)*
factories, 249–250, 263, 415, 504
Great Depression and, 675
labor unions and, 519–520, 523, 581
middle-class, 794*(i)*, 794–795
minimum wage for, 606, 700
occupational segregation of, 795
professions for, 503–504, 580, 663, 794–795, 879*(i)*, 901
protection laws for, 580
servants, 315, 504, 509
sexual harassment of, 520, 722, 900
wages for, 326, 606, 637, 663, 700, 722
workday for, 606
in World War I, 642
in World War II, 721*(i)*, 721–723
Women of the South in War Times, The (Andrews), 459
Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs), 721
Women's Army Corps (WACs), 721
women's clubs, 550, 607
Women's Convention of the National Baptist Church, 554
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 656
Women's Joint Congressional Committee, 661
women's liberation movement, 867–868, 895

Women's March (2017), 973*(i)*
Women's National Indian Association, 481
women's rights. *See also* abortion and abortion rights; women's rights movement; women's suffrage
amendment for, 661
black and Chicana, 867
to education, 186
feminist movement and, 555
foundations for, 546
Garrison on, 324
in marriage, 327–328, 336–337
Mormons and, 473, 474–475
movement for, 325–329
property ownership, 19, 186, 327–328, 447
reproductive, 867, 896–897, 957
Roosevelt (Eleanor) on, 697
sexual freedom and, 903
Supreme Court on, 897, 900
trade unions and, 581
women's rights movement, 325–329. *See also* women's rights
antislavery movement and, 327
education and, 326
moral reform and, 326–327
national conventions in, 328–329
opposition to, 329*(i)*
origins of, 325–327
overview, 325
rebirth of, 850–853
rifts in, 440–441
Seneca Falls Convention and, 328–329, 439
sex roles and, 900
Women's Strike for Equality (1970), 867
women's suffrage
from 1890 to 1919, 554*(m)*
for African Americans, 661–662
legal restrictions on, 277
national movement for, 441, 554–555
Nineteenth Amendment and, 611*(t)*, 643, 661*(i)*
opposition to, 555
Roosevelt (Theodore) on, 608
Seneca Falls Convention and, 327, 439
suffragists, 440, 440*(i)*, 555, 642–643
in West, 473–475, 554*(m)*, 555
working-class support for, 581
World War I and, 642–643
Women's Trade Union League, 581
Women's Union Label League, 642*(i)*
Wonderland (Northern Pacific Railroad), 485
Wonders of the Invisible World, The (Mather), 62–63
Wood, Gordon S., 193
Wood, William, 54
Woodhull, Victoria, 440–441, 441*(i)*
woodlands, peoples of, 9, 11–15
Woodley, Arthur E., Jr., 857
Woodruff, Phoebe, 474–475
Woodstock concert, 861*(i)*
Woodward, Bob, 891
Woolen Act of 1699, 103
Woolman, John, 250
Woolworth, F. W., 501
Woolworth Building (New York City), 561
Woolworth's drugstore, lunch counter sit-ins at, 824
Worcester (Massachusetts), women's rights conventions in, 328
Worcester v. Georgia (1832), 292
work and workers. *See* employment; labor and laborers; wageworkers
workday
eight-hour, 612, 637
Supreme Court on, 602, 606
ten-hour, 261
for women, 606
working class
children in, 269, 546
in cities, 565, 566, 567–568, 579
consumer culture and, 658–659
department stores for, 538
divisions in, 612–613
families in, 269, 508–509, 509*(i)*
food consumption by, 506–507
housing for, 269, 565–566
immigrants in, 509–510
industrialization and, 505
leisure and, 308, 540, 566
poverty of, 269, 467, 505
prohibition and, 666*(i)*
religion of, 533
in urban areas, 269
use of term, 536
women in, 269, 415, 606, 642*(i)*
"Working Man's Recollections of America, A" (Knight's Penny Magazine), 242–243
workingmen's parties, 518–519, 613
Working Men's Parties, 295–296, 297*(i)*, 298
workmen's compensation, 606, 612
Workmen's Compensation Act of 1916, 611*(t)*
workplace. *See* employment
Works Progress Administration (WPA)
African Americans and, 700
art programs of, 706
establishment of, 692, 693*(t)*
former slave interviews for, 344
funding for, 694, 696
Mexican Americans in, 703
murals commissioned by, 699, 699*(i)*
natural environment and, 706
women in, 700
World Bank, 783, 948, 948*(i)*
World of Tomorrow: School, Work, and Play (Ardley), 932
World Series, 541
World's Fairs
Chicago Columbian Exposition (1893), 528, 534, 537*(i)*, 567
Pan-American Exposition (1901), 527*(i)*
St. Louis (1904), 626*(i)*
scientific discoveries at, 528
World Trade Center
bombing of (1993), 962
September 11 attack on (2001), 942, 965, 965*(i)*
World Trade Organization (WTO), 944–945, 946–947, 948*(i)*, 949
World War I (1914–1918)
alliance system in, 632
Allies in, 617, 633, 634–635, 635*(m)*, 643–645
armed forces in, 635, 636, 636*(i)*
armistice in, 635
casualties of, 620, 633, 635, 636, 637, 637*(t)*
Central Powers in, 633, 634, 635, 635*(m)*, 646*(m)*
economy in, 636–638, 652
in Europe, 632–634, 635, 646*(m)*
events leading up to, 632–633
financing of, 637
home front in, 636–643, 647
impact of, 647
neutrality during, 617, 633–634
peace treaty after, 617, 620, 643–645, 647
Red Scare following, 617, 652–653, 653*(i)*
U.S. in, 634–643, 635*(m)*, 637
as war of attrition, 635*(m)*
weapons in, 633, 713
woman suffrage and, 642–643
World War II (1939–1945), 710–741
African Americans in, 711*(i)*, 720, 723–724, 724*(i)*, 810, 814, 815*(i)*
alliances in, 713
Allies in, 617, 715, 732–735, 739–740, 751
armed forces in, 718, 720
atomic bomb in, 710, 737*(m)*, 737–740, 740*(i)*
Axis powers in, 717, 732, 734, 752*(i)*
casualties of, 710, 719*(f)*, 733, 735, 736, 740, 741
civil rights in, 723–725, 724*(i)*
coming of age in postwar period, 796–797
culture in, 726–727
D-Day in, 405, 734–735, 735*(i)*
division of Europe following, 755, 758
economy in, 617, 717–718
in Europe, 710, 733*(m)*, 733–736, 734*(m)*
events leading up to, 712–717
financing, 717–718
home front in, 726–732, 728*(i)*, 729*(i)*

World War II (*cont.*)
Japanese American internment during, 617, 730–732, 731*(m)*, 732*(i)*
labor in, 721–725
migration in, 727, 730
mobilization for, 718, 720–721, 728*(i)*, 728–729, 729*(i)*
Nazi Germany in, 715, 716, 733*(m)*, 733–736, 734*(m)*
North Africa in, 710, 733, 733*(m)*, 734
objectives in, 732
in Pacific Ocean region, 710, 736–737, 737*(m)*
Pearl Harbor attack and, 717, 717*(i)*
politics in, 725–726
second front in, 733
suburbanization following, 745, 799–808
toll of, 741
U.S. in, 717, 732–733
weapons in, 718
women in, 721*(i)*, 721–723
World Wide Web. *See* Internet
Wounded Knee massacre (1890), 488, 841, 841*(i)*
Wozniak, Steve, 930
WPA. *See* Works Progress Administration
WPB (War Production Board), 718
Wright, Donna, 879*(i)*
Wright, Mose, 823
Wright, Richard, 706
writers. *See* literature; *specific writers*
WTO (World Trade Organization), 944–945, 946–947, 948*(i)*, 949
Wyandot Indians, 57, 215
Wyatt, Jane, 789
Wyoming
migration to, 350
statehood for, 588
voting rights for women in, 440*(i)*, 441, 473
Wyoming Valley (Pennsylvania), 132–133

XYZ Affair, 213

YAF (Young Americans for Freedom), 860, 915
Yale University football team, 542–543
Yalta Conference (1945), 737, 738*(i)*, 750–752
Yamasee Indians, 84–85
Yancey, William Lowndes, 389
Yates, Robert, 194
Yazoo Land Company, 230
yellow fever, 29, 41, 50, 576, 625, 630*(i)*
yellow journalism, 569, 623
Yellow Kid, The (comic) (Outcault), 569, 570, 570*(i)*
Yellow Kidney (Piegan), 487*(i)*
Yellowstone National Park, 477*(i)*, 477–478, 544, 545*(m)*
Yellowstone River region, 15
Yellow Wolf (Nez Perce), 478
Yeltsin, Boris, 935–936
Yemen
democratic movements in, 970
USS *Cole* bombing in, 962
yen (Japan), 945
yeomen
agricultural innovation and, 218
in American Revolution, 173
British taxes and, 162
Jefferson on, 208
land for, 112
in New England society, 63, 65, 108
secession and, 392, 393, 393*(m)*
slave ownership by, 335
in South, 335, 340
voting rights for, 98
westward movement by, 246
Yezierska, Anzia, 664–665
Yiddish language, 512, 532, 564
Yippies, 864
YLO (Young Lords Organization), 837
YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association), 539–540, 579
Yokohama Harbor, American merchant ship in, 379*(i)*
Yom Kippur War (1973), 880, 962
York, Duke of (England). *See* James II
Yorktown, Battle of (1781), 182, 182*(m)*
Yoruba peoples, 28, 93, 96
Yosemite National Park, 477
Yosemite Valley, 477, 544, 604
Yoshida, Shigeru, 756
Young, Brigham, 314*(i)*, 315, 387
Young, Harriet Cook, 474–475
Young, Robert, 789
Young, Thomas, 768
Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), 860, 915
Young Lords Organization (YLO), 837
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), 539–540, 579
"You Shall Not Sell" (*American Temperance Magazine*), 309
youth culture, 745, 788, 789*(i)*, 789–791. *See also* children and adolescents
Youth for Christ, 904
Youth International Party (Yippies), 864
Yüan Shih-k'ai (China), 630
Yucatán Peninsula, 33
Yugoslavia
communism in, 754
internal conflicts and breakup of, 962
Tito in, 760
Yuki peoples, 373, 378
Yukon Territory, gold rush in, 471

Zacatecas mine, 40
zambo populations, 41
Zimmermann, Arthur, 634
Zimmermann telegram, 634
Zionist movement, 773
zones of occupation, in postwar Germany, 755
zoot suits, 727, 730, 730*(i)*
Zukor, Adolph, 658
Zuñi Indians, 16
Zwirn, Charles, 513

50°N
120°W
110°W
100°W
Columbia River
Seattle
Olympia
WASHINGTON
Mt. Rainier
(14,411 ft.; 4,392 m)
Mt. St. Helens
(8,366 ft.; 2,550 m)
CASCADE MTS.
Portland
Columbia River
Salem
Eugene
COAST RANGES
CASCADE
OREGON
Missouri River
Helena
MONTANA
Yellowstone River
NORTH DAKOTA
Bismarck
BADLANDS
Billings
SOUTH DAKOTA
Pierre
Sioux Falls
Boise
IDAHO
Snake River
ROCKY
WYOMING
BLACK HILLS
GREAT
NEBRASKA
Platte River
Great Salt Lake
Salt Lake City
GREAT DIVIDE BASIN
Cheyenne
Sacramento River
SIERRA
Carson City
GREAT BASIN
COLORADO
Denver
San Francisco
Sacramento
Oakland
San Jose
NEVADA
UTAH
Mt. Elbert
(14,433 ft.; 4,399 m)
Colorado Springs
PLAINS
KANSAS
San Joaquin River
Fresno
Mt. Whitney
(14,494 ft.; 4,418 m)
Las Vegas
Pikes Peak
(14,110 ft.; 4,301 m)
Wichita
Colorado River
Arkansas River
MOUNTAINS
CALIFORNIA
MOJAVE DESERT
OKLAHOMA
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
Los Angeles
ARIZONA
Oklahoma City
NEW MEXICO
Red River
PACIFIC OCEAN
San Diego
Phoenix
Pecos River
Lubbock
LLANO ESTACADO
Fort Worth
Tucson
TEXAS
El Paso
Colorado River
EDWARDS PLATEAU
Austin
Rio Grande
San Antonio
MEXICO
170°W
130°W
ARCTIC OCEAN
70°N
RUSSIA
BROOKS RANGE
Arctic Circle
ALASKA
Yukon River
Mt. McKinley
(20,320 ft.; 6,194 m)
CANADA
ALASKA RANGE
Anchorage
60°N
Bering Sea
Gulf of Alaska
Juneau
0 250 500 miles
0 250 500 kilometers
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
160°W
150°W
140°W
Kauai
Niihau
Oahu
HAWAII
22°N
Honolulu
Molokai
PACIFIC OCEAN
Lanai
Maui
Kahoolawe
20°N
Hawaii
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 kilometers
160°W
158°W
156°W

90°W
80°W
70°W
CANADA
N
W
E
S
0 150 300 miles
0 150 300 kilometers
St. Lawrence River
MAINE
VERMONT
Augusta
Burlington
Montpelier
Portland
Mt. Washington
(6,288 ft.; 1,917 m)
Concord
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Manchester
Albany
Boston
MASS.
Lake Superior
Lake Huron
Lake Ontario
NEW YORK
Hartford
Providence
R.I.
CONNECTICUT
Hudson River
Buffalo
Lake Michigan
MICHIGAN
Lansing
Detroit
Lake Erie
PENNSYLVANIA
New York
Trenton
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Pittsburgh
Wheeling
APPALACHIAN MTS.
Baltimore
Dover
DELAWARE
Annapolis
WASHINGTON, D.C.
MARYLAND
Potomac River
Chesapeake Bay
Richmond
Norfolk
VIRGINIA
W. VA.
Raleigh
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH CAROLINA
Knoxville
Mt. Mitchell
(6,684 ft.; 2,037 m)
Nashville
Charlotte
TENNESSEE
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
Charleston
TIDEWATER
Atlanta
Birmingham
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
Tennessee River
Mississippi River
Memphis
ARKANSAS
Little Rock
MISSISSIPPI
Montgomery
Alabama River
LOUISIANA
Jackson
Jacksonville
Tallahassee
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Orlando
FLORIDA
Lake Okeechobee
Miami
Gulf of Mexico
BAHAMAS
CUBA
Milwaukee
Madison
WISCONSIN
St. Paul
Minneapolis
IOWA
Des Moines
Chicago
Cleveland
OHIO
Columbus
Cincinnati
Indianapolis
INDIANA
Springfield
MISSOURI
Kansas City
St. Louis
ILLINOIS
Jefferson City
Frankfort
Louisville
Ohio River
KENTUCKY
Cumberland River
CENTRAL LOWLAND
Tulsa
THE UNITED STATES
Elevation
Feet
Meters
Over 13,001
Over 3,001
6,561–13,000
2,001–3,000
3,281–6,560
1,001–2,000
1,641–3,280
501–1,000
661–1,640
201–500
0–660
0–200
Below sea level
Below sea level
67°W
65°W
ATLANTIC OCEAN
San Juan
PUERTO RICO
18°N
VIRGIN ISLANDS
Caribbean Sea
0 50 100 miles
0 50 100 kilometers

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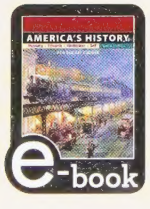

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